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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XXXIX.



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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

The HISTORY of AMERICA.

S E C T. XII.

Containing the History of the Incas, and the Religion, Government, Customs, and Manners, of the ancient Peruvians.

THE origin of nations is so involved in obscurity, that little can be related with certainty, respecting the earlier periods, and remoter ages, of the most civilized people, that has any pretensions to antiquity. What fables are intermixed with the histories of *Rome* and *Athens*? Even the origin of modern nations, though posterior to the use of letters, hath its difficulties, and every day furnishes matter of debate among antiquaries: how, therefore, can we expect to find truth unmixed with falshood and absurdity, in the accounts given by the barbarous natives of the origin of those kingdoms and empires, whose subversion afforded the first inlet to the enlightening beams of science, and the bright dawn diffused over every object, by the use of those characters invented happily to carry our ideas to posterity, with the same precision they occurred to our own minds? Accordingly we find, that nothing can be more improbable, superstitious, and ridiculous, than the account given of the *Peruvians*, before they were reduced by their Incas to a regular form of government, unless we except the means by

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which this extraordinary change, and revolution of manners was effected. The genealogy of the sovereigns favours strongly of that adulation ever paid to the rulers of the world, who are often inferior to the brute creation; while they are regarded by their indiscriminating subjects as something above human. *Garcilasso de la Vega*, the most authentic historian of *Peru*, himself descended, by the mother, from the royal line, lavishes his praises on the Incas, as the civilizers and humanizers of a barbarous people, who wandered about like the herds of the fields, without laws, government, or the least idea of virtue or rational religion. Perhaps he intended to compliment the regal dignity at the expence of human nature; certain it is, that the horrible picture he has drawn of the ancient *Peruvians*, before the foundation of their monarchy, is the highest panegyric on the conduct of the Incas. If we may credit this writer, the ancestors of the *Peruvians* were savages, distinguished from the brute creation only by speech, and a more human form; they were fierce, ignorant, and cruel, almost beyond belief. We shall begin with their religion, if that term may be applied to such abominable superstitious institutions, every way suitable to their corrupt manners, and grovelling notions.

1. THE ancient *Peruvians*, like the negroes on the coast of *Africa*, had a multiplicity of gods; almost every object that presented itself was raised into a deity. Nations, provinces, tribes, families, and individuals, had their peculiar gods; the *Peruvians* not being able to comprehend how the same deity should be able to attend to the various actions of different persons. Herbs, flowers, trees, shrubs, caves, rivers, and all kinds of animals, were worshipped by this savage people, who sacrificed to those material gods not only their enemies, but their own children. Mountains were adored for their height, trees for their shade, tigers for their ferocity, other animals for other qualities, and many for their power of doing mischief. *Garcilasso* confirms the account of *Blas Valera*, who relates, that the inhabitants of the mountains of the *Andes* were man-eaters, and sacrificed their fellow creatures and even their children to serpents, whom they deified. Prisoners taken in war were immediately quartered and divided for the benefit of the captors, or sold in the shambles. Should any person of distinction happen to have fallen into the hands of this savage tribe, they stripped him of his garments, tied him to a stake, cut him in pieces with knives and sharp stones, pared off all the fleshy muscular parts, and sprinkling the bye standers with the blood, eat up the flesh with the utmost greediness, before the eyes of the unhappy victim, regarding his excruciating

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lasting anguish as the most delicious sauce. The women wet their nipples with the blood, that their infant children might partake of the shocking sacrifice. All this was performed by way of religious offering; and when the wretched victim expired in agonies, the remainder of his flesh and bowels were devoured with a more solemn and silent reverence. "Such," says *Garulasso*, "was the manner of these brutes, because the government of the Incas was not received into their country." Nor need we indeed be astonished at the profound veneration with which their race of princes was regarded, if the people ascribed to them the changes wrought on their manners.

THE government of the ancient *Peruvians* was equally M barbarous with their religion. There was no regular system of policy; a few families lived together in caves, rocks, and forests, and roamed for their prey over the country like wild beasts. Neither the arts of building, town planning, or cloathing themselves, were known to these savages. Nature produced sufficient for their want in the spontaneous roots, fruits, and herbs, of the earth; and the only luxury known, was that of feeding upon the flesh of their fellow creatures. Sometimes a ruler started up among the *Peruvians*, and then they were reduced for a while to a kind of societies. Whoever had courage or policy enough to acquire a superiority, might easily tyrannize over the whole, and treat them as slaves. When this kind of despotism was established, the situation of the *Peruvians* became still more wretched; no change was wrought in their manners, and they lost their liberty. Their daughters and wives became the property of the tyrant; even their lives were sacrificed to his caprice, and their skins employed in covering drums, to regale the ears of this monster of cruelty. In other parts they lived without lords, passing their days like so many sheep in all simplicity; not that virtue moderated their nature, but that stupidity rendered them equally insensible to good and evil. Even their barbarity was the result of their imbecility. It was no way shocking to them to dispose of the flesh of their prisoners in the shambles, and fatten children, in order to be served up as delicacies to table. Lust unrestrained by laws, customs, or natural decency, was a ruling passion among the *Peruvians*, who propagated like beasts without discrimination, and gratified their appetites with the first woman that offered. Where there was no regular society, there could scarce be any idea of those refined passions of love and friendship, which are the result of communication and mutual converse. No regard was paid to kindred, or affinity of blood, in the grati-

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fication of the senses; mothers, daughters, and sisters, were used without distinction. In some countries a kind of nuptial rite was observed; but it was no less depraved than the vicious impulse of nature. Those women who were the most lascivious and incontinent, were the most esteemed. It was the most notorious prostitution of virginity, and most dissolute life in the maiden state, that best recommended to a husband. Certain tribes were charged with preserving inviolate the chastity of their female children to a marriageable age, when they were exposed in publick, and the proofs of their virginity shewn to the whole world; others are taxed with the beastly sin of sodomy; and it is affirmed, that sorcery, witchcraft, and the arts of poisoning, arrived at great perfection in several of the provinces of this empire. These, however, are the tales of tradition, blazoned out by the royal historian in the strongest colours, only to heighten the compliment intended the Incas, by demonstrating the happy effects of their government; and the surprising changes wrought on the manners of the most savage people on earth, by dint of prudence and policy. These effects being supposed to exceed human means, the following fable was invented, to account for the manner in which the *Peruvians* were civilized, and give lustre to the pedigree of the royal line. It is confidently related by *Garcilasso* as a tradition universally believed in his family; and we shall beg leave to transcribe it from his commentaries, rather to shew the genius of the nation, than to gain the belief of the reader.

GARCILASSO having one day questioned the Inca, his uncle, concerning the origin of the nation, and the rise of the Incas, was answered in these words. "Cousin, I most willingly comply with your request; for it is of consequence for you to know these things, and impress them deeply in your heart. You must therefore understand, that all this region and country was formerly one intire forest and desert, and the people a kind of brutes, devoid of religion and government, destitute of all the arts necessary to society; and ignorant of sowing, reaping, building, spinning, or weaving. They dwelt in pairs in caves in the rocks and mountains, fed on roots, herbs, grass, or human flesh. All their cloathing consisted of leaves, or the bark of trees, and the skins of beasts. In a word, they were altogether savage; they had no property in women, or single enjoyment of the sex, but used their females in common like the brutes, and gratified their lust on the first object that occurred.

"THIS was the situation of our ancestors, when our father the Sun, taking pity on their wretchedness, sent a son
and

and daughter of his own from heaven to earth to instruct our people in the knowledge of his divinity, that so they might adore and worship him, giving them laws and precepts to regulate their lives like men endowed with reason. They were empowered to live in houses and society; they were taught to sow the land, cultivate trees, rear plants, feed flocks, and enjoy them like civilized persons, who made a proper use of their rational faculties. With these instructions our first parent, the *Sun*, placed his two children in the lake *Titicaca* (about eight leagues from the capital city of *Cuzco*), giving them full liberty to travel to whatever part of the country they chose, with this restriction only, that when they stopped for a night to sleep and refresh themselves, they should strike a gold wedge which he gave them into the earth. This wedge was about half a yard in length, and above an inch thick; and if it sunk with one stroke into the ground, there they were ordered to take up their future residence, and form a court, to which all the people should resort. They were further directed to govern themselves with reason, justice, piety, clemency, and lenity. After they had reduced them to obedience, and subjected them to laws, they were enjoined to perform all the offices of tender parents to children they love, and to imitate the example set them by their parent the *Sun*, who doth good to all the world, furnisheth light and heat, maketh the seeds to vegetate, the trees to be prolific, and the flocks to encrease; watereth the lands with dews from heaven, and daily performs a circuit in which he visits every corner of the earth, to discover the necessities and wants of all things, and apply the proper remedies. "Thus, after my example, said the great author of their being, I would have my children employ all their care in cherishing virtue and rooting out bad habits from the human breast: from henceforth I constitute and ordain you lords and sovereigns over this people, that they may be reclaimed to reason by your instructions, and maintained in regular society by your government." "Thus our father the *Sun*, proceeded the inca, having declared his pleasure to these his two children, dispatched them to execute their important commission; and they, beginning their journey from *Titicaca* northward, tried to strike the wedge in the ground at every place they reposed themselves, but it refused to enter. At length, after various fruitless efforts, they arrived at a poor place about seven or eight leagues southward from this city (*Cuzco*), which to this day is called *Pacavec Tampu*, or the *Shining Dormitory*. This is one of those colonies which this prince planted, the inhabitants of which boast of the title bestowed on it by the first of our incas. From hence he and

his queen descended to the valley of *Cuzco*, at that time a wild and barren desert (A), halting at *Huanacauti*, where again the wedge of gold being tried, was received by the earth with such facility, that it sunk at one stroke, and never more appeared." "Then, said the inca to his sister and wife in this valley, our father the *Sun* hath commanded that we should make our abode, and in so doing we shall perform his pleasure. It is necessary, therefore, that we should now separate and take different ways, in order to assemble the people in such a manner as we may be able to preach and propagate the doctrine among them which he recommends." Accordingly our first governors proceeded by different ways from the desert of *Huanacauti* to collect the people, which being the first place of their residence which they hallowed by their feet, that we know of, we have deservedly erected a temple wherein to adore and worship our father the *Sun*, and offer up thanksgivings for this benefit conferred on mankind. Our inca the prince proceeded his way northward, while his consort and sister directed her steps to the south, declaring to all men whom they met in the wild thickets and uncultivated places, that their father the *Sun* had sent them to be the instructors and benefactors of those inhabitants, and to wean them from that rude and savage life to a method of living more agreeable to reason and human society. In pursuance of these commands, they related to the people, they came to gather those who were scattered among those mountains and rude places into more convenient habitations, where they might live in society and friendship, upon such food as was allotted by nature for man. The people heard, beheld, and were astonished. They saw these children of the *Sun* clothed in the habits in which their father had vested them; they observed their ears pierced to receive the complaints of the oppressed, and adorned with jewels as a mark of their superior dignity and birth; they greedily sucked in their words and promises of comfort, yielded to their persuasion, adored them as the offspring of a superior being, and resigned themselves to their tutelage and government. These wretches relating the wonder to each other, the fame of the prince and princess spread abroad; insomuch that multitudes of men and women flocked to them, submitting themselves to their obedience.

"GREAT numbers being collected in this manner, our first governors gave orders that provision should be made of such fruits as the earth produced for the sustenance of man; lest,

(A) *Garcilasso*, by a slip of the pen, calls this valley a *Raycaut* his translator. mountain; in which he has

being,

being scattered abroad in search of nourishment, the bands of society should be broken, the main body divided, and the members diminished. Others were employed, in the mean time, in building houses according to the models given them by the prince. This was the origin of our imperial city of *Cuzco*, which was then divided into two parts; the one called *Hanan Cuzco*, or the *Upper*, and the other *Hurin Cuzco*, or the *Lower Cuzco*. Those who assembled under the king inhabited the former, and those of the queen's train peopled the latter; a difference arising from no superiority assumed by the king, and intended only to distinguish his followers from those of his consort, and to remain an eternal monument of the rise and origin of society. This is the reason, added the inca, that in all our empire this diversity of lineage hath remained, being ever since distinguished by the appellations *Horian Aylla* and *Hurin Aylla*, signifying the upper and lower lineage; and *Hanan Sugu* and *Hurin Sugu*, the upper and lower tribes.

"WHEN the city was peopled in the manner above recited, our inca taught his people those labours that contribute to the conveniences of life, such as ploughing the land, sowing it with grains and seeds fit for the nourishment of man, and the instruments necessary to carry on husbandry with facility and advantage. He also taught his subjects to cut channels for those rivulets which now water the capital, and to defend their feet from stones and thorns by shoes, and their bodies from the inclemency of the weather and the vicissitudes of seasons by cloathing. On the other hand, the queen instructed the women in good housewifry, taught them all the domestic arts; to spin and weave cotton; to make garments for their husbands, their children, and themselves; with all the other little offices that could render life agreeable, and reconcile the men to their harder labours.

"THE *Indians* being reduced to some form of civility, felicitated themselves on their change of condition; and with singular acknowledgments of the benefits received, travelled with joy through the rocks and woods to communicate the happy news to the other savages, who had not yet tasted the blessings showered down by the children of the *Sun*. They recounted all the favours bestowed on them, and confirmed their relation by showing their new habits and cloathing, and describing their diet, houses, and employment. The curiosity of the savages to behold these wonders was roused: they resolved to have ocular demonstration of all that was repeated, ranged themselves among the rest to learn and to obey; and one in this manner inviting another, the people increased, in seven or eight years, in so extraordinary a man-

ner, that the inca was enabled to raise a considerable army, and make conquests where influence and persuasion proved insufficient to draw men from their barbarous way of living. He taught them how to make bows and arrows, and instructed them in the use of these weapons; so that they soon became a formidable power, and obliged all the surrounding states to receive those legal restraints, which serve to promote the happiness of mankind.

"THAT I may not be tedious, said the inca, in relating the transactions of our ancestors, and the achievements of our first inca, you must know that he reduced all to the eastward as far as the river *Paucartainpe*, eighty leagues westward, quite to the great river called *Apurimac*, and southward, for nine leagues, as far as *Quequesana*. To the several districts contained within these limits, he sent colonies, to some places a hundred families, to others lesser numbers, according to circumstances. These were the beginnings of this noble city, and of this vast empire, which your father and his countrymen (meaning the *Spaniards*) have conquered from us, or rather of which we are despoiled and defrauded. These were our first incas and kings in the early ages of the world, from whom the succeeding princes and *we* ourselves are descended; but how many years it may be since the *Sun* our father sent his offspring among us upon earth, I am not able to ascertain precisely; but I imagine it may be about four hundred years. This inca was called *Manco Capac*, and his queen was named *Caya Mama*, of *Huaco*, both being children and brethren of the sun and moon; and now, having satisfied at large the request you made of me, I abstain from tears, that I may not fill you with sadness; although my eyes, refraining from flowing, occasion drops of blood to fall from my heart on account of the inward grief I feel for the calamities of our empire and the misfortunes of our incas (B)."

SUCH

* GARCILASSO, lib. i. c. 7, 8, 9.

(B) The following story is related by *Herrera*, as another method by which the *Indians* account for the origin of their monarchy. It is still more absurd and ridiculous than the former, and is besides intirely omitted by the author of the royal commentaries. At *Pacarev* *Tampu*, which *Garcilasso*

translates *Shining dormitory*, and our author *The house of veneration*, there appeared three men and three women. The names of the former were *Ayaracbe*, *Aranca*, and *Aramance*, and of the latter, *Mamacola*, *Mamacona*, and *Mamaragna*, all of them cloathed in long mantles, and short tunics, so beautiful and elegantly,

By this was the fabulous relation of the origin of the empire and the establishment of monarchy among the Peruvians, of *Manco Capac*, which was firmly credited by all the natives of the country. *Capac*, if we might be permitted to interpret this account in the most *first* natural and probable meaning, we should imagine that the first inca, *Manco Capac*, had formed this tale the more easily to induce the credulous multitude to embrace his doctrines, by pretending they were of divine origin. It could not be long, indeed, before they must have gained reputation even without this pretext, so admirably were they calculated to civilize, polish, and refine the mind, and to promote social converse and felicity.

When *Manco Capac* had founded *Cuzco*, and reconciled his savage subjects to society, he began with planting colonies, as we find by the above narrative of the inca. To the eastward he established 13 villages, filled with the tribe called *Rozquez*. To the westward he planted 30 villages within the space of eight leagues, which flourished so amazingly, that in a few years the whole country, as far as the royal road of *Cantifuya*, was

elegantly wrought, that they were called *iscabo*, or royal. They had a golden sling of peculiar virtues, produced great abundance of wrought plate, assumed the government of the country, built *Pacawec Tampu*, *Ayarache* having got the sling into his possession, overturned mountains, and gained such a superiority, that his brothers, jealous of his power, laid a stratagem to destroy him. They persuaded him to enter a cave for a precious vessel, which they had forgot, and to pray to their father the *Sun*, to assist them in the reduction of that country, and bending the minds of the savage people to the regulations of social institution. The unsuspecting *Ayarache* entered the dark recess, and no sooner disappeared, than his brothers blocked up the mouth of the cave with stones, to prevent his return; immediately upon which

a dreadful earthquake was felt, which overturned mountains, and entombed hills, woods, and rocks, in the bowels of the earth. *Ayarache* was seen flying through the air with beautifully painted wings, and a voice was heard, admonishing the two brothers not to be afraid, for *Ayarache* was going to found the empire of the incas. *Ayarache* then discovered himself to his brothers, and entered into farther conversation with them. He desired them to build a temple where *Cuzco* now stands, in which the *Sun* should be worshipped: he predicted that it would grow into a great city: he promised to watch over its safety and growth on a neighbouring hill, in his present form, which he desired might be held in adoration by his brothers, and their posterity; and he required, that as an emblem of their sovereignty, they would

was thickly peopled; and from these first inhabitants were formed three great nations, namely, *Masca*, *Chilqui*, and *Pu-
peri*, of considerable repute in the *Peruvian* annals. This prince likewise planned the valley of *Sacsalumona*, and twenty leagues round, establishing such wholesome regulations that the human species multiplied and increased with the astonishing rapidity of plants cherished and raised by the parental hands of the skilful husbandman. To every new colony were communicated new instructions, fitted to their peculiar circumstances. The arts of plowing and sowing, of planting and pruning, of forming aqueducts and conservatories of water, of building, cloathing, and every other particular necessary to the commodious sustenance of life, were taught to all; but the laws of civil œconomy, for the support of friendship, brotherhood, and the dictates of nature and reason, were diversified. It was laid down as a general maxim, that all unruly passions should be subdued, all animosity one with another be forgot, and that they should distribute impartially the same justice to others which they required for themselves. Above all, the sage inca was careful to inculcate precepts of chastity and delicacy with respect to the sex, in which the *Indians* were hitherto peculiarly gross and brutal. He ordained

would have their ears pierced as his were, and had no sooner pronounced the injunction, than they perceived his ears adorned with pendants of great beauty and richness. This was a return for their perfidy, which the two brothers did not expect. Full of gratitude and admiration, they promised to fulfil with punctuality every particular that was enjoined. They went to the hill, now called *Guanare*, there raised altars to *Ayarache*, were favoured with another visit from him, and told to bind their temples with that garland, which the incas ever after wore as a mark of regal dignity. Reasons are given in this absurd fable, why *Airamanco* was chosen inca in preference to his brother *Aranca*, for he was vested by *Ayarache* with the imperial mantle. The ceremony

of coronation was performed by the *Orejones*, a species of magicians, who were suffered to inhabit the country; and for this reason they were rendered capable of succeeding to the regal dignity. Crowds of people flocked from all quarters to behold this spectacle, bringing presents of gold to immense value, out of which was formed the great chain of *Cuzco*, weighing, according to report, above four hundred thousand weight. The natives, says *Herrera*, added, that after this ceremony *Ayarache* and *Aranca* were converted into stones, resembling the human figure, and that *Airamanco*, with the women, went to lay the foundation of *Cuzco*, taking the name of *Manco Capac*, signifying rich lord, or king. Decad. iii, l. 9, c. 1.

that

that adultery should be capital, as well as murder, rapine, and robbery. For this purpose, it was necessary that marriage should be instituted, and every man enjoined to take only one wife. This was laying equal restraints upon both sexes, which the inca thought would be a means to induce the women to bear the restriction without repining. To prevent confusion in the lineage, it was besides recommended, that the people should confine themselves in their marriages to certain tribes, which, in our opinion, was the most impolitic ordonnance of this legislator, as it laid the foundation for separate interests, and divided the whole body of the people into casts and clans, each of whom afterwards struggled for independency. At twenty the men were supposed by the law to be marriageable, and capable not only of propagating the species, but of managing their families with prudence, and supporting the necessary labour; the women were allowed to marry earlier, for reasons deduc'd from the nature of their constitutions, and the station allotted them in civil society. Over each of these tribes or colonies he appointed a chief or curaca, who governed the people as the inca's lieutenants, being responsible to him for their conduct. These persons were chosen for their merit solely, without regard to any other distinction; for when any of the people were observed to be more religiously scrupulous in their devotion to the gods, more regardful of justice, more obliging to their equals, more obedient to their superiors, and affable to all, they were promoted to governments, to instruct the more ignorant *Indians*. Until the fruits of their industry could be reaped, the people were supplied with provision out of large magazines, formed by the prudence of *Manco Capac*, who omitted nothing that became a great legislator.

SENSIBLE that just notions of religion contributed powerfully to refine the manners, he bestowed great pains on this article, and diligently prescribed the rites and ceremonies of the *Peruvian* idolatry. A stately temple to the sun was erected, and beautified with all the ornaments that could excite awe and veneration in the human soul towards the object of worship. *Manco Capac* taught his subjects to behold this luminary as the fountain of light, the cause of vegetation, and the author of all those blessings reaped by the husbandman; and natural reason demonstrated, that it was incumbent on them to acknowledge these benefits by a due portion of gratitude. A cloister for a certain number of select virgins was also built and dedicated to the sun, into which none were to be admitted but young ladies of the royal family.

NOTWITHSTANDING these ordonnances were received with gratitude by the people, and obeyed with reverence, yet *Manco Capac* thought it necessary to impress the minds of his subjects with the most profound respect for the regal dignity, by annexing certain titles and ornaments denied to other degrees. For this purpose, he ordered that, after his example, all the males of his family should have their heads shaved, wearing only one lock of hair; to which they submitted, although the operation was performed with great pain and difficulty, the *Indians* having no better instruments than sharp flints to cut the hair. Upon this, *de la Vega* observes, "That had the *Spaniards* introduced no other arts among the natives than the use of scissars, looking-glasses, and combs, they had deserved all the gold and silver their country produced." Another mark of distinction peculiar to the royal family, was to have their ears pierced, which operation was performed with a thorn, the orifice being afterwards stretched to such a degree, as to admit the frame of a small pelley, to which the large pendants were suspended. In process of time, the inca, willing to enlarge the privilege of the people, suffered them to enjoy this extraordinary mark of his favour in common with the royal family. The last distinction by which *Manco Capac* proposed to secure a degree of veneration to the royal blood, and particularly to the inca, consisted in his wearing a wreath of various colours, wrapped four or five times round his head in the manner of a turban. This royal fillet was called *Llauta*, and for some time the three distinctions were rigidly observed, although they afterwards were allowed to the people with a few discriminating circumstances. For instance, they were permitted to wear the *Llauta*; but it was always to be black: their ears were pierced, but neither the orifice nor the pendants, were so large as those of the blood royal. At last the people came to be indulged so far, that they shaved their crowns, but wore a larger lock of hair than their princes. One would imagine the people would have no great solicitude about privileges so painful and troublesome; yet certain it is, the multitude will submit, and even court the most absurd and irksome marks of honour, or whatever tends to raise them upon a level with their superiors, or elevate them above their equals.

To discriminate the different tribes and nations, and keep up the necessary subordination and regulation of society, the inca appropriated certain marks to each, by which they were immediately known from any other. The nation called *Mayca*, were ordered to wear a straw wreath of the thickness of the finger. The tribe called *Roques*, was distinguished by a lock of white wool suspended: other tribes had ear-rings of the

the common reed; some wore pendants of a different work and structure; a few had pendants of reed twisted round the ear; and all had their particular marks, by which the tribe to which they belonged was immediately known. Nor were these distinctions founded upon whim and caprice, but upon reason and a strict regard to the order of society, as it enabled the magistrates to trace the author of any crime more easily, and oblige the tribe, to which the culprit belonged, to punish the breach of law, and redress the injured.

SUCH were the institutions established by *Mamco Capac*, the legislator and civilizer of those rude savages, and received with thankfulness and applause by the grateful *Peruvians*. Transported with the plenty they enjoyed, they ascribed every thing to the bounty of the inca, who had transformed them from brasts to men, instructed them in the arts conducive to the happiness of human life; taught them their natural laws, which promoted morality, and proved the cement of society, and infused into their minds that knowledge and veneration for the sun, the source of light and heat, and the dispenser of every good, by his instrument the inca, whom they considered as a second cause, acting immediately under the direction of the first great author. After a long and happy reign of between thirty and forty years, *Manco Capac*, finding nature declining, and the torch of life almost extinguished, assembled his family, which was very numerous, and his chief subjects, at the city of *Cuzco*, and in a long and studied harangue, which he called his last will and testament, recommended to his son and heir, a true love and affection to his subjects; and to the people, loyalty, zeal, and obedience to their sovereign and the laws. This was one of the precepts which he alleged was particularly enjoined him by his father the *Sun*, whenever he was removed from his subjects. In private, he admonished his children to remember, in all their actions, that they were descended from the sun, and to do nothing unworthy of their divine origin, to adore this glorious luminary with the veneration becoming children, who owe every blessing to the author of their being, to obey his laws and precepts, that so their subjects, in imitation of their conduct, might the more readily be induced to worship the deity. He advised them to allure the *Indians* with acts of piety, lenity, and clemency, as the surest bond of their fidelity, assuring them, that those monarchs who founded their power upon the dread of their subjects, were neither happy nor really respectable. He finally told them, that as he was now about to take his flight to heaven, to repose himself in the arms of his father the *Sun*, he hoped they would live in peace
and

and unity together; and that he beholding their conduct from the mansions above, would succour and comfort them in all extremities, if their behaviour merited his favour. With these words his spirit separated from his body: his afflicted subjects lamented his death, as if they beheld the end of all their enjoyment; they piously celebrated his funeral rites for several months, and took care that his body should be embalmed, that they might not lose sight of so dear and precious an object. Upon the whole, *Manco Capac* appears to have been a prince of so elevated a genius, that we are not surprized at the divine origin assigned to him by the *Indians*, nor astonished with the superstitious veneration paid to the memory and posterity of a monarch, who had loaded them with the most substantial favours, and reduced them from a state of wild and barbarous anarchy to a regular government, and knowledge of the duties of humanity.

Sinchi Roca, second inca. THE inca was succeeded in all his power and authority by the prince *Sinchi Roca*, the eldest born by his queen and sister *Coya Mama*, agreeable to the rule of succession established by *Manco Capac*, and approved by his people. *Sinchi Roca* was no sooner possessed of the imperial wreath, than, in imitation of his father, he married his sister, the princess *Mama Oello*, or *Mama Cora*, in order to preserve the inheritance in the pure channel of royal blood, both on the paternal and maternal side. In all other degrees of the people, such a connection was prohibited, it being made penal by the laws to marry a relation within a certain degree of consanguinity; but the prince had an exclusive privilege from his great parent the *Sun*, as was wonderfully beloved by the *Peruvians*. Society being now firmly established, it was no difficult matter to improve upon the institutions which *Manco Capac* was obliged to adapt to those untutored barbarians, for whom he laid his plan of legislation. It was in his reign, if we may judge by the order observed in his history by *de la Vega*, that the *Peruvian* empire was divided into four quarters, called *Tawantinsuyo*, representing the four quarters of the heavens, east, west, north, and south, of which the city *Cuzco* was made the centre. It was also ordained that these greater divisions should be parcelled out into lesser districts, the inhabitants of which should be registered and classed in decurions or tithings; over each of which a superior or decurion was to preside. Thus ten families constituted the minutest division of the people; five of these, or fifty families, composed a higher class, over which was a proper magistrate, and two of the last class formed a third order, called a hundred. In this manner the number encreased to the division of a thousand families, which

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was the greatest class; every decurion of the smallest division being obliged to provide that no family within his jurisdiction wanted the necessaries of life, or the means of industry. He was to distribute corn for sowing, wool for manufacturing, and materials for building. The care of the sick and infirm was entrusted to him: he was to be the censor of their moral conduct, and to report to his superiors any crimes or misdemeanors of which they were guilty, leaving to them the punishment of greater offences, and claiming to themselves the power of reforming and correcting those of a more trivial nature. This inferior decurion had likewise the power of deciding all petty differences, so as to prevent litigation and troublesome processes. He was, in short, a kind of subordinate magistrate of the peace and order of society, who, in all cases of any moment, had recourse to the judgment of his superiors. The people too under his authority were allowed to appeal to a superior tribunal, where they suspected themselves aggrieved by his decision; or, in case the decurion was found culpable, he was either turned out, or otherways punished, according to the nature of the crime. Where differences arose between two provinces, these were decided by commissioners appointed by the inca himself, the matter being judged of too great moment to be referred to the decision of an individual, who would besides necessarily incur the displeasure of the nonsuited party (C).

OFFICERS of superior rank were subject to punishment, if they perverted the laws in the same manner as the private decurions. There was a censor-general to inspect the conduct of all public officers and ministers of state, who made his report to the inca himself; and condemned, without the hopes of obtaining a reprieve, all those who were guilty of oppression and rapine, to the most ignominious death. The conduct of parents and masters of families was strictly observed: it was deemed a point of the last importance to the state that children should be kept to a modest and decent behaviour. Not only the parents, but the decurions, were made responsible for their miscarriages; and perhaps no modern nation, the *Chinese* excepted, ever took more pains to lay the necessary restraint on the passions of youth, to inculcate submission and obedience to parents and the laws, and

(C) It serves to illustrate the intention of the political division of the state, and the office of the decurion, that the *Peruvian* word *chunca cunayci* corre-

ponds exactly with the *Latin* meaning of *decurion*, viz. *decan* and *curo*, or an officer, who extends his care to ten families. *La Vega*, l. 2. c. 5.

humility and respect to their superiors. Hence, it was that the *Peruvians*, even in the infancy of their government, were of a gentle and tractable temper, great preservers of order, and particularly averse to every kind of indecorum.

EVERY family being thus exactly registered in the first class, each lower class minutely ascertained in the second order, and that again exactly corresponding with the third division, it was easy for the decurions and public officers to intimate to the ministry such alterations as arose in their jurisdictions by deaths, births, marriages, or removals; so that the incas were always perfectly acquainted with the state of their provinces, the numbers of their subjects, and the forces and revenues proper to be required of them upon all occasions. They were punctually informed of all calamities that befel them, whether from floods, fires, unkind seasons, or pestilence, and the revenues were immediately supplied by the government in proportion to their losses, either by a remission of taxes, or an actual loan. The *Spanish* writers themselves acknowledge, that the incas might be justly stiled, "Fathers and guardians of their people, and lovers of the poor;" favours which were so gratefully returned by the *Peruvians*, that they obeyed the laws and their incas with such reverence, as rendered it common to see no more than a single execution in the space of a year within the limits of this vast empire, which extended above a thousand leagues, if we may credit the royal historian *La Vega*.

In war the generals and captains assumed the same power over the soldiers allowed to the decurions in peace. Exact registers were kept of the births and burials in every corps, and the utmost care was taken to prevent the soldiers from despoiling or plundering those towns or provinces they conquered, which were immediately admitted to a participation of all the blessings of the *Peruvian* government, if the incas could place any dependence in their fidelity. Of these matters the inferior officers gave an account every month to their superiors, who transmitted their report to the court in knots of different colours, the knots being a kind of arithmetic used by the *Peruvians*, which we shall have occasion to describe more particularly, mentioning it in this place only to shew that it was introduced as early as the reign of *Sinchi Roca*. To these regulations and ordonnances we must add, that this inca passed a law forbidding crimes to be atoned by pecuniary mulcts; nothing was deemed a satisfactory expiation besides the extirpation of the evil; every other remedy affording the opulent a liberty to transgress. If a curaca, great lord, or governor, rebelled, and thereby forfeited his life, his

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estate nevertheless descended to his children; but with due admonition, that he should beware to avoid that rock upon which his father was shipwrecked; it being deemed highly iniquitous to punish the innocent children for the crimes of the guilty parent. In the same manner, if a governor or officer was deposed from an employment hereditary in his family, the next heir succeeded; a rule which was likewise adopted in the army, with some restrictions, which left the inca sufficient room to distinguish and reward merit. Judges had no power to relax in the severity of the law any more than to encrease its rigour; and though it may appear barbarous, that in the class of trespasses against society, which come under the denomination of crimes, there should be no distinction, and all were deemed equally capital; yet, considering the benefit deduced to the public, the rule can neither be regarded as unjust nor irrational.

THE *Spanish* writers affirm, that the inca was superior to the laws, because there could be no scrutiny into his conduct; a mistake which *Garcilasso* corrects, by demonstrating, that the sovereign, as well as the subject, was bound down to observe certain fundamental maxims of the constitution; and that, in case of failure, he could be deposed and degraded, and even punished as an *auca*, or traitor. He ascribes their seldom incurring the penalty of the laws to the veneration in which they were held by the people, who looked upon them as the children of a god, and therefore incapable of doing wrong; and likewise to the want of those temptations which private persons had to offend. Their ambition and appetites were gratified to the utmost stretch of imagination; neither lust nor avarice could well seduce them into actions deemed criminal in subjects, because both passions were fully satiated. Crimes against the state were the only ones punishable in the incas, as they were supposed to have no opportunity of committing those of a private nature; and we shall see in the course of the history, that a monarch was deposed for cowardice or negligence.

THE royal historian, having specified the constitutional alterations made in the reign of *Sinchi Roca*, proceeds then to give us a view of the other transactions of a prince, who derived his name from his extraordinary wisdom and valour, *Sinchi*, signifying *wise*, and *Roca*, *valiant*. No sooner were the funeral obsequies of the late inca solemnized with becoming magnificence, than the young prince had the regal fillet of various colours bound round his temples, which answered all the purposes of a coronation, and was performed with great pomp and solemnity. When he found himself esta-

blished on the throne, he assembled the principal curacas and officers assigned him by his father, and declared his intention of enlarging the boundaries of the empire, and shewing himself worthy of the supreme dignity; to make an expedition in person, and summon the several nations to the southward to acknowledge his sovereignty, adore the sun, and receive the laws and constitutions of his father *Manco Capac*. *Sinchi Roca* pretended, that his main design was to bring those people to a knowledge of the deity, and reduce them from their brutish lives, to a more civilized form and regular society; but the real intention was, the great desire he had to signalize his valour. It was no difficult matter to gain the consent of his council: the curacas unanimously declared their approbation of the inca's proposal, and readiness to attend him where ever he thought proper. Accordingly he began his march at the head of a numerous army, employing heralds to proclaim before him the design of the expedition. There was little occasion for force; the savage *Indians* observing the order, cloathing, and happiness of the inca's soldiers, easily believed what they were told, that he was a descendant from the sun, and of consequence made no resistance. In this manner he subdued, by dint of persuasion and example, a great variety of nations beyond *Chanarra*, and then returned to *Cuzco*, to spend the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity. Every year added new provinces to his dominions, but without bloodshed. *Sinchi Roca* preferred a conquest over the mind to one over the body, and he succeeded to admiration. It is probable, however, that the inca's formidable army added weight to his arguments, and induced the *Indians* to resign their liberties; for it is seldom that we see men so little prejudiced to ancient customs, however absurd, as immediately to relinquish them on conviction, or to change their manner of living and religion for a better, without some degree of violence. After a long and happy reign, in which nothing memorable occurred, besides the laws he passed, and the provinces he reduced, *Sinchi Roca*, in imitation of his father, declared his intention to repose himself with his great parent the *Sun*; and dying soon after, was succeeded by his legitimate son *Lloque Yupanqui*, then a prince of a promising genius. This monarch left a very numerous issue besides, by his wives and concubines, all of whom were deemed capable of succeeding to the throne, because they were descended from the blood of the incas by the mothers, especially the children of *Cuziques*, and royal princes; but the greatest regard was shown to the right of primogeniture, and the issue

of the favourite women, who were usually called queens, or empresses, by way of preeminence.

THE inca *Lloque Yupanqui*, so called from his being left-handed, and the sovereign of Peru, was less pacific than his predecessor (C). After taking an exact survey of his dominions, and examining minutely into his finances, he resolved to extend his frontier, agreeable to the established practice on the accession of a new sovereign. Instead of arguments and gentle treatment, by which means his father made such large acquisitions, *Lloque* had recourse to arms, commencing immediate hostilities with all those nations who hesitated about submitting to his authority. They were first summoned, and treated with all the rigour of war, unless they yielded instant obedience; whence it happened that *Lloque* was less beloved, but more dreaded, than his father, in all the provinces. At the head of a considerable army, he entered the country called *Cana*, and dispatched messengers to the natives, requiring them to quit their savage lives, form regular societies, and submit to the government established by the children of the *Sun*, and accept of this luminary for their deity. The affrighted people promised all that was demanded, but desired a little time to inform themselves of the particulars required; and after they were instructed in the policy of the *Peruvians*, and the laws of the incas, they readily confessed the superiority of government over a savage life, and were accordingly received as partners in all the blessings of a civilized, regular community. Leaving proper persons at *Cana*, to instruct the inhabitants in agriculture, and other arts, the inca proceeded to the conquest of another province, called *Ayuri*, the inhabitants of which were fierce, warlike, and obstinate, insensible to precept and example, and therefore to be reduced to obedience only by dint of arms. They persisted in the resolution of perishing in defence of their liberty, and occasioned more trouble to the inca, than ever his predecessors had experienced in all their conquests. A battle was fought, with such fury and perseverance, that notwithstanding the field was covered with the slain, neither side would yield the victory, both retreating to places of security, where they fortified themselves against any sudden attack, and prepared to resume hostilities. From the account *Garcilasso* gives of this people, they appear to have had some idea of

(C) We are informed by *la Vega*, that *Yupanqui* is a *Peruvian* word, expressive of the union of virtues, which were sup-

posed to reside in the monarch; and that it was deemed sacrilege in any other to assume this title. L. 2. c. 8.

the art of war, although he describes them as utter strangers to political subordination. They sallied out of their fortresses upon the enemy, and drew the inca's forces, against their inclination, into a variety of sharp skirmishes. Perceiving the reluctance the *Peruvians* expressed to quit their intrenchments, the barbarians ascribed their caution to pusillanimity, became bolder, fell upon the inca with all their forces, penetrated quite to the royal camp, and were repulsed with so much difficulty, that *Loque*, seeing no chance of subduing them without a powerful army, sent immediately back for a strong reinforcement. Dreading the shame, as well as the consequences, of being baffled in his attempt, which might encourage other nations to throw off their allegiance, he assembled all his forces, gave battle to the enemy, and after a very obstinate contest, in which great numbers were killed on both sides, obtained so complete a victory, that the barbarians never afterwards presumed to appear in a body, although they still endeavoured to avoid subjection by skulking in woods, caverns, and mountains. The inca, unwilling to extirpate them by the sword, endeavoured to subdue their obstinacy by famine. He cooped them up with his army in the deserts so closely for several months, that after they were quite exhausted and emaciated, the barbarians at length confessed his power, acknowledged his sovereignty, and promised fealty and obedience, by which means they appeased his wrath, and broke that storm of vengeance which threatened their contumacy. This conquest was followed by the reduction of *Pucara*, in which country *Loque* built several fortresses, and then returned in triumph to *Cuzco*, leaving garrisons, governors, and instructors, in the conquered provinces.

ON his return to his capital, the inca devoted his time to the pacific arts, and the good government of his empire. He framed laws, and made new regulations suitable to the occasions, introduced by the growth of luxury and refinement in living; but as his genius was turned to war and the field, he could not long remain inactive; and accordingly *Lloque* returned again to the frontiers of his conquests, to make farther progress in reducing the *Indians*, and extending his dominions. The barbarians of *Ayuri*, had alone presumed to dispute his commands; all the other nations paying the most profound obedience to whatever was required by the sacred offspring of the *Sun*. However, to give still more weight to his authority, *Lloque* gave orders to have nine thousand men immediately raised, with which body he marched into the districts of *Poneac Colla* and *Hatun Colla*. Ambassadors were sent before him to require the voluntary submission of the

people, and remind them of the misfortunes consequent on the contumacy of the *Ayuri*. The inhabitants of *Colla* gave ear to the remonstrances of the ambassadors, assembled their chiefs, and concluded in a general assembly, that the plagues and mischiefs which had befallen other provinces, were punishments sent by heaven for the sin of resisting the children of the Almighty; therefore they unanimously declared themselves the subjects and vassals of the inca, worshippers of the *Sun*, and implicit observers of whatever laws he should think fit to prescribe. After this resolution they went out to meet the inca, and received him with songs, musick, and acclamations, which secured the royal favour, obtained a number of valuable grants, and induced the inca to build a great number of temples in their country. This was a powerful accession to the *Peruvian* monarchy. The *Colla* consisted of various nations, who derived their origin from the great lake *Titicaca*, which they called their mother, and honoured with yearly sacrifices. Some deduced their pedigrees from a great fountain, and others from certain wild men who issued from caves, to which they likewise offered sacrifices. There were some who affirmed, that they originally sprung from a certain river, the fish of which they deemed sacred; but the general deity acknowledged by all was a white ram, which they worshipped with offerings of tallow, and sacrifices of lambs. In the room of these deities, the inca established the sun as the supreme god, in whose presence all others vanished, and were annihilated. He also established several civil regulations, and particularly reformed the licentiousness of unmarried females, who acquired reputation by living in a continual state of prostitution before marriage, though they were obliged to strict fidelity to the nuptial bed.

HAVING laid these principles of government and religion, the inca returned, loaded with glory, to *Cuzco*, checking for the present his lust of conquest, and indulging a more rational policy, that of giving his new subjects leisure to taste the sweets and blessings of his government, and report their felicity to the neighbouring nations, the more easily to induce them to embrace the same advantages. He was received at *Cuzco* with all possible demonstrations of triumph and rejoicing, where having resided for some years in promoting the common good and benefit of his people, he once more suffered his warlike humour to recur upon him, and resolved to visit the confines of his empire, not only with a view to fresh conquests, but to afford his new subjects the satisfaction of beholding their monarch, and rectify the corruption and negligence of his ministers by his own presence. For this expedi-

tion, an army of ten thousand men was raised, at the head of which *Lloque* entered the province of *Chucuytu*, first summoning the people to submission by ambassadors. There was no occasion for violence; the people were sensible and moderate; they perceived the advantages that would result from their obedience, and willingly resigned themselves to the disposal of the monarch, under whose shadow and protection they flattered themselves with all possible happiness and security. They were so graciously received, and loaded with so many favours, that the report of their felicity induced all the nations, as far as where the lake *Titicaca* discharges itself, to follow their example. All were graciously received, and taught the arts necessary to the conveniencies of life; after which the inca disbanded his army, except a few companies for the safety of his person, and the preservation of his royal dignity. He directed in person the establishment of laws, and administration of justice; which being regarded as the highest favour to the chief provinces, proved afterwards of the greatest benefit to the royal authority. He now learned by experience that persuasion, and the exercise of the beneficent virtues, was a more ready method to conquest, than the force of arms; and he accordingly strove to allure strangers to place themselves under his protection, by works of piety and humanity. His excellencies were proclaimed over the land; he was every where celebrated as the father of his people, and received as the true offspring of that benevolent luminary the *Sun*, which shines, without discrimination, upon all degrees of mankind, cherishes, animates, and invigorates, every part of nature. His fame extended quite to the *Andes*, and soon after all the nations, dispersed over that vast tract of country, acknowledged his authority without resistance; although, for the greater certainty, an army of ten thousand men was detached to those mountains, under the conduct of the inca's five brothers, who were strictly enjoined not to use violence, but in cases of extreme necessity. The report of the miracles wrought by the descendant of the *Sun*, in changing the very nature of men, gained implicit credit with this credulous simple people, and easily engaged them to own submission to so extraordinary a monarch. Three years were consumed in civilizing this people; for they were of so dull and stupid a nature, says *Garcilasso*^b, that they could not comprehend those easy rudiments of the arts laid before them, without great pains and labour. When they had made a competent progress, governors were appointed to

^b GARCILASSO, lib. ii. c. 10.

administer justice in the inca's name, and soldiers left to protect and defend them against the insults of barbarous neighbours.

MEAN time *Lloque* was employed in visiting other provinces, where he encouraged the industry of the people, improved the arts, cultivated the lands, raised public edifices, made aqueducts, roads, and bridges, to facilitate the communication between the different provinces. Judging now that his dominions were sufficiently extensive to be governed with justice under the eye of the sovereign, he returned to *Cuzco* to pass the remainder of his life in peace and tranquility. Here he employed himself wholly in acts of justice and beneficence towards his subjects; and that the remoter provinces might not suffer by his residence at the capital, he sent *Mayta Capac*, his eldest son and heir, upon a progress over all his dominions, attended by wise and experienced men, not only to see justice duly administered, but to attach the affections of the people to the successor, and accustom him to public business and the government of a kingdom. Perceiving at last that old-age and disease impaired his faculties, that he was no longer qualified to reign and govern with his usual vigour, and that death was approaching with hasty strides, he assembled his children, brothers, relations, and chief dependants; and, by way of testamentary donation, recommended to them the strictest regard to those laws and ordinances which his ancestors had prescribed, the tenderest affection for his subjects, the most scrupulous observance of justice and equity, the encouragement of industry and the arts, and an especial care of the morals of the people, upon which depended the security of the monarch, and the happiness of the subjects. Lastly, he charged the *Curacas*, lieutenants, and governors of provinces, to patronize and relieve the poor, to be obedient and faithful to their sovereign, and to live in unity with each other, while he was gone to repose himself in the celestial mansions, and receive from his great Parent the rewards of his labour, to promote the good of his people, and execute his commission. Not long after *Lloque Yupanqui* died with the reputation of the greatest captain and statesman who had yet filled the *Peruvian* throne, admired equally for the qualities of his head and heart.

MAYTA CAPAC, the successor to his father's crown and *Mayta* dominions, having religiously performed the obsequies of the *Capac*, deceased monarch, set out upon a progress through his several provinces, in order to examine into the conduct of his ministers, correct all abuses of authority, and supercede those magistrates who, under the shade of royal favour, presumed to oppress

oppress the people. He had made this circuit in his father's life-time; but being then in his minority, and under the tuition of his parents and counsellors, he had no opportunity of displaying his natural virtues in so conspicuous a light as now when he possessed absolute power. He, besides, resolved to pursue all the maxims of the wisest of his forefathers; and as this custom of making an expedition in every new reign had always been attended with happy effects, the young inca determined to maintain a practice founded upon the soundest policy. In the course of his progress he exhibited such manifest testimonies of liberality, courage, and a generous disposition, to his *Curacas*, and subjects of an inferior degree, that all were astonished at the maturity of his genius, his early proofs of wisdom and ability, and that extraordinary assemblage of virtues which shone with uncommon lustre in the youthful monarch. Having fully accomplished the design of this visitation, he entered upon an expedition calculated purely to enlarge his dominions, covering his ambition under the pretext of reforming and civilizing barbarous nations. With this view he raised an army of 12,000 men, under the command of four experienced generals; and, putting himself at the head of this body, marched into the province of *Callao*, where the great lake *Titicaca* discharges itself. The inhabitants of this country were docile, simple, and ingenuous; the conquest was therefore the more desirable, and the inca set about it with the greater earnestness. Coming to the stream that issues from the extremity of the lake, he passed over his army on floats contrived with great dexterity, and then summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and yield obedience to his government. The terror inspired by his army and his own reputation easily induced the people to submit to orders which they were in no condition to dispute, and the inca eternized this event as the first conquest of his reign, by raising a kind of artificial mount, so high, that, were it not founded upon stones regularly laid, it might pass for a natural mountain covered with wood (E). After this the inca proceeded to the reduction of the province of *Huacacacha*, a district on the opposite

(E) There are, besides, in this province a variety of other stupendous monuments of labour and ingenuity, which we think it probable owe their origin to the inca *Mayta Capac* I. conqueror of the country, although the natives alledge they

existed many ages before his birth. Among other works, is to be seen a wall built with stones laid upon each other, of such prodigious size as astonish all beholders, and convey a favourable opinion of the invention, industry, and contrivance

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opposite side of the river, using no other means to bring the inhabitants into subjection than those of persuasion, doctrine, and instruction in the cultivation of the soil, and the arts of living in political society. Hence the inca marched to the country called *Cacyaviri*, in which the inhabitants lived in large, separate, independant villages, without any other government than the paternal right which every man claimed over his own family. Upon advice of his approach, the people assembled upon the top of a sacred hill, which they worshipped as a god, intending to dispute his entrance into the country. Here they fortified themselves with a turf wall, and laid in a great stock of provision, men, women, and children, working with all possible diligence at a fortification upon which they rested the security of their liberty. When the inca sent them a summons, declaring it was not his design to take away their lives or liberty, but to make them acquainted with arts useful to their convenience and happiness, they rejected his proposals with disdain; upon which *Mayta Capac* formed his army in four divisions, and laid siege to the hill, trying to subdue the barbarians by famine. The *Callaons* defended themselves vigorously, made frequent sallies, and observing that the inca declined engaging, they ascribed his conduct to fear, rushed without discretion or order upon his sword, and after perishing in great numbers, gave away that victory with rashness, which the inca could not obtain by valour. According to the tradition of the country, the gods fought visibly against the barbarians, all the stones and weapons they threw recoiling upon themselves with double strength, which so terrified and astonished them, that they immediately submitted to the pleasure of the conqueror, marching out in more order than they had fought, to implore his mercy and forgiveness. This procession was extremely solemn. First the children marched out of the intrenchments, next followed the mothers, then the old men, while the captains and soldiers led up the rear, having their hands bound, and halters round their necks, intimating how much they deserved death for having disputed the will of the offspring of the *Sun*. When they came into the inca's presence, all prostrated themselves at his feet, and licked the ground with the deepest humiliation and contrition, saluting him with the title of *Son of Phœbus and Representative of the great God*. The

of those barbarians. There are, besides, divers stupendous buildings, with porches of great magnificence heven out of single stones. Some of these doors measured thirty feet in height and fifteen in breadth. Vide *Garcilasso*, l. 3. c. 2.

Curacas then approached the monarch, and, after a short apologetical speech, besought him, with great earnestness, that, if it was his pleasure death should be the punishment of their crimes, he would accept of their lives as an atonement for the transgressions of the multitude; a circumstance which, although confirmed by *Garcilasso*, appears inconsistent with the barbarity of the people, who lived free and independent, without any kind of civil polity, or notion of subordination. The generous inca was affected with their supplications: he ordered them to be instantly unbound, granted them not only their lives, but also what they prized much higher, their freedom; and assured them, in the most soothing expressions, that the sole object of his expedition was to teach and instruct them in divers arts conducive to their happiness. He then entered upon a kind of treaty with the *Curacas*, obliging them, in the name of the people, to pay him homage on the left knee, by which they for ever acknowledged their subjection. To engage their affections the more strongly, they were suffered to touch his sacred person, an honour never before granted to any under the degree of royal blood. Having thus established certain laws and regulations suitable to the disposition of the people, and appointed officers and magistrates to administer justice and govern the province, he made his triumphal entry into *Cuzco* amidst the loud acclamations of his joyful people.

AFTER reposeing himself for some time, the inca resumed his warlike schemes, and sent an army, under four celebrated commanders, towards the western parts, with injunctions to proceed towards the coast of the sea of *Zur*, and try, by all possible means of persuasion, to bring the inhabitants to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Peru*; and if they found them obstinate and refractory, to exert force, and subdue them by open war. With these instructions, and great supplies of provision, the generals passed the snowy mountains; and travelling, for the space of thirty leagues, over a desert country, arrived at length in the territories of the province of *Chucuna*, which they found well inhabited. Alarmed at the approach of an army, the natives built a fort, and retired into it with all their wives and children. The inca's generals summoned them to surrender, and on their refusal formed a regular blockade, with design to compel them by famine, and without the effusion of human blood, which produced the effect. Hunger obliged the fathers to detach their children in quest of provision; and they no sooner sallied out of the fort, than they were made prisoners, and so kindly treated, that now, conceiving

ceiving a better opinion of the enemy, all the besieged submitted themselves to the inca, and willingly received the religion and laws which his generals thought fit to prescribe. When the inca was informed of the conquest and the fidelity of the country, he settled two colonies in it; erected a fortress, which he garrisoned strongly, for the defence of the conquest; abolished, by severe laws, the abominable practice of poisoning, in which the natives of the country were extremely expert. The punishment was, that the criminals should be burned alive, with all their effects; and so eagerly was this law received by the natives themselves, who severely felt the inconveniences of a dreadful custom, which they could not prevent, that they gave immediate information to the inca of those who were guilty; and, by three or four examples, put an entire stop to an evil of the most dreadful consequences. The qualities of the subtle poisons which they used, are reported to be very extraordinary, and so well known to the adepts in this way, that they could produce what degree of effect they pleased, either in the mind or body. Some they covered over with leprosies, others with boils, phlegmons, and ulcers, while others were made stupid, foolish, or frantic, just as the malice of the prescriber dictated. Such, at least, is the account of the royal historian, the credibility of which we shall submit to the judgment of our readers.

SEVERAL years, subsequent to this expedition, were spent in peace and profound tranquillity at home and abroad, the inca bending all his thoughts to civil policy, and the good, rather than the grandeur of his people: however, the spark of ambition, which had been smothered by prudence, again broke out without any visible cause, and *Mayta Capac* set on foot another expedition with a view to encrease his dominions. Possibly he might have found, upon trial, that his abilities were equal to the government of a larger empire, or he thought it necessary to keep up a military spirit by exercising his troops in arms. With a body of forces he directed his march to the country of *Llaracassu*, the inhabitants of which submitted the moment he appeared, and acknowledged the inca for their lord and sovereign. The reputation of his arms being now spread to every quarter of the southern continent of *America*, other nations followed the example of the *Llaracassians*, and particularly the inhabitants of the province called *Sanco-van*, who acknowledged their subjection without attempting any resistance. After regulating the religion and government of these conquests, *Mayta Capac* passed into *Pacassu*, where he encountered no more opposition than in the other parts thro' which he had marched. "Every thing, says *Garcilasso*, fell down

down before him with such obedience and veneration, as was agreeable to one who derived his birth and descent from the *Sun*." But the scene was soon changed. On his way to *Hu-yachu*, the inca's passage over a little river was disputed by 14,000 barbarians of different nations, who joined by common consent to defend their privileges and natural liberty. *Mayta Capac*, unwilling to come to extremities, sent frequent messages to the enemy, offering them terms of peace and friendship, all which they haughtily rejected, because they were persuaded that fear had dictated this moderation. Still, however, the inca continued to make overtures, which so animated the courage of the barbarians, that they attacked his camp with great impetuosity, and penetrated almost to the royal standard before they could be repulsed. From the confusion with which this assault was made, *Mayta Capac* easily discovered his own superiority, and the facility with which he might overcome the enemy in battle; but he industriously declined bloodshed so long, that his soldiers began to murmur and entertain doubts of his courage. All cried out, that the insolence of the enemy was no longer tolerable, unless the inca intended to forfeit that reputation for valour which he had formerly acquired. The inca endeavoured to moderate the passions of his soldiers, by reminding them it had been the practice of his ancestors, and the command of his great parent the *Sun*, to save the lives and promote the happiness of the most savage nations; to have recourse to arms only in cases of extreme necessity; and to try the effects of patience and gentle usage, even though he should be insulted; neither to extirpate the ignorant inhabitants, under the pretext of rendering them happy. With these soothing speeches he for some time restrained the ardour of his troops, until the enemy one day pressed so hard, that he was persuaded by his captains of the necessity of giving battle. The army was accordingly drawn out; and both sides being eager to engage, the fight immediately raged with great impetuosity and fury. The enemy had liberty at stake, and the royal army the honour of their prince; both pressed on with the utmost intrepidity; the field flowed with blood; but the barbarians were at last defeated by their own courage, which was too fiery to obey the dictates of prudence, and the order required by discipline. They fell on in crowds with loud shouts, and rushed upon the enemies weapons without dread or reflection, thereby making the victory easy, when otherwise it would have been exceeding difficult and doubtful. Six thousand of the barbarians were slain, an equal number was wounded, and yet they quitted the field with a stern countenance, which threatened the inca with

with another assault, as soon as they had recovered the fatigue of this day's engagement; nor is it improbable they would have perished to a man before they would consent to yield the victory, had not the darkness of the night obliged them to retire. In the morning their ardour was abated; when they beheld the heaps of slain upon the field, and their own diminished numbers, their spirits began to droop, and they soon lost their former courage. The smart of the cold wounds, and the stiffness and rigidity consequent on the fatigue undergone the preceding day, disabled them from renewing the engagement, and they at last condescended to implore mercy, and throw themselves on the clemency of the inca. A few of the young men, indeed, proposed fighting their way through the *Peruvian* army, which had in the night taken possession of all the outlets from the field; but they were over-ruled by the more experienced generals, who concluded, that it would be rash and vain to try their strength, in their present situation, with an enemy to whom they were unequal when in full vigour and spirits. No sooner the resolution to submit was taken, than the vanquished barbarians marched in slow and solemn procession to the inca's camp, unarmed, unshod, and naked, the leaders having their hands bound, and the women attending with dreadful howlings, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair. They fell upon their knees before the inca, telling him, in the most piteous manner, that as their crime was past forgiveness, the only favour they expected was to suffer death from the swords of his soldiers, rather than to be exposed to ignominious punishments. Nothing could equal the joy they expressed on the inca's acquainting them, that he came not to destroy, but to relieve, comfort, and instruct the distressed and ignorant, to civilize their manners, and teach them the worship of the true God, and the arts of living with ease, convenience, and happiness; for which purpose he travelled from country to country, by order of the *Sun* his great parent; and took infinite labour and pains, without any other view than that of establishing a rational government among nations who now differed only from brutes in their erect form. He added, that notwithstanding their contumacy merited the severest chastisement, yet that he was willing to extend his clemency even to the most criminal among them, provided that henceforward they should reform their manners, and worship and obey the *Sun*, under whose laws and protection they might expect all the blessings of repose and prosperity. With this answer he directed that their leaders should be unbound, their wounded dressed, and all feasted with the best provision which the camp afforded; and then he dismissed them

them in the highest admiration of his generosity, justice, and mercy, fully determined to live in the utmost obedience and submission.

THE news of the bloody defeat of the people of *Colla* (for so those barbarians were called) diffused itself among all the neighbouring nations, and was every-where interpreted as a just judgment inflicted by the *Sun* on the refractory *Indians*, who had refused the beneficial conditions offered, and despised the proposals of the inca. This apprehension became so strong and general, that divers nations, who had taken up arms to oppose the progress of *Maita Capac*, and even formed their camp, now laid aside all thoughts of war, and resolved to put themselves under the protection of a prince equally renowned for his martial abilities and his piety and justice. They were accordingly received into favour, and vested with very considerable privileges; upon which they proclaimed, wherever they went, that the inca was the legitimate and undoubted offspring of the *Sun*. All the nations from *Huachu* to *Collamac* for the space of thirty leagues, and afterwards to the eastward quite to the snowy mountains of the *Andes*, submitted themselves, received colonies among them, and became faithful servants to the inca; who after having consumed three years in these expeditions, and greatly enlarged his frontier, returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, where he was joyfully received by his grateful and happy people.

MAYTA CAPAC's genius was active and lively: he looked upon the time passed in his capital as consumed in indolence; the reforming savage nations, and encreasing the power and grandeur of his subjects, he regarded as the employment alone worthy of a monarch. Full of these notions, a year had scarcely elapsed since his return, when he made preparations for a fresh expedition, the difficulty of which he hoped would eternize his fame, and equal his reputation with that of the most illustrious of his predecessors. He now projected the reduction of those vast tracts of country to the westward of his capital, which were filled with warlike savage nations; and as he expected considerable resistance, he set on foot a numerous army, with which he resolved to cross the river *Apurimac*, the most arduous enterprize which had yet been attempted. How to form a bridge over this rapid and broad stream sufficiently strong to support the weight of numerous forces, puzzled the wits of the most ingenious *Indians* who were consulted upon the occasion; but the inca found resources in his own genius. He ordered large ropes to be made of slender tough osiers; and fixing one end, ordered the other to be carried to the opposite side by *Indians* expert

expert in swimming. To this he fixed large fagots of twisted osiers, and brush-wood to serve as a foundation to the bridge, upon which he laid beams, railed in at each side for the security of the passengers. In this manner it answered the intention of the inca; but as it came to be considered as a very extraordinary invention, it received improvements every year, and was regarded, in the days of *Garcilasso*, as one of the most ingenious monuments of antiquity, and of the untutored invention of the old *Peruvians*. Over this bridge detachments were immediately sent to frustrate any designs the enemy might have to destroy it; but so far was this precaution from being necessary, that the *Indians* stood astonished at the stupendous fabric, which they did not hesitate to ascribe to some powerful deity. No other argument was necessary to secure their obedience: it would have been the height of impiety to oppose those whom the gods favoured in so distinguished a manner. Only the people called *Villili* ventured to make any defence, and they too were soon conquered; for shutting themselves up, without the necessary provisions, in a fortress, they were surrounded, and in a few days reduced to such extremities, that they surrendered at discretion. It was in the province of *Contisuyu* that the inca built a causeway over some marshy lands, to render the march of his troops more convenient, and assist the industry and commerce of the natives with each other. So eagerly bent was he upon this work, that, to encourage his soldiers, he laboured with his own hands, helping to raise and lay the great stones which formed the foundation. *Garcilasso* alledges, that in his days the *Indians* held this causeway in the greatest veneration, not only upon account of its antiquity and convenience, but because it was considered as built in part by the sacred hands of the inca himself. For this reason, it was for ages kept in the best repair, not a stone decaying or sinking from it, but was replaced by the care and industry of the surveyors appointed on purpose.

It was over this new dyke that the inca marched to the country of *Allea*, where he encountered the natives in a difficult craggy pass: they imagined they should be able to defend themselves against all his forces; but the inca made his approaches so cautiously, that the enemy were dislodged, and forced to submit, without scarce any bloodshed. Hence he proceeded to the lake *Parihuana Cacha*, or the *Sea of Penguins*, the *Indian* giving the appellation of *Sea* to all great bodies of water; and from thence he went to the province of *Aram* as far as the valley of *Araqueba*, bringing all the different nations on the way under the dominion of the incas, and thereby

thereby greatly extending the boundaries of his empire; which particulars we mention to shew the gradual progress of this originally small state, to the pitch of grandeur and power in which the *Spaniards* beheld it on their first entering the country. He met with little obstruction in this rapid conquest, most of the barbarous nations delivering themselves up to his pleasure on the report of the miracles he had wrought and dangers he surmounted, and the divinity of his birth. He settled several colonies in the fruitful vale of *Arequaba*, before entirely unpeopled, established a regular form of government in all the different provinces, and taught the people by experience to consider their loss of liberty as the most happy incident that could befall them, since they only exchanged a barbarous freedom for a regular, well-conducted, and civilized state of society. Having appointed magistrates to preside over the execution of the laws, and enforce obedience to his orders, he returned to *Cuzco* amidst all the festivity and joy which a people, enamoured of their sovereign, could express. Immediately he rewarded all who had distinguished themselves, disbanded his army; and resigning all farther thoughts of military achievements, delivered himself up entirely to repose, and the peaceable enjoyment of the honour he had acquired by his activity and valour. Among the excellent civil institutions which he set on foot during this interval, were hospitals established for the support of the aged and infirm, which were afterwards enlarged by his successors, and endowed with many valuable privileges. This was the last act that is recorded of the inca *Moyta Capac*, who died in the thirtieth year of his reign full of honour and glory, acquired both in peace and war.

Capac
Yupan-
qui, 5th
inca.

It was a custom religiously observed by the incas not to assume the reins of authority before all due honours had been paid to the memory of the deceased sovereign, and his body was interred with the utmost solemnity. *Capac Yupanqui*, the eldest son of *Moyta Capac*, by his queen *Mama Caca*, shewed the usual regard to this practice, and deferred binding his temples with the imperial wreath, until the last obsequies were paid to his father. Then he took upon him all the rights of sovereign authority, and entered upon his government, by making a progress round his dominions, inquiring into the conduct of the magistrates, and the administration of justice among his subjects. In this circuit he spent two years, ordering, on his return to *Cuzco*, that troops should be levied for the succeeding year, the new inca proposing, agreeable to that ancient maxim of state observed by his ancestors, to give proofs of his valour in the beginning of his reign, and to en-
large

large his hereditary dominions by the reduction of those countries in *Centisuya*, lying eastward from *Cuzco*. To facilitate his design, he ordered another bridge to be laid over the river *Apurimac*, upon the model of that made by his father, but more difficult in the execution, because the stream was broader. However, this bridge, though incomparably more magnificent, was never held in the same estimation with the former; for this reason chiefly, that it wanted the novelty. Early in the season the inca passed this river at the head of 20,000 men, directing his march through the pleasant territory of *Yanatucaca*, which contained upwards of thirty different nations, all of whom came out to meet *Capac Yupanqui*, men and women, old and young, singing, dancing, and every other demonstrations of rejoicing. The principal people among them were called *Piti*, whose chiefs were so delighted with the favour shewn them by the inca, and certain presents they had given them, that they echoed his name over all the neighbouring countries, and easily prevailed on the inhabitants to follow their example, and submit to the government of the divine offspring of the *Sun*. From this province he passed into *Amayra*, where no less than eighty nations were assembled to oppose his design of establishing the dominion of the incas. They had fortified themselves in a kind of turf enclosure, in which they were blocked up so closely for a month by the royal army, that they surrendered at discretion, and received the inca for their sovereign. Some authors alledge, they stipulated with the inca as a condition of their obedience, his promising, on the word and faith of his divine origin, that he would conquer and subdue the neighbouring province of *Uncusyu*, inhabited by a warlike people that lived by rapine and robbery, their implacable enemies.

CAPAC UPANQUI, agreeable to the promise made to the conquered nations of *Amayra*, summoned the lords of *Uncusyu* to appear before him; for that, being appointed sovereign over all those countries by his great ancestor the *Sun*, he claimed it as his prerogative to judge and decide all differences among nations, bring them to the knowledge of the true god, and establish such modes of religious worship and government as he thought would prove most conducive to their happiness. To this message a haughty answer was returned; the barbarians assembled to deliberate upon the necessary measures, and unanimously agreed to acquaint the inca, that it was not their practice to pay the submissions he required, nor to receive laws from a prince of whom they knew nothing; that if he had business with them, he should find them in their own territories ready to receive him with arms in

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their hands. As to his boasting that he was descended from the *Sun*, it was a matter of no consequence at all to them, who did not hold the *Sun* in any particular reverence, having gods of their own, whose protection and goodness they had too often experienced to exchange them for any other. This they declared to be their final answer; and, if it proved displeasing, they desired the inca would resent it in the open field, like a brave and courageous foldier. When this answer was brought back, the inca held a council of his officers, in which the resolution was taken to surprize the enemy, and march into the heart of their country before they could have time to assemble, by which means they might be terrified into submission without bloodshed. Every thing succeeded to expectation; a detachment was made of eight thousand men, who marched with such celerity as entirely disconcerted the barbarians, astonished at finding an army in the midst of their country, when they doubted not but a month would elapse before the enemy could appear on the frontier. Incapable of resisting, they began to repent of the haughty answer made to the inca, and, after some formal deliberation, resolved to yield the same obedience as the neighbouring nations, and obtain an equal degree of royal clemency and favour, by the most inviolable fidelity and attachment. The *Curaus* prostrated themselves before the inca, expecting with dread the effects of his resentment; but he received them so graciously, that they soon laid aside their fears, and beheld him as their guardian angel. He told them, that, when he considered their barbarity and ignorance, he was not surprized at their refusal of a regular scheme of morals, religion, and politics; being well assured, that when they had once experienced the sweets of those arts which conduce to human happiness, they would bless the hour in which they were persuaded to embrace the *Peruvian* laws, manners, and form of social institution. To put an end to all disputes between them and their neighbours about the boundaries of their several jurisdictions, the inca ordered the frontier to be marked out by large stones, which he erected at certain distances; and so impartially did he pass judgment, that all parties rested perfectly satisfied with his decision. The *Curaus*, with profound humility, kissed his hands, and requested him to settle the government at his pleasure; and when he gave notice of his design to take up his residence for some weeks at *Chiriqui*, the nobility carried him in a chair of gold upon their shoulders in token of their servitude.

THIS was one of the most advantageous conquests hitherto made by the incas, as the country was not only rich in pasture

ture and cattle, but in mines of the precious metal; yet, instead of satiating his ambition, it served only to stimulate him to farther enterprizes. Some little time being employed in the administration of government, he judged it impolitic to suffer his soldiers to relax in military discipline by too long repose, and therefore ordered preparations to be made for another expedition early in the season of the ensuing year. The inca did not lead this enterprize, intended against the *Quechoas*, in person; but appointed his brother captain-general, and four princes of the blood, well experienced in the art of war, to assist his councils. An army of 25,000 men immediately took the field, entered the province of *Catopampa*, and struck such terror, that the inhabitants resolved, with one voice, to receive the inca for their sovereign. Assembling in great numbers, they presented themselves before the general, and one of the orators addressed him to the following purpose: "General, we heartily welcome thee, because thou art to give us a new being, and the honour of being servants to that great prince who derives his pedigree from the *Sun*. We adore thee as his brother and the commander of his armies, giving thee to understand, that your arrival only hath prevented us from throwing ourselves at the feet of our sovereign lord at *Cuzco*, to beseech him to receive us under his mighty protection. The fame of the marvellous actions he hath performed in peace and war, hath affected us with such wonder and love towards him, that every day appears an age to us, until we enjoy the privilege of becoming his subjects. Hereby we promise ourselves the happiness of being delivered from the tyranny and cruelty of our neighbours of *Chanca* and *Hancobualla*, who have grievously oppressed us since the days of our forefathers; so if you will receive us under the shadow of the inca's authority, our happiness will be complete, and our everlasting prayers shall attend all your desires, that they may be accomplished by thy great parent the *Sun*, whom henceforward we worship with the most profound devotion." To enforce their request, they made a valuable present in gold, to be offered to their sovereign the inca, as the voluntary tribute of dutiful subjects; were received into favour, and afterwards governed by laws similar to those established in the other provinces.

THE affairs of this country being properly settled, the general, *Aqui Titu*, led his army across the vast deserts of *Buallaripa*, famed for the great quantity of gold it produces; and having made the necessary observations, proceeded on his march along the plains bordering on the ocean to the fertile valley of *Huacari*, reducing all the inhabitants, without fight-

ing a single stroke, to the obedience of the inca. He found the natives immersed in barbarity, and greatly addicted to the most libidinous gratification of unnatural lust; an abominable practice, which he abolished by the most rigorous laws and exemplary punishments. It was ordained, that whoever should be convicted of sodomy should be burnt alive, with all his effects, and those who were even suspected of the crime, were subjected to very severe usage, whipped with thongs, and sometimes put to death, if the suspicion appeared well founded, although not proved.

THE general having thus executed his commission, returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, and was received by the inca with the favour which his eminent services deserved. He was now appointed regent of the empire, the inca having resolved to make another expedition in person, and his four generals were given him as counsellors. All things being now in readiness, *Capac Yupanqui* departed from *Cuzco*, and marched as far as the lake *Purua*, which was the utmost boundary of his father's conquests. His army consisted of twenty thousand chosen troops, besides recruits picked up in his march, which greatly augmented the number. So formidable a power could not fail to inspire respect; and accordingly all the nations around, for the space of twenty leagues, sent their deputies to do homage to the inca, and acknowledge his sovereignty. Among others came messengers from two powerful lords of *Collasuyu*, who had waged perpetual war against each other for many years. They contended for power and authority with the most implacable resentment; but the country being reduced to the most wretched condition by their animosity, it was mutually resolved to submit their differences to the inca, each of the parties beseeching to be admitted to his presence, and the honour of giving a minute relation of the injuries sustained from his adversary. Both protested, with the utmost solemnity, that they would strictly adhere to his determination, which they knew to be infallible, because he was the genuine offspring of that fountain of light, which pierces with its keen ray into the darkest secrets of the human breast. Their request was admitted, and the curacas desired to attend the inca whenever it suited their convenience. They came accordingly at the same time, both throwing themselves upon their knees, and at once kissing his hands, that neither might seem to have the preference. *Caru*, whose territories bordered the nearest upon the inca's, had the fortune to speak first; he gave a tedious account of the differences that subsisted, and the source from whence they arose, confessing honestly, that the quarrel was in-

inflamed by envy, emulation, and ambition: however, as there was some real cause for dispute about certain lands, he humbly hoped the inca would interpose, and by his just arbitration cut off all future occasion for wars, which had desolated the country, and reduced the people to wretchedness. When he had finished his discourse, the other curaca entered upon his address to the inca, and ingenuously acknowledged the truth of all that had been recited by his adversary; submitting with him the decision of their quarrel to the pleasure of his *Peruvian* majesty, who was highly delighted with these proofs of simplicity and frankness. The affair was submitted to his council, the lands in question were equally divided, the parties sworn to pay implicit obedience to this decision, and for ever to lay aside their animosities, and become faithful affectionate subjects to the inca. This last article was inserted in the treaty in consequence of a conference between the two chiefs; who agreed, that the *Peruvian* government was preferable to their own; and that acknowledging a sovereign superior to both, would be the most effectual method of restraining them within the boundaries assigned by their oath, suppressing any future cause of animosity, and cementing them in the strongest and most durable friendship.

THE affairs of these two chiefs being adjusted in this manner, the inca commanded two of his principal officers to make a survey of the country, and to appoint such magistrates as they believed best qualified to govern his new subjects with moderation and equity, to instruct them in the laws and religion of *Peru*, teach them the mechanical arts, and promote a spirit of industry and loyalty, that might conduce equally to the glory of the monarch and happiness of the people; after which he returned to *Cuzco*, and made his triumphal entry with unusual splendour and magnificence, justly esteeming that a more glorious acquisition to his people which was made by the reputation of his justice and humanity, than by the force and terror of his arms.

CAPAC TUPANQUI had not resided long at his capital when he perceived that his conquests were not yet complete, something, he imagined, being still wanting to the glory of his name, and the grandeur, convenience, and security of his empire. Experience had demonstrated the convenience of the bridges thrown over the *Apurimac*, and now determined him to render a passage less difficult to the country of *Collasuya*, where he proposed to complete the conquests begun on his accession, by laying another bridge over the river near the place where the lake *Titicaca* discharges itself. Directions were issued accordingly, and a bridge more beautiful than any

of the former was constructed in the short space of a few weeks. Over this he marched with a powerful army, attended by the prince his son, who was now initiated in the art of war, and taught the practical conduct of a general in the field, all his knowledge hitherto arising from precepts and private instruction. Upon entering the province of *Chayenta*, the inca ordered the prince his son, with a detachment, to summon the inhabitants to submission. They were greatly divided in their sentiments concerning the answer which should be returned; some dreaded the power of the inca, and therefore thought they ought to comply with the purport of the summons. Some were of the same opinion, because they preferred the *Peruvian* government to their own, and wished to partake of the blessings which they saw enjoyed by other savage nations received into the protection of the inca. A third party, more bold and confident than any of the former, insisted upon their ability to defend themselves, and the shame of surrendering the slaves of a tyrant without shedding one drop of their blood in defence of those privileges transmitted to them by their ancestors, and the natural rights of mankind. In consequence of these divisions, a kind of ambiguous answer was returned, which partook of the several opinions of the parties; but upon the inca's denouncing vengeance unless they explicitly declared their obedience, they soon yielded to their fears, and unanimously agreed to grant him a free ingress into their country; upon condition, that, if his terms were not approved, they might be rejected, and the natives left to their freedom. Although the inca was in a capacity to give rule, yet to spare the effusion of blood, and impress a favourable opinion of his justice and moderation, he accepted the proposal, entered the province, and soon gave the inhabitants such convincing proofs of the excellency of his institutions and government, that without hesitation they swore fealty, and put themselves under his protection; celebrating this happy event with songs, music, and dancing, in honour of the inca.

AFTER settling the administration of the country, and instructing the ignorant barbarians in the rudiments of the several arts conducive to the happiness of their lives, the inca proceeded to *Chircas*, where his fame already resounded. The different nations inhabiting this country sent their ambassadors to him, requesting they might be admitted to the privilege of subjects of the imperial wreath, and instructed in those arts which procured such happiness to the *Peruvians*, and rendered them so much superior to the rest of mankind: however, as all were not unanimous in acknowledging the sovereignty of the inca, those who put themselves under his protection, and

embraced

embraced his religion, implored him that he would not suffer them to be exposed to the resentment of the rest, who would probably treat them as apostates from the manners of their ancestors. The inca granted all their demands without scruple; and, after spending two years in settling the country, returned to the imperial city of *Cuzco*, carrying in his retinue some of the principal inhabitants of *Charcas*, that were desirous of visiting this celebrated capital, of which such wonders were reported. Here he dismissed his troops, suffering them to return to their several homes, to enjoy, in peace and tranquillity, the fruits of their labour.

CAPAC YUPANQUI now devoted himself entirely to the government of his people, leaving to the prince, *Inca Roca*, the care of extending the limits of the empire, and annexing new conquests. It was proposed to stretch the boundaries of the empire further on the side of *Chinacuy*, which, being a barren desolate country, was neglected by all the incas since *Manco Capac*; and for this purpose a formidable army was raised, with which the prince crossed the *Apurima* on floats made of osiers. This expedition was attended with no remarkable incident; all the people submitted on sight of the army, and an addition of twenty thousand souls was made to the *Peruvian* subjects, without the loss of a single drop of blood. Scarce had the prince returned to *Cuzco*, when his venerable father sunk under old-age, and yielded up the imperial sceptre, which he had wielded for many years with the reputation of a prudent, politic, and brave monarch.

WHEN the young prince *Roca* ascended the throne, he determined upon imitating the conduct of his sagacious sire, and acquiring a perfect knowledge of the extent and power of his dominions, the characters of the public officers, and of the administration of justice in all the provinces; with which view he made a progress over the whole empire, which took up the space of three years. During this circuit he made such prudent regulations, formed such salutary laws, and shewed such a discerning spirit, as impressed the people with the most sanguine expectations, that he would equal the greatest of his ancestors in wisdom, policy, and all the virtues of a sovereign. He penetrated quite to the mountains of *Cordillera*, in an expedition he made, at the head of a great army, in the third year of his reign, and reduced many powerful nations to his obedience. Among the most distinguished of these, were the people called *Chimcas*, who made some appearance of resistance, and deliberated, with great solemnity, whether they should accept the inca's proposals, or dispute his en-

france into their province at the hazard of a battle. The inca, observing their hesitation, resolved to cut off all room for debate, marched into the midst of their country, entered upon hostilities, and struck such terror into the people, that they yielded immediately to all that was required, and used all their influence with several other adjacent nations to follow their example, as the only means of avoiding the inca's resentment, and partaking of the felicity which all his subjects enjoyed under his wise administration. These conquests were followed by the reduction of the provinces of *Uramarca*, *Susa*, *Utumfulla*, and divers others, in which were contained above forty thousand families; whence we may judge of the importance to the state of this expedition.

AFTER the inca's return to *Cuzco*, he spent some years in the quiet possession and government of his kingdoms, employing his son, the prince *Tahuarhuacac*, in all foreign affairs, particularly in the conquest of *Antisuya*, a province to the eastward of *Cuzco*, beyond which none of his predecessors had attempted to penetrate. This prince derived his name from a superstitious prophecy uttered at his birth, that his life would be unfortunate, and disgraceful to the empire; to falsify which, his royal father bestowed the utmost pains on his education, and now sent him early into the field to be instructed in the art of war, before he should come to the government of a great kingdom. He ordered an army of fifteen thousand men to be raised, with which he detached this young prince over the high mountain of *Canazucuya*, the most difficult enterprize ever yet attempted by the *Peruvians*. By this he intended to inure him to fatigue, and render him accustomed to danger; and his orders were executed with so much punctuality, as left him no room for suspecting either the prince's judgment or courage. notwithstanding he was afterwards justly taxed with pusillanimity. By means of this last conquest, the empire was extended from north to south above two hundred leagues, and from east to west considerably above half that space; and which tract of country the politic inca laboured assiduously to cultivate, and adorn with palaces, gardens, baths, and other public structures, which not only kept his people in constant employment, and improved them in the arts, but added greatly to the pleasure, convenience, and grandeur, of the state; and for the better accommodation of the people, he erected public granaries, storehouses, and magazines, on all the great roads, which he filled with provision, cloathing, utensils of labour, ammunition, and every necessary either for the merchant, the husbandman, the mechanic, or the soldier.

In this manner he passed several years; and having completed his projects concerning the domestic policy of his kingdom, he once more turned his views towards the enlargement of his dominions. The reduction of the provinces called *Charcas* was begun in the late reign, but never completed: a work reserved for the great inca *Roca*, which was to immortalize his fame. As the enterprize was deemed arduous, an army of thirty thousand select men was levied, and the emperor resolved to command in person, the government being left in the hands of the prince, assisted by several counsellors, that he might gain some acquaintance with the affairs of the cabinet, as well as of the field. Arriving, after a tedious march, on the frontiers of the province of *Chuncari*, he sent heralds to the different nations, requiring them to live under those laws which his father the *Sun* had ordained for their benefit; to worship him as the only God, to forsake their corrupt customs and manners, and to follow the light of nature, and the instructions which he should lay down to direct them in ways more agreeable to humanity, than their present manner of living. All the young men took fire at the boldness of this demand, and confident of their own strength and courage, were for giving battle to the enemy. "Who is this tyrant (said they) who would oblige us to renounce our natural gods and adore a stranger, a god unknown to us, and recommended only as he happens to be the parent of the usurper? What right has he to require that we should depart from our manners rendered venerable by their antiquity, and abolish the sacred customs handed down from our ancestors, only to receive new laws from him, which would pave the way to taxes, tributes, impositions, and services, with all the other train of vexations and grievances which afflict his oppressed vassals? These are conditions not to be endured by a free people, while they are able to defend their liberties, and, at the worst, are not unwilling to perish with their freedom." All the old men were, nevertheless, of a contrary opinion; they judged with more caution, and dreaded the power of the inca, which they were sensible they could not withstand. It was their opinion, the proposals ought to be debated with impartiality. They had conversed for many years with the subjects of the inca, and could never learn that he had ever given cause for the severe reflections thrown out against his government, by the fiery and over-weening young persons who spoke before. They had always been told, that his yoke was easy, his administration equitable, and his laws salutary; that he conducted the state as the father of a family, and regarded his subjects as his children; that the lands upon

on which he seized, were not the possessions of the *Indians*, but waste fields, and desert countries, which he rendered flourishing and fertile by the force of culture; and that he required no other tribute than the fruits of those lands, manured, tilled, and sowed, at his own expence. As a proof that he did not subsist by oppression and robbery, they desired the young men to inform themselves how much the estates of the *Indians* had of late years been improved, and then to judge of the wisdom of the inca's government, by the degree of wealth and felicity which his subjects enjoyed. Such indeed was his reputation for justice, that many neighbouring provinces, allured by the gentleness of his servitude, voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the inca. It was therefore more advisable, that they should yield without force or constraint, before matters came to such an issue, that they would neither be able to defend their liberty, nor procure such terms of submission, as might now be readily granted. As the religion of the inca appeared to be one of their great objections, it ought to be well considered, they said, that the *Sun* more visibly deserved worship, on account of the light and heat it afforded, than any of those dumb and insensible idols which they formed with their own hands.

Wherefore, and some other arguments, the sages at length so far prevailed, that a resolution was taken to wait upon the inca, with presents of the fruits and best produce of the country, the young men carrying their arms in their hands, in token of their willingness to serve him in quality of soldiers, to assist in his conquests. They were most courteously received by inca *Roa*, presented with cloaths, and other valuable gifts, admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured of his subjects; five hundred of the young men were chosen by lot into his service, and the rest sent home for the defence of their country against the attacks of their savage neighbours. In a word, his behaviour was so gracious, affable, and engaging, that all cried out with joy and exultation, "How like art thou to a child of the sun! how worthy art thou of the title of king! how well thou meritest the appellation of protector of the poor, and redresser of the injured! We no sooner became thy subjects, than thou didst load us with thy favours and benefits. May the blessings of thy father the *Sun* shower down upon thee; and all the nations of the world obey, and fall down before thee; for thou art truly the *Cuzco* inca, who deserve riches, absolute power, and universal dominion." Having annexed a space of a hundred leagues to his empire, the inca returned to *Cuzco*, and spent the rest of his life in peace, dying at a very advanced age,

in the fiftieth year of his reign, after having established the reputation of the wisest, the most benevolent, and virtuous monarch, who had ever been honoured with the imperial wreath. His memory is held to this day in veneration, upon account of the many excellent laws he established, of which the following are the most remarkable. That the children of the common people should not be taught the liberal arts and sciences, which served only to render them haughty, proud, and above labouring at the mechanic arts, so essential to the good of society: that the nobility should be diligently instructed in every branch of learning, in order to qualify them to discharge those functions and duties, which belonged to their rank and dignity: that thieves, murderers, adulterers, and incendiaries, should be hanged without mercy, immediately upon conviction: that sons should obey their fathers, and be considered as minors to the age of twenty-five years; after which time they should be employed in matters tending to the good of the state. Inca Roca was the first institutor of schools at *Cuzco*, in which the *Amantas* were appointed to instruct the princes of the blood and young nobility in the arts and sciences, by daily discourses; for as yet the *Peruvians* were wholly unacquainted with the use of letters. They besides taught the worship of the true god, and explained the spirit of the laws, by demonstrating the reasons and principles on which they were founded; by this means accustoming their minds early to politics, and the art of government, which ought to constitute the principal knowledge of persons of their birth and quality. The *Amantas* also taught history, poetry, philosophy, astrology, and music, in all which they pretended to some skill, though it was of a very limited nature, as the *Spaniards* found on their arrival in the country, at a period when the sciences had made but a slender progress in *Europe*, and more especially in the dominions of his Catholick majesty. By oral instructions the youth were taught the military art, and the sciences, while they read in their knots the history and actions of past ages. Under the *Amantas* likewise, they improved themselves in eloquence, oeconomies, and the government of their own private, as well as of the public, affairs. This mode of education was not only authorized, but strictly enjoined by a law passed in this reign; and for the encouragement of the natives and professors, handsome salaries were established for their genteel maintenance, in order to give their instructions more weight with the pupils. The seminaries of literature were further endowed, and strongly patronized, by a succeeding inca, grand nephew to inca Roca.

- We shall close this reign, with repeating some celebrated sayings,

sayings, ascribed to the inca *Roca* by the Spanish writers *Blas Valera* and *Garcilasso*. When he reflected on the immensity, beauty, and splendor, of the heavens, he would say, "If the heavens be so glorious, glittering, and resplendent, which is the throne of the *Rachacamac*, how much more glorious and resplendent must his person be, who is the creator of all things in heaven, on earth, and in the waters?" Another saying of his was; "If I were to adore any terrestrial thing, it should be a wise and good man, whose excellency transcends all other creatures." He would likewise say, "When an infant is born he grows up, and then he dies. He that yesterday had a beginning, to day arrives at his end. He that cannot make himself immortal, nor recover life after death, is not worthy of adoration." Numberless other adages and remarks are attributed to him, which, if genuine, evince his deep reflection and solid understanding.

Yahuar-
huacac,
seventh in-
ca.

WHEN the last duties were paid to the memory of the excellent inca *Roca*, his eldest son, *Yahuarhuacac*, ascended the throne, and assumed the reins of government; to qualify him for which his father spared no labour. No prince had ever received a better education, or been earlier instructed with the principles of virtue; and indeed he exhibited, in the beginning of his reign, the most flattering prospect of peace and happiness to his people. Being of a moderate, gentle disposition, he sought no addition to his empire. Justly satisfied with his hereditary dominions, his whole study was to govern with equity, without encroaching upon the rights of his neighbours, under a pretence of reclaiming them from their barbarity. It is reported, that certain malicious predictions, published at his birth, determined him to pursue this pacific conduct, as the most certain means of escaping the danger with which he was threatened. However, that his time might not be consumed in inactivity, and in a manner unserviceable to his people, he made over portions of the kingdom, improved and adorned several parts of the country with stately buildings; and gained the esteem and love of his subjects, by divers acts of benevolence, munificence, and liberality. His neglect of that maxim of state whereby the sovereign was required to give some proof of his wisdom, genius, and to add to the dominions of his ancestors, drew so many reflections on the inca's courage, that, after he had reigned for many years with the utmost tranquillity, he was at length forced into hostile measures, diametrically opposite to his own judgment and natural disposition. His caution was construed into timidity; and his ardent love of peace into pusillanimity. He resolved, therefore, to send twenty thousand men upon an expedition to the frontiers of *Arequata*,

to reduce a large peninsula, which had been overlooked by his ancestors in the course of their conquests. An army was assembled, and his brother appointed to conduct this enterprise, the inca not chusing to go in person, so strong an impression had his mind received from the predictions we have mentioned. Every thing succeeded to the utmost wishes of the prince; a large tract of country was subdued, and the army returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, which so animated *Inahuribacac*, that he began to aspire at the same as a conqueror, and now entertained thoughts of reducing certain warlike savage nations, that had struck with dread the boldest of his ancestors. Yet his ambition was frequently checked by sudden emotions of fear, which obliged him to stop short in the middle of his preparations, and declared to all the world the motive of his irresolution. In consequence his character began to suffer, and he found himself sinking daily in the esteem of his subjects, who considered valour as the first and most essential quality of a monarch. While he was thus tossed between contending passions, the untoward disposition of his eldest son and heir to his dominions, opened a new source of affliction. The prince had resigned himself to every kind of debauchery and extravagance, disdainful all the admonitions of his father, and even treating his person with disrespect, until at length he fixed upon the resolution of disgracing and disinheriting him, as unworthy and incapable of wielding the imperial sceptre. At the age of nineteen, the prince was banished the court, to the mean employment of feeding the cattle of the *Sun*, on certain pleasant pastures, at the distance of a league from *Cuzco*. As he had not power to resist the imperial command, he submitted with seeming cheerfulness, and diligently executed the servile business assigned to him, for the space of three years.

These domestic troubles afforded the inca a fair opportunity of being idle all thoughts of war without reproach. For three years he attended only to the good government of his people, and the means of reclaiming his son, for whom he still entertained a paternal affection, notwithstanding all his vices. One day about noon the disgraced prince entered the palace, without companions or attendants, and with marks of deep contrition and sorrow, requested to speak with his father, upon business of the highest importance. Upon hearing the message, the inca, persuaded it was only a stratagem to work upon his passions, refused in a rage to admit the prince to his presence, and ordered him immediately to retire to the place appointed for his residence, unless he wanted to compel him to execute the laws against disobedience. To this answer

answer the prince replied, "that he came not in contempt of the royal mandate, for which he had the most profound respect, but in obedience to the injunction of another inca, as great as himself, who commissioned him to impart a secret of the last consequence to the empire of *Peru*; and if it pleased his imperial majesty to hear the message, he desired to be admitted to an audience; if not, he had fulfilled his orders, and should return with an account of his unsuccessful attempt." There appeared something so extraordinary in this reply, that the inca resolved once more to see his son. Curiosity to know who this inca as great as himself could be, was an irresistible motive for complying with the prince's strange request. Accordingly he was introduced, and standing before his father, he told him, "that he was come to acquaint him, that while he was sitting under one of those great rocks in the fields of *Chila*, where he was employed by the imperial orders in feeding the flocks of the *Sun*, there appeared to him a man in a strange habit, and different in figure from any he had ever beheld, his beard being above a span in length, his garments long and flowing, and about his neck he carried a kind of living creature, unlike any animal he had ever seen. This figure spoke to me, said the prince, and cried, 'Come in; I am a child of the *Sun*, and brother to the inca *Mama Capac*, who was the first of your family, and by him I am allied in blood to your father and you, my name being inca *Virabaca*. I am sent by our father the *Sun*, to order you immediately to acquaint my brother the inca, that the greatest part of the *Peruvians* of *Chinajaya*, are in rebellion, and united in a confederacy to assault his dominions, and with a strong and numerous army to depose him, overturn the empire of the incas, and introduce the primitive barbarity. This intelligence I order you immediately to carry to my brother the inca, that he may provide against the danger, and take such vigorous resolutions as the importance of the occasion requires. As to yourself, I will declare to you, that in whatsoever misfortune thou art, you lose not courage nor spirit, for I shall ever be ready to succour thee as my own flesh and blood; and therefore I exhort thee not to attempt any thing unworthy thy family, thy ancient descent, and the honour of the empire, for I will be assisting to thee in the greatest exigencies."

THE inca could scarce forbear laughing at the plausibility of this tale, which he was persuaded his profligate son had framed to answer his own purposes: and indeed it is probable that the young man had fallen upon this stratagem, to recover his father's favour, or had actually fomented the rebellions

lions which he now predicted: however, many of the sagest persons of the council judged otherwise, and seriously admonished the inca to make all possible inquiry into the truth of the report, and provide diligently for the worst. They superstitiously alledged, that all due reverence ought to be shewn to those intimations of divine favour, since it was highly improbable the prince would presume to pass for truth a forgery which might so easily be detected. Nevertheless, the inca obstinately resolved to give no credit to his son; and accordingly ordered him immediately back to the place of his banishment.

ABOUT three months after this vision of *Virachoca*, (for so the prince was afterwards called) a rumour was spread, that an insurrection appeared in the provinces of *Chinaspaya*, to which the inca refused giving any belief, imagining it must have arisen from the foolish vision related by his son. In a few days it gained ground, and though no particulars were known, the enemy having blocked up all the passes, yet it now occasioned universal dread and consternation. At length an exact account was brought, that the rebels, after having put all the inca's governors to death, were marching with an army of forty thousand men to plunder, burn, and destroy *Cuzco*. These nations, having submitted out of fear, suppressed their resentment, until a fair occasion offered to throw off the yoke, in the present weak and pacific reign, and amidst the differences between the inca and his son, whose hard usage they determined to make the pretext for their rebellion. The authors and conspirers of this insurrection, were the chief curacas of the provinces of *Charcas*. *Hauctuculla* was the leader, a young man of twenty-six years of age, full of fire, merit, and ambition; uneasy under the gentle yoke of the inca, and aspiring at liberty and dominion. He despised the character of the reigning monarch, thought it unreasonable that thousands of brave men should be subjected to the will of a coward, and entertained hopes of one day ascending the throne of *Peru*; to which, however, he could have no title, except by conquest.

WHEN the inca received the certain intelligence of these particulars, he was terrified and dismayed. His fears prevented his following the advice of his council, to make vigorous preparations for opposing the enemy; and he suggested to himself so many objections against every thing that was proposed, that in the end he involved himself in inextricable perplexity, leaving neither time to levy a sufficient number of forces, nor a garrison strong enough in the city, to resist the rebels, until further succours could arrive. Distracted with his circumstances, he privately resolved to yield to the torrent of calamity

calamity that threatened the empire, and retire to *Collasaya*, where he flattered himself with security, which was the utmost to which he now raised his hopes, leaving the city in confusion, exposed to violence from abroad, and the effects of dissension and discord at home. In this situation every one shifted for himself, some taking refuge in the mountains, some going over to the prince *Pirachoca*, and all abandoning the city to its destiny. *Pirachoca* was deeply affected with the fate which threatened *Cuzco*, but still more grieved at the misconduct of his father. Immediately he gave orders to all his attendants to repair instantly to the city, and stop the flight of the inhabitants, with assurances, that he would soon repair with an army to their relief. Then he diligently set about collecting the fugitives, and after he had assembled a considerable number, marched with incredible rapidity in search of the inca his father, whom he found on the top of a mountain that overlooked the enemy's camp. Falling upon his knees he addressed the inca; "How is it, sire, that upon a report, the truth of which hath not been examined, that some of your subjects have risen in rebellion, you should abandon your city and court, and fly disgracefully before an enemy you have not yet looked in the face? How can you desert the sacred temple of the *Sun* your father, to be polluted by the unhallowed feet of your perfidious subjects, giving them leave to return to their abominable worship, and the sacrifices of men, women, and children, with other barbarous and inhuman practices, from which they were reformed by your glorious ancestors? What account shall we give to our great parent, if we abandon the sacred virgins of the *Sun* committed to our care, to the brutality and lust of our savage enemies? What benefit shall we get by saving our lives at the expence of our honour, property, liberty, religion, and whatever ought to be dear to us! For my part I shall never consent that the barbarians should possess *Cuzco* unopposed; I shall rather endeavour to stem the torrent with my single person, and appear alone before my enemies, to shed the last drop of my blood, than live to see the dissolution of that imperial seat, reared to its present grandeur by the military toils and trophies of our glorious ancestors; or those horrible sacrifices performed in the sacred temple, founded by the offspring of the *Sun* in honour of their parent. Wherefore let such as have courage follow me, and I will teach them to exchange an infamous and loathsome life, for an honourable death, or by a glorious victory lead them to the paths of happiness and security." Having spoken this, he perceived a spirit of enterprise and emulation rise in the breasts of the curacas and soldiers, who

to the number of four thousand men had followed the fugitive monarch in his shameful retreat. They blushed to see themselves outdone in courage by a debauched stripling; and repenting of their mean complaisance to the apprehensions of a timid monarch, resolved to wipe off their disgrace, and assist the bold resolution of the heir apparent, whose virtues now blazed forth with greater lustre, than if they never had been obscured. Accordingly they all joined *Virachoca*, a few old men only being left with the inca, and begun their march towards *Cuzco*, with such expedition, that the prince had not leisure to refresh himself, after a fatiguing journey. In their way a great number of troops were picked up, and the news spreading with inconceivable rapidity, that prince *Verachoca* was coming to the relief of the city, with a resolution to perish in its defence, every heart was cheered, every bosom glowed with renovated vigour, and spirits were infused into every subject of the empire. When he entered *Cuzco*, he was received with loud acclamations as the guardian angel of the state, sent by his great parent the *Sun* for its protection. The vision he had related was now universally believed, and it inspired the people with a kind of sacred awe and reverence for his person. Every man capable of bearing arms, hurried to his standard, and he was enabled in a few days to seek the enemy, instead of suffering himself to be besieged in a city that was scarce defensible on account of its extent.

THIS train of good fortune was greatly encreased by a very unexpected accident. The *Quechoas*, the hereditary and implacable enemies of the *Charas*, were the first who had discovered the conspiracy; and perceiving the urgency of the affair admitted of no delay, or of time to receive the inca's orders, they complied with the necessity; and, putting themselves in arms, marched directly for the defence of *Cuzco*, resolving to give proof of their loyalty by spilling the last drop of their blood to relieve the capital. The arrival of so powerful a succour infused universal spirit into the troops: they ascribed this unforeseen and providential circumstance to the promise made to *Inaboca* in the vision; and now, believing the gods fought for them, they eagerly sought to be led to battle. The prince cherished the impression, and indulged the wishes of his soldiers, by entering immediately on his march towards the river *Apurimac*, on the banks of which he proposed exhibiting the first proofs of his valour, and making trial of his fortune. Having chosen his ground with great judgment, he gave orders for the arrangement of the troops with so much composure, presence of mind, and ability, as astonished all the old officers, who believed him capable of

displaying nothing more than a juvenile ardor. Every thing being disposed in order of battle, he sent proposals of pardon, peace, and friendship, to the enemy; promising to pass a general act of oblivion, if they would throw down their arms, and retire home; but the *Charcas* being informed that the inca had deserted his people, and persuading themselves that this circumstance would so dispirit the troops as to render them an easy conquest, they rejected the terms with insolence, and advanced within half a league of the imperial camp; sending word, that to-morrow's sun should discover in whose power it was to offer conditions of peace and pardon. Both armies remaining all night in arms, the signal for engaging was given by day-light, and the battle joined with astonishing fury. *Viracocha* threw the first dart at the enemy, fell into the midst of their squadrons, and was received with equal courage and conduct. Here the engagement raged with doubtful success for several hours, when 5000 men the prince had placed in ambush sallied out on the rear of the enemy at the most critical juncture, and turned the scale of fortune. The *Charcas* began at length to remit in their vigour, and sink under the impetuosity of the imperial forces, who, seeing them give way, poured in on all sides, and pressed the advantage. Great numbers flocked from the country on the report that prince *Viracocha* was giving battle to the rebels; and the prince, to render these succours of double service, cried out, that the gods had converted the rocks and stones of the country into men, to defeat the perfidious designs of the barbarians and fight in defence of the offspring of the *Sun*. In proportion as this notion animated the *Peruvians*, it dispirited the *Charcas*, who were no less superstitious. After great slaughter, they retreated, and left the prince master of the field, though not of a complete victory. They faced about when they were pursued, and the imperialists were too much fatigued to enter upon a fresh dispute merely for the honour of a victory, all the advantages of which they already enjoyed. *Honchawalis*, the principal officer among the rebels, was taken prisoner; together with great numbers of other officers and private men. Several thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, and the prince thought it equivalent to a decisive victory that he was not defeated in this first trial of his prowess, and in such dangerous circumstances. *Viracocha's* moderation, after the battle, was still more glorious than the valour he had displayed in the action. He ordered the wounded to be dressed and treated with the utmost humanity. The noble prisoners he won by his affability and heroic qualities; and such was the

impression he made upon all men, that so extraordinary a change in his manners was ascribed to the immediate influence of the *Sun*, who had destined him to be the saviour of his country.

As soon as the troops had refreshed themselves, the prince dispatched three different expresses with the happy tidings; one to the temple of the *Sun*, to acquaint that presiding luminary with his success; another to the temple of the select virgins; and a third to his father the inca. Though the *Peruvians* believed the *Sun* omniscient and omnipotent, yet this divinity was always treated as a human creature, whose faculties were limited, and who required information of the event of things below. Having made these dispatches, and given the troops some rest and refreshment, he selected six thousand of the most bold and hardy of his soldiers to accompany him in the pursuit of the enemy; the rest of his army he disbanded, thinking this number sufficient against a broken, harassed, and fatigued, remnant of barbarians. Many stragglers were picked up in the march, treated kindly, and then dismissed to acquaint their countrymen what they might expect from the clemency of the conqueror. The effects of this wise policy soon became visible; all the provinces of *Charcas* through which he passed submitted, the women and children coming forth to meet the prince with green branches in their hands, crying, "O thou undoubted child of the *Sun*, who art the succour and protector of the poor, have compassion upon us, and pardon our transgressions!" Moved with the gentle usage and clemency extended towards them, the men next sent their submission, and yielded themselves implicitly to the will of a prince who revived all the heroic qualities of his glorious ancestors. Ambition and the thirst of honour operated in the most extraordinary manner upon the mind of *Viracoca*, to whom all the qualities he possessed were natural, although for some time they lay buried in dissipation, riot, and youthful extravagance. The disgrace of banishment, the danger of his country, his father's shameful flight, and the circumstances of the times, had just opened his eyes to his own conduct, and called forth the exertion of all those talents which were natural to his family, although but faintly possessed by his royal parent. By this means he wholly subdued the rebels; and, after having fully established the usual government in the provinces, he made his public entry into *Cuzco* on foot, that he might assume nothing belonging to royalty; at which, however, it appears, he aspired. Never was conqueror received with greater honours, all the aged incas, whose infirmities rendered them incapable of attending him in the field,

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now came forth to mingle in his triumph; telling him they earnestly wished again for youth for no other reason than to serve under his fortunate and auspicious conduct. His mother also, with all her women, and the ladies of the court, went forth with songs and dancings, to receive the victorious prince. Some embraced him, others wiped off the dust from his brows; multitudes might be seen sweeping the dust from his feet, and strewing the road with flowers; in which joyful and solemn manner he visited the temple of the *Sun*, where he devoutly returned thanks to that luminary for having enabled him to overcome his enemies, and rescue the empire from disgrace and destruction. Then he visited the convent of select virgins, to whose prayers and intercession with the *Sun* he piously ascribed great part of his success, and at length quitted the city to wait upon the inca his father with an account of his conduct.

THE inca *Yabuarhuacac* had concealed himself all this while in the *Straits of Mayra*, and now received his son as the glory of his family, the saviour of the state, and the tutelary being who had preserved himself and people from imminent and unavoidable destruction; yet he appeared melancholy, confused; covered with shame, and distracted with the reproaches of his own conscience. *Garcilasso* ascribes the uneasiness, which was visible amidst all his expressions of joy, to envy, thereby intimating an apology for the prince's conduct in having supplanted his father in the imperial dignity. He alledges, that at the public interview few words passed between the princes; but that it was universally believed among the *Indians*, that all the discourse they had in private turned upon the establishment of the government, and which of the two should reign; the inca, who had shamefully abandoned his capital, or the prince who had valiantly defended the kingdom, and subdued the enemies of his country. It was determined in favour of the latter; or rather, in all probability, the prince, knowing his own popularity, chose to gratify his ambition at the expence of filial duty, which is the deepest stain upon his character, notwithstanding all the follies of his youth. To whatever cause we ascribe it, whether to the old inca's voluntary resignation, to the prince's ambition, or to the will of the people, certain it is, that *Virachoca* was raised to the throne in the room of his father, for whom there was a palace prepared in a pleasant valley between the *Straits of Mayra* and *Quispichanca*, where he might use the diversions of hunting and fishing without restraint, or care about public business. The old king was permitted to continue the use of the purple imperial wreath as a badge of his royalty, and to appear

Virachoca, eighth inca.

appear in all respects a monarch, except in the exercise of power, which devolved wholly upon the prince; empty honours with which his pride was gratified at the same time that the natural indolence of his disposition was fully indulged. Here he passed the remaining days of his life in ease and tranquillity, and died in an advanced age, after he had been long dead in the memory of his subjects.

THE prince no sooner ascended the imperial throne, than his new dignity gave additional splendor to all those heroic qualities which had lately blazed forth to the astonishment of his subjects. It was doubtful whether he was more revered on account of his vision, or admired for the valour and activity displayed in the field against the enemies of his country. No one presumed to question his being under the immediate protection of heaven, and the peculiar favourite of his parent the Sun, which had already obtained to him the appellation of *Virachoca*. To perpetuate the memory of this vision, and keep up the superstitious esteem of the people, the inca gave orders that the foundation of a temple should be laid on the very spot where his uncle appeared to him, and that it should in all respects represent the circumstances of the vision, the temple being open at the roof to imitate the open field where the god stood, a little chapel roofed with stone being added in imitation of the hollow rock under which the prince reposed himself, and a stone image of a human figure, adorned with a long beard, a flowing gown, and an animal with the claws of a lion chained round his neck, representing the apparition. This circumstance increased the veneration of the *Indians* for his person, and produced the usual effect of prosperity in the mind of the inca, who now issued directions to have a picture made, which reflected upon the character of his father, and blazoned his own superiority with all the arts of adulation. The piece represented the shameful flight of the old inca, the distressed situation of *Cuzco*, and his own victory over the rebels; and it remained for many years a disgraceful monument of filial irreverence and natural pride inflamed by success. However, *Virachoca*, notwithstanding these spots in his character, shone with unrivalled lustre at the head of the empire, in which he established peace and tranquillity, industry, arts, and whatever tended to the benefit of his subjects. He began his administration with bestowing rewards on all those soldiers who had joined his standard in his desperate situation, and taken arms against the rebels. In this distribution of the royal favour the faithful *Quechoas* were not forgot; on them he bestowed various immunities, and, among others, the privilege of wearing their hair shorn, their heads bound with

the wreath, and of having their ears pierced in the manner of the incas ; a favour of seemingly trivial importance, but to them of the last consequence. Next he visited the provinces, and made such regulations as were best adapted to the peculiar genius of the different climates, countries, and inhabitants, with so much judgment and discretion as greatly augmented his reputation.

AFTER some years spent in establishing the domestic policy of his empire, *Virachoca* issued orders for levying an army of 30,000 men, and determined to make certain conquests towards his remotest frontiers, thinking that the recovery of the empire alone was not sufficient to establish his reputation for enterprize and valour ; yet, on more mature deliberation, he relinquished the thoughts of conducting the expedition in person, and appointed his brother *Pabuac Mayta* to the command of the army, a prince who derived the surname of *Pabuac* from his extraordinary swiftness, agility, and vigour. The design was to conquer the large provinces of *Coranca*, *Ullara*, *Liipi*, and *Chica*, the reduction of which was omitted by his predecessors, and particularly his father, who, after making all the necessary preparations, had relinquished the expedition. After a long march, *Pabuac* arrived on the frontiers of the provinces *Chica* and *Ampura*, the inhabitants of which worship two lofty mountains from a principle of gratitude, because from them descend those wholesome streams which give fertility to their lands. They maintained some slight skirmishes with the imperial army, rather with a view of demonstrating their own courage, than from any hope conceived that they should be able to resist the power of the *Incas*, whose fame was exalted so high by the late defeat of the *Charcas*, and the valour of *Virachoca*. Having given sufficient specimens of courage, they then made their voluntary submission, and their example was followed by other nations ; so that in the space of three years the expedition was ended, and all the nations towards that quarter were brought under the obedience of the inca, and subjected to the laws which governed the *Peruvian* empire.

VIRACHOCA now seemed to have extended the frontiers of his dominions as far as nature would permit, being hemmed in to the eastward by the snowy mountain, and bound in to the westward by the ocean ; to the southward he was acknowledged sovereign to the very extremity of the *Charcas*, and the vast deserts which separate *Peru* from *Chili*, then deemed impassable. Yet still ambition found an outlet to the northward, and spurred on the inca to attempt fresh conquests towards this quarter. An army was accordingly raised for this purpose,

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dition, which *Virachoca* determined to command in person, leaving his brother regent of the empire in his absence. Advancing towards *Antahuilla*, a province under the jurisdiction of the *Charcas*, this people testified their repentance of the late rebellion by every possible act of deep contrition, which so thoroughly pacified the inca, that instead of continuing his resentment, he conferred upon them several favours and immunities, as the surest method of confirming their obedience. The inhabitants of the rich and populous province of *Huaytara* proved equally submissive; notwithstanding they were celebrated for their warlike turbulent spirit. No sooner the inca's army approached, than they dispatched ambassadors to assure *Virachoca* of their obedience and profound submission to his will and pleasure. *Pocra* and divers other provinces yielded with as little resistance; upon which the inca disbanded the bulk of his army to avoid oppressing his new subjects, and applied himself diligently to settle the civil government of his conquests; establishing such laws and ordinances as he believed would prove most conducive to the good of the people. It was here he cut a fine canal, flowing for the space of 120 leagues, and 12 feet in depth, for the conveniency of trade and navigation; a work which to this day remains as a monument of his magnificence, power, and attention to the interest of his subjects. It had its course through all the country of the *Rucanas*, and by means of numberless rivulets issuing from it on both sides, watered the finest pasturages in the whole empire of *Peru*. Another aqueduct of the same nature, but still more magnificent, he made in the provinces of *Contisfuyu*, which, though it was productive of the greatest blessings to the people, the lazy *Spaniards* have suffered to go to ruin.

THESE stupendous works and useful conquests were succeeded by another progress, which the inca made through all his dominions, to inspect how well his orders, with respect to domestic policy, had been executed. He pried, with the most curious eye, into the conduct of his officers and magistrates; punishing every neglect of duty, every act of oppression and injustice, with the utmost rigour. Passing from one province to another, and distinguishing merit by his peculiar favour, he at last arrived on the sea coast at *Toracopa*, where he received ambassadors from the kingdom of *Tucuman*, which the *Spaniards* call *Tucuman*, distant about 200 leagues from the southwest of *Charcas*. When the ambassadors were admitted to an audience, they told the inca, that, excited by the report of his famous achievements, the equity of his proceedings, the excellency of his laws, instituted solely for the

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benefit of his subjects; the purity of his religion, the clemency of his disposition, and the miracles wrought by his father the Sun, they were come to learn the certainty of what fame had spread abroad on her wings, and diffused far and wide, with such circumstances as almost exceeded belief. Their *Curacas* had commissioned them, in case they found things any way agreeable to flattering report, to implore the protection of the great inca, to put themselves under his dominion; and request that he would condescend to govern them by a prince of the royal stem, who would instruct the people in the *Peruvian* laws, customs, and religion. "Perceiving, said they, that all things greatly exceed the wishes of the most sanguine imagination, we humbly entreat your divine majesty that you will be pleased to take us under the shadow of your wings, in hopes and expectation of which we do here prostrate ourselves before you as the undoubted offspring and legitimate issue of the Sun, acknowledging you for our sovereign king and lord; in testimony whereof we do offer our persons, with the fruit of our lands, to be disposed of as you in your justice shall think proper." Having said this, they offered their presents, consisting of fine honey, cotton, pieces of cloth, corn, pulse, gold, and silver; which metals, they told the inca, were not the produce of the country, nor, in their opinion, at all necessary to the happiness and convenience of life. The inca received them in the most gracious manner; they were entertained with the utmost splendor and hospitality, and then dismissed with presents and the highest sentiments of *Virachuca's* goodness and virtue. They confessed that the laws and constitutions of *Peru* were worthy of their divine origin, and gave the first intimation of *Chili*, in the conquest of which they promised to assist the inca with all their forces, "that every part of the world might taste the blessings consequent on so rational, humane, and excellent a government."

WHILE the inca was thus employed, advice was received of the flight of the brave *Honcobuallo*, chief of the *Charcas*; a step which greatly astonished *Virachuca*, as he had, for the space of ten years, been endeavouring to conciliate the affections of this prince by the utmost generosity, munificence, and favour. The great spirit of *Honcobuallo* could, nevertheless, brook no subordination; he regarded the royal bounty as an indirect reflection upon his own inferiority, and he particularly resented the degree of esteem shewn for the *Quechuas*, his declared enemies. Fired with these imaginary injuries, he determined, against the general sense of the people, to purchase his liberty at the expence of his fortune and his life. After a pathetic speech to his subjects, in

which

which he blazoned out, in the strongest colours, the blessings consequent on liberty to a generous mind, even in a state of poverty, he took his leave, with a resolution to try his fortune, and endeavour to establish a sovereignty in some remote country. Those who were so strongly attached to his fortune as to connect themselves with him in all situations, were recommended to remove out of the country with all possible silence, to avoid exciting the jealousy of the inca; and incurring his vengeance. Great numbers accordingly quitted the province, and assembled at an appointed place out of the dominions of the inca, where *Honchuallo* was chosen king and leader of this band of adventurers; which appeared to them the most probable means of regaining their liberty, as it would be in vain to attempt throwing off their subjection to so powerful a monarch as *Virachoca*. To the number of 8000 fighting men, with their wives and children, abandoned their country, out of attachment to their chief, and love of freedom. They directed their course towards the *Coralhara* mountains, and are said to have traversed above 200 leagues of a barren country; but where they settled is not determined. As to the inca, he no sooner received the news than he took all possible measures to prevent the escape of the fugitives; but they had conducted themselves with such prudence as secured success. When he found matters could not be remedied, he entered upon measures to remove every cause of discontent among the *Charcas*, and sent his brother to enquire into their grievances, and conciliate their minds by the utmost lenity and liberality. By these means the *Charcas* were soon brought not only to forget their beloved chief, but even to rejoice at the flight of a prince whose turbulent humour proved an insurmountable obstacle to their peace, while his courage and munificence gained their affections.

At length the inca *Virachoca*, after governing for many years with the greatest reputation, was forced to submit, in the zenith of glory and prosperity, to the common fate of mankind, and yield to mortality, while he was revered as a deity. He is the reputed author of a prophecy, universally believed in *Peru* at that time, and preserved among the royal archives; "that, after a certain period of years, and the succession of a certain number of incas, there should come a people from remote countries, never seen or known before in *Peru*, who should abolish the religion, trample upon the laws, and subvert the empire of the incas." He is reported likewise to have been held as an oracle by the people, from the time that *Virachoca* appeared to him in a vision. The *Amantas*, who were the philosophers of *Peru*, and the magicians consulted

sulted him upon all extraordinary appearances in the heavens, flight of birds, and other superstitious prognostications, and yielded intire faith to his interpretations; for, as he was supposed to hold an immediate intercourse with the *Sun*, there was none so hardy as to question his infallibility. One observation of his is memorable, as it distinguishes his good-sense and knowledge of the human heart: he was often heard to say, "That parents occasion the ruin of their children by shewing them too much indulgence, yielding to their froward humours, and suffering their passions to take the lead without controul; whereby they become so corrupt in their manners during infancy, as to be ripened in vice before the age of manhood. Others, on the contrary, break the spirit of youth by too much rigour. The true method of education is to steer between both extremes, to encourage vivacity and spirit, to check only what is vicious; by which youth become valiant in war, and wise in peace (F)."

Pachacatec, ninth inca.

AFTER the usual marks of respect were paid to the memory of the deceased inca, the throne was immediately filled by his eldest legitimate son, the prince *Pachacatec*; a name importing *the subverter of the world*. He began his reign with the established custom of making a progress through his dominions, in the course of which he found reason to be satisfied with the choice made by his royal father of magistrates. Not a single province in the whole empire preferred an accusation against the governor, or desired any change in the magistracy; from whence we may infer with what lenity, prudence, and justice, the incas executed the laws. Never, indeed, was

* LA VEG. l. 5. ACCOSTA, c. 5, 6. l. 5. BLAS VALER. PASSIM.

(F) Before we close this reign, it may be proper to observe, that *La Vega* thinks it probable that *Virachoca* reigned fifty years. He saw his body, which was preserved entire in his days, with the hair as white as snow. He was also shewn the bodies of several other incas from whom he was descended by the mother, which he observes were more entire than the mummies of *Egypt*, as they retained the hair of the head, the eyebrows, and even the eye-lashes, in full perfection. He adds,

that the flesh of these bodies was so plump and full, and the eyes so well counterfeited by a mixture of gold, that they seemed almost alive and natural; which circumstance, however, he borrows from *Acosta*. It appears, indeed, from the testimony of all the *Spanish* writers, that the *Peruvians* were extremely expert in the art of embalming; and one author asserts, the bodies were so light, that an *Indian* could easily carry one of them in his arms. Vid. l. 5. c. 29.

there a people governed by the mere light of nature and reason with more prudence, equity, and moderation; insomuch, that the *Spanish* writers themselves bestow the greatest praises on the *Peruvian* institutions, both political and civil, notwithstanding the necessity they are under of vindicating the conduct of their countrymen, who, under the pretence of propagating the gospel, committed the grossest violations on the rights of humanity, by establishing an arbitrary and despotic domination over a people always accustomed to freedom, and the most gentle administration. At the expiration of three years, *Pachacatec* returned to *Cuzco*, and, lest he should appear to dedicate his whole time to repose, set on foot an expedition, in order to establish the reputation of a soldier, as well as that of a statesman. Thirty thousand men were raised for this service, with which army the inca, attended by his brother *Capac Yupanqui*, marched to *Vilca*, the extreme frontier of his dominions, on the side of *Chincasuya*. Here he remained with a body of forces, while his brother advanced to the province of *Sanza*, called *Xanxa* corruptly by the *Spaniards*. This country contained above thirty thousand inhabitants, all of the same lineage and name, *Huanca*. They boastfully derived their origin from one man, and one woman, both descended from the same fountain. They were barbarous, fierce, and warlike; they dead their prisoners, filled their skins with ashes, and hung them up in their temples, as trophies of victory, and proofs of savage valour. The perfect union that subsisted among them rendered the *Huancas* formidable to all their neighbours, and enabled them to extend their dominions greatly beyond their original dimensions. All their acquisitions they fortified in such a manner, that, notwithstanding the perpetual wars in which they were engaged, they never lost any of their territories, even when they happened to be defeated in the field. They entertained a particular affection for dogs, and some writers intimate that they worshipped them. This considerable nation, the inca subdued by his moderation and arguments. He convinced them of the superiority of the *Peruvian* laws and constitution; he demonstrated to them the excellency of his own administration, and gained so far upon these savages, that they earnestly requested to be admitted into the rights and privileges of his subjects: by the same policy, he allured several other surrounding nations to put themselves under his protection and government; among the principal of which were the inhabitants of *Tarma* and *Pampu*, which the *Spaniards* call *Bombou*. These, although warlike and ferocious, yielded to the inca's arguments, and admitted his sovereignty without resistance.

...*There are something peculiar in the customs of these new Indians. They tested matrimony with a kiss, all the previous ceremony, consisting in the declaration of the parties, that they were mutually agreeable to each other. Widows cut off their hair in testimony of their grief for the deaths of their husbands, and were not allowed to marry within the year. On festivals all abstained from animal food, and the priests were never supposed to eat any thing that ever enjoyed life; notwithstanding which, we are told by *la Vega*, that the people lived without order, government, or religion; perhaps he means that they were unacquainted with monarchy, and the worship of the sun.*

...*Every thing being adjusted to the inca's satisfaction in these countries, his brother marched with the main body of the army to the territory of *Ghicarpai*, possessed by a warlike nation, exceedingly barbarous in their nature and manners. They rejected all his proposals, and bid defiance to his menaces. Finding moderation answered no purpose, the prince entered upon hostilities; and, in a few skirmishes, no less than four thousand *Indians* perished, which struck such a dread into the enemy, that they submitted, without further efforts to defend their liberties. Nor did they admire the clemency of the victor less than his valour; they were astonished to find him admit them into the same degree of favour as other nations, who had made no resistance, and asked, that if such was the virtue of the general, what might they not expect from the inca himself? After giving them instructors, rulers, and garrisons to keep them in obedience, the prince directed his march to a large and populous province, called *Ancara*; which immediately acknowledged the sovereignty of the inca, and was invaded by another powerful neighbouring province, to which the *Spanish* writers give the name of *Huayallas*. Here he abolished the abominable practice of sodomy, so frequent in this country, that *Huayallas* became an opprobrious name among all the *Indians* of the adjacent provinces.*

...*WITH this conquest ended the expedition of *Yupanqui*, after which he returned to *Cuzco*, and was received with triumphal honours by the inca, the people being ordered to devote a whole moon to rejoicing, and to celebrate their festival with such games and sports as reflected honour upon the victorious prince. These holidays ended, the inca enquired into the degree of merit displayed by each of the officers, and soldiers in the expedition, and rewarded them proportionably, with such admirable policy and discernment as to inflame them to emulation. His next measure was to make a second progress through his dominions, in which course he beautified*

and adorned the provinces with a variety of temples and public edifices. Among these were several fortresses on the frontiers, which he garrisoned strongly, and beautiful palaces seated in the pleasantest valleys, which were intended for the royal residence. Nor were these works wholly confined to ornament; storehouses were erected, and granaries built in all the great roads, to supply the people with provision in years of scarcity. Divers laws and ordinances were promulgated in the different provinces, in all which the inca studied the peculiar temper and disposition of the people, indulging each nation in their own customs, in all matters which did not interfere with the general plan of legislation. Having spent three years in this expedition, he returned to the capital, and consulted with his brother and ministers about the entire reduction of the extreme provinces of *Chumbafuya*. When the resolution was taken of completing the conquests on that side, the command was given to the prince *Yupanqui*, whose admirable services in the last expedition proved him deserving of this confidence, and the inca's eldest son, then sixteen years of age, being sent under him to receive the first instruction in the rudiments of the art of war. The greatest army ever beheld in *Peru* was levied on this occasion; no less than fifty thousand fighting men took the field, the uncle and nephew leading the van directly to the province of *Chinacapa*. On their arrival the usual summons was sent to the inhabitants of the province of *Pinan*, which submitted without delay, from a sense of the inability to resist so vast a power, and conviction of the superior excellence of the *Peruvian* constitution. Similar messages were sent to the provinces of *Huaras*, *Canchuca*, and *Nisicossampu*, but they were received by the spirited inhabitants in a very different manner. Far from copying the tame submission of *Pinan*, they confederated together for their mutual defence, returning this answer, "That they had rather perish than renounce the laws, customs, and religion, handed down to them by their venerable ancestors." They added, that, perfectly satisfied with those gods, who had shed the blessings of freedom and independence on their forefathers, they had no occasion to change them for that specious phantom of religion, with which the inca allured their simple neighbours, and usurped a tyrannical dominion. Upon this they retired to their strong holds, knowing how unable they were to face the imperial army in the open field. They seized upon all the passes, and fortified themselves in a situation almost inaccessible; laying in such store of provisions, as evinced their resolution of standing an obstinate siege. *Yupanqui* received without surprize the rude and haughty answer of

of this savage people, with whose bravery and love of liberty he seemed even delighted. He divided his army into four battalions, and resolved to block up the enemy so straightly that they should be compelled without bloodshed into obedience : however, this humane design was frustrated by their ferocity. They disputed all the passes with the utmost obstinacy, and made the most desperate sallies out of their strong intrenchments. Each of the provinces strove who should exceed the other in feats of arms, and martial achievements : the consequence was dreadful ; thousands perished on the points of the swords of the imperialists, who very prudently kept on the defensive, until the first effort of the enemy's fury was over, and their rage subsided. When famine began to prevail in the camp of the besieged, they dispatched their wives and children in quest of provision, who, being taken prisoners, were treated with such kindness by the inca, that they returned with the loudest encomiums on his valour, generosity, and clemency. This politic tenderness was well received by the enemy, though, for some time, it seemed rather to inflame and animate them to a higher pitch of fury. At last, grown feeble with disease and hunger, affected with repeated instances of the inca's generosity, their hearts softened, they melted into complacency, and, by the joint consent of their leaders, dispatched ambassadors to the prince to implore his pardon and clemency. The reception the ambassadors met with was so gracious, that they stood amazed at the unparalleled goodness of the person, whom they had lately considered as the most oppressive tyrant. All were dismissed to their houses and dwellings without so much as a reproof ; the prince even extolled their bravery, telling them, that their valour, as enemies, was the surest pledge of their fidelity and obedience, as subjects ; he ordered their lands to be sowed, placed magistrates over them, and established such institutions and regulations as were the most suitable to the spirit of a free, valiant, and barbarous people.

Advancing farther into the country, the prince arrived on the confines of the province of *Huamuchacu*, governed by a lord of the same name, a person of profound judgment and prudence, who had long been striving in vain to civilize his rude and barbarous subjects. This nation worshipped trees and pebbles, of which the most shining were held in the greatest devotion, and deposited with the utmost care in their houses. They lived like wild beasts in hollow trees, caves, and rocks, and offered sacrifices of human blood. Their lord had conceived a plan of government more suitable to moral and rational

tional life ; but the ferocity of his subjects prevented his putting it in execution. Now he joyfully entertained the messengers sent by the prince with proposals to embrace the laws and religion of the *Peruvians*, of which he conceived an extraordinary favourable opinion from report. It was sufficient proof of his moderation and patriotism, that he preferred vassalage, and such laws and ordinances as might contribute to the good of his people, to sovereignty and independence in the present savage situation of the nation. He hoped, that now he should be able, under the protection of the inca, to oblige his subjects to listen to reason, and yield to the repeated trials he was determined to make of civilizing them. To the prince he sent the strongest assurances of his respect and submission, acquainting him with his present circumstances, and requesting he would advise him in the means of accomplishing his purposes without violence or bloodshed. Encouraged by these demonstrations of duty, the inca marched into the province, and was met by the *Curaca* with such presents as his dominions afforded. He worshipped the prince with devotion, and immediately entered upon the subject of the interview, and the necessary measures for bringing his subjects to receive the laws and religion of the *Peruvians*. But there was little need of arguments, the formidable appearance of the imperial army, the cloathing, arms, manners, and apparent happiness of the soldiers effected every thing. Those, who had resisted all the reasonings of their excellent prince, gave way to their fears, and yielded immediate submission to the inca, as soon as they were informed that they should receive the same encouragement and protection as the soldiers, whom they so greatly envied; accordingly, the people were collected from the woods and mountains, houses were built for them, lands cultivated, themselves instructed in the arts, and the same plan of legislation was established here, as in the other provinces.

Every particular being settled, agreeable to the most sanguine expectation of the *Curaca Huasmachan*, the prince proceeded on his conquests to the province of *Cassanarca*, inhabited by a bold and warlike nation, and since become famous on account of the imprisonment of the unfortunate inca *Atahualpa*, perfidiously put to death by the *Spaniards*. The inhabitants of this country having long observed the growing power of the incas, and the rapidity with which they subdued all their neighbours, were for several years preparing for war, in expectation of a visit. They fortified all the passes, and seized upon the strong situations in the country, where they raised works, and laid up great store of provisions.

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When they were summoned by the prince to surrender, they returned an answer filled with disdain, and expressed in such contemptuous terms, as almost forced him upon punishing them with the utmost severity. These were the first sentiments which arose in his mind on the return of his heralds; but he soon gave way to others more gentle and moderate, ascribing the insolence of the enemy to their barbarity. He blocked them up closely; studiously avoided coming to action, though he was frequently drawn into bloody skirmishes; and, in the space of four months, intirely subdued the fierce and haughty spirit of this free people; who consented to receive the inca's yoke upon the same terms as the other conquered nations. The soil being fruitful, and the situation pleasant, the prince determined to build a city here, and to collect into one regular society all the inhabitants, dispersed in huts over the face of the country. Here he erected a temple for the *Sun*, and a convent of select virgins, with other publick and religious buildings, giving the city the name of the province. Before he returned to *Cuzco*, to render his conquests more complete, he marched to *Yanyu*, a rocky mountainous country, inhabited by a warlike people. Twelve thousand men being thought sufficient to execute all the purposes of this expedition, the rest of the army was disbanded, that they might not be harrassed and unnecessarily exposed to hardships. When the *Yanyu* received the usual summons, they entered into consultation, whether the proposals ought to be accepted, and, after warm debates, at last concluded, that the most adviseable measure would be to engage the friendship of so great a potentate as the inca, by immediate submission; notice of which resolution they sent to the prince. Their submission was graciously received by *Yupanqui*, who gave their curacas presents of garments made of the finest cloth, and then entered the province to settle the government. Having thus fully executed his commission, he returned with his nephew, the inca's son, and made a splendid triumphal entry into *Cuzco*, amidst the acclamations of the assembled citizens, who joyfully expressed their sense of the promising qualities of the heir apparent to the imperial wreath, and of the virtues of his uncle and instructor.

For the space of three years the inca, assisted by his son and brother, whom he regarded as his colleagues in the sovereignty, devoted his whole time to the strict administration of justice, the execution of the laws, the reformation of abuses, and in adorning his empire, which he beautified by a great variety of stately edifices, aqueducts, canals, and bridges, erected in the different provinces. But something still being

thought wanting to the grandeur and security of his dominions, a fresh army of 30,000 men was raised to make new conquests on the side of *Hunafca*. The two princes were again ordered to take the field, and direct their march to the valley of *Chinca*. On their way they received the submissions of the inhabitants of *Yca* and *Pisco*; but the *Chinchese*, relying upon their own valour and numbers, sent a defiance, and told the prince they would neither acknowledge the *Sun* for their god, nor the inca for their king; that the sea was the only deity they had reason to adore, as it supplied them with fish for their nourishment; whereas they could wish they lived more remote from the *Sun*, whose rays served only to scorch and torment their bodies. The prince took fire at the impiety and insolence of this answer, entered the country, and directly commenced hostilities. A sharp skirmish began in the valley; but the heat and dust were so great, that the combatants were obliged to separate. The enemy retreated to take possession of a pass, which, however, they defended with so little address, that the prince dislodged them, and established his quarters in the heart of their country. This stroke of ill fortune did not disconcert or dispirit the *Chinchese*; they forced the imperial army again with great resolution, and used every expedient to recover their losses. Several bloody undecisive engagements were fought; and, tho' the barbarians perceived their own inferiority, yet they expected they should be able to hold out until the intense heat of the climate would force the prince to relinquish his design. Their hope was extinguished on seeing a fresh army enter the country to relieve the other, fatigued with long duty; but even this untoward circumstance could not intimidate them. The war rekindled with more than usual vigour, and the *Chinchese* used their utmost endeavours to strike their new enemies with a formidable notion of their valour. All their efforts were fruitless; the prince hemmed them in so closely, and took such precautions, that there was no room for sallies, which, whenever they were attempted, were repelled with great slaughter. The barbarians at last found their condition was desperate. The streams of water, and all access to provision, were cut off. They could refresh themselves with neither fruits nor vegetables of any kind, while they were pent up within sultry sands exposed to the scorching beams of almost a vertical sun. What increased their misery, was to behold their enemies supplied abundantly with every necessary, and sheltered by tents from the melting heat. In this situation they lost courage, their obstinacy yielded to necessity, their pride and confidence were entirely broken, and they readily submitted without trying the utmost

extremity; but not before the prince sent them a message, that, unless they surrendered within the space of eight days, he would destroy the whole nation, without distinction of age, sex, or condition.

WHEN the capitulation was settled, the prince admitted the curaca to his presence, and received the submissions of that brave general with equal dignity and grace. He encouraged him, with many kind expressions, to hope for the favour of the inca, without endeavouring to palliate the crime of which he had been guilty in opposing the will of so mighty a potentate. He made him presents of the finest cloaths, received his homage, placed magistrates in the different departments of the government, and acquitted himself equally to the satisfaction of the inca who had sent him, and of the people whom he had subdued (G). Solemn festivals were ordered upon his return, and the most splendid processions made to the temple of the *Sun* that ever were beheld at *Cuzco*.

AFTER being honoured with these marks of the royal approbation, and of the people's esteem, the prince once more took the field with a fresh army; and entering the territory of *Huarca*, began a bloody war with *Ghuquinanca*, a lord of four valleys, who had rejected his proposals, and refused submission to the inca. This general was at the head of an army of 20,000 men, his reputation was great in war, and

(G) It is worthy remark, that the *Chinche* were the most valiant people who had yet acknowledged the yoke of the incas. They boasted that they had twice defeated the imperial armies, though we find no account of this in the *Spanish* writers. They reported also, that after resisting the whole power of the *Peruvian* empire for a series of years, the war was at length ended upon certain conditions mutually beneficial. They also alleged, that before their subjection, or rather their union with the inca, they were dreaded by all their neighbours for their power and valour; that they laid all the surrounding countries under contribution; and that they extended their fame as far as the province of

Colla, or the space of 200 leagues. Whatever truth there may be in these assertions, certain it is, that their defence was brave and obdurate, beyond what is generally found among nations enfeebled and enervated by the excessive heat of climates, and, indeed, it is extremely remarkable, that the people living within the tropic to the south of the equinoctial, were found, even in the days of the *Spaniards*, more warlike than those in the same degree to the north; a circumstance which may naturally be ascribed to some difference in the climate, since in every thing besides there appeared a perfect equality. The fact, if true, is curious, and deserves the consideration of the philosopher.

he hoped by the valour of his forces, the situation of his country, and his own ability, to foil all the endeavours of the imperialists. On the other hand, the prince, tired with the effusion of blood, used every expedient to effect his purposes by reason and argument. Yet it was impossible to avoid skirmishes, into which his out-parties were drawn by the impetuosity of the enemy, who attacked them when ever they appeared. Eight months were consumed in this war, during which time the imperial army was three times exchanged for fresh forces; a practice first introduced in this reign, and essential to the supply of the troops, who suffered greatly by the variety of climates in which they were obliged to serve. *Pedro de Cieza*, a Spanish writer of some reputation, affirms, that the reduction of this province was not effected in less than four years. Be that as it may, it is agreed on all hands, that *Chuquimanca* made a valiant defence, and the prince a masterly attack; cooping up the enemy gradually into a smaller compass, until at length he forced them to surrender for want of water, provision, and even of room to fight; and all this with very little bloodshed. These were the motives of this obstinate barbarian's submission, to which we may add his apprehensions of being deserted by his people; for they had already, without his consent, dispatched proposals to the imperial general, which were accordingly accepted, and *Chuquimanca* constrained to accede to them; upon which he obtained pardon, notwithstanding his refractoriness.

THE government of this country being established, the prince, without loss of time, proceeded to the conquest of the vallies of *Pachamac*, *Rima*, *Chimay*, and *Huama*, all under obedience of a powerful prince, called *Cusimanca*, who assumed the title of king. The imperialists no sooner arrived on the frontiers of these vallies, than the prince sent the customary summons, exhorting *Cusimanca* to submit to the inca without resistance, and thereby to avoid the unnecessary effusion of human blood. He desired no more than his acknowledging himself subordinate to the inca, renouncing his gods, worshipping the *Sun*, and admitting the laws and custom of *Peru* into his dominions. He promised to confirm him in all his rights and privileges as a sovereign, and assured him that the homage required was rather titular than a real subjection. However moderate and reasonable these proposals might seem to the prince, they appeared in a quite different light to the *Curaca*, who, alarmed at the rapid conquests of the incas, had provided for his defence. Confident that he should be able to resist all the power brought against him, he assembled his army, and, in the hearing of his soldiers, desired the imperial

herald to acquaint his master, "That his people wanted no other ruler besides himself; that the laws and customs, which they observed, had regulated the conduct of their forefathers; and that they found their religion so excellent, as to leave them no room for desiring an alteration: that, among other gods, they adored the *Pachacamac*, who was the creator and governor of the universe, even of the *Sun* himself; that they had built a temple to this great and invisible deity, where they offered sacrifices, and the blood of their men, women, and children; that he was so awful as prevented their approaching his image to the face; they therefore paid their adorations to the hinder-parts, their very priests not being able to support the splendour of those emanations which issued from his countenance. He therefore demanded, as an essential preliminary, that no change should be required in the mode of religion; and promised, if this should be granted, to relax in other particulars." The answer was no way disagreeable to the imperialists, who, says *La Vega*, worshipped in their hearts the great *Pachacamac*; the prince, therefore, resolved to subdue this people without war, and to gain over their sovereign by gentle usage and arguments. With this view he entered the valley of *Pachacama*, where he saw the enemy drawn up with a resolution to oppose his progress. Upon this he sent a message to them, desiring that before they engaged in battle, and shed the blood of their countrymen, they would confer together touching the subject of religion, in order to settle those points which occasioned difficulty in relation to the honour and worship of the gods. The prince acquainted them, that besides the *Sun*, whom the *Peruvians* adored, they also held *Pachacama* in profound veneration, although they erected no temples, nor offered sacrifices, to a deity invisible, and above their comprehensions. Wherefore, since they worshipped the same god, and were in fact of the same sentiments, which they only expressed in a different manner, there appeared to him to be no foundation for a quarrel; on the contrary, reason dictated that they should live in the strictest bonds of friendship and amity. He therefore proposed, by way of accommodation, that they should acknowledge his brother the inca for their lord and sovereign; that they would believe him a true descendant from the *Sun* and a real divinity, as his acts of justice and mercy daily evinced; and that they would accept of laws and regulations, the principal intention of which was to promote their own felicity. He entreated *Cuzmanco* and his people to reflect dispassionately on his offers, and not constrain the inca to impose by force and violence what he wished might be instilled by reason and persuasion.

saſion. After ſome debates in the enemies councils, at laſt a conference was agreed to, and this produced the deſired effect, through the prudence, the moderation, and the affability of the prince *Yupanqui*. The inhabitants of the valleys conſented to aboliſh human ſacrifices, on condition they might preſerve the other rites of religion intire, and that the incas ſhould pay all due reverence to the oracle of *Rimac*, and conſult it occaſionally. With reſpect to the *Peruvian* civil inſtitutions, they admitted of little debate; their own excellency appeared ſo notoriously to the enemy, that they were no ſooner explained than they were accepted. To ſhew *Cuſmanco* that he was treated rather on the footing of an ally than of a vaſſal, he had an invitation to *Cuzco*, where his curioſity was gratified with a ſight of that celebrated city, and he was indulged with the honour of kiſſing the inca's hand. In the triumphal entry of the prince, the inca ordered that *Cuſmanco* ſhould take rank with the princes of the blood; a mark of reſpect with which he appeared to be as much delighted, as if he had obtained a victory over the imperial forces. Loaded with honours, favours, and preſents, he returned to his own country, and there proclaimed that the inca was the genuine offspring of the *Sun*, and a real divinity, who ought to be obeyed and worſhiped.

INCA PACHACUTEC having thus extended his dominions, eſtabliſhed his ſecurity, and ſpread his fame, reſolved to deſiſt from military exploits, in order to recover breath, reap the fruits of his victories, and attend to the full eſtabliſhment of the civil government of his new acquiſitions. As ſome reformations in religion were alſo intended in conſequence of the late agreement with the ſovereign of *Pachacamac*, it was neceſſary to devote his whole attention to that important object; and, indeed, ſo admirably did he acquit himſelf of this difficult undertaking, that his reputation is celebrated in *Peru*, not only as the greateſt monarch, the wiſeſt legiſlator who had ever wore the imperial wreath, but as the moſt devout and ſanctified high-prieſt who had preſided over their religion. Six years were employed in framing new laws reſpecting the civil and religious government of the empire, in building public edifices, and promoting the felicity of the people and grandeur of the ſtate; towards the expiration of which, the inca reſumed thoughts of extending his power ſtill farther on the ſide of *Caſſamarca*, by the reduction of the powerful kingdom of *Cuzco*. This expedition was entrusted to the young prince his ſon, tutored in the art of war ſeveral years by his uncle *Yupanqui*, the greateſt general in the empire, who now deſired leave to ſpend the remainder of

his days in tranquility, "and suffer his nephew to enjoy the honour, as he really had a great share in the conquests too partially ascribed to himself." With an army of 30,000 men the young prince reached the frontiers of *Chima*, by way of the mountains; and summoning the king and people to surrender, was answered with contempt. The king sent him word, that his weapons were as keen as those of the *Peruvians*, his hearts as bold, and his religion and laws as respectable; and that he would therefore defend them to the last drop of his blood. Irritated with this answer, the young prince, full of vigour and fire, marched directly to the valley of *Pacamarca* to give the enemy battle, and found them ready to engage. He attacked them in a narrow pass with the greatest impetuosity, but the resistance he met with was altogether unexpected. The enemy fought with a composed and cool valour, which he had never before seen in barbarians; inasmuch, that several thousands of his people were slain before he could dislodge them, although he was supported by all his forces. Sufficiently apprized of the difficulty of the attempt by this first encounter, he sent to his father for a reinforcement, and was soon joined by 20,000 chosen men, who revived the war, and enabled the prince to make a fresh attack; but just as he was preparing to fall upon the enemy, a dispute among his allies engrossed his whole attention. The *Cuacuas* of *Pachacama*, and *Rhanchuarai* had long been the inveterate enemies of the king of *Chima*, and now their ancient animosity was inflamed by the opposition which he made to the proposals of the inca, who had honoured them with such extraordinary marks of his regard. The princes served with their forces as auxiliaries under the young prince; and the two former imagining, that, swayed by his father's example, he shewed too much lenity to their rival, determined upon taking their revenge, and persecuting *Chima* with the most unrelenting fury; but they differed about the means, and vented the indignation intended against the enemy upon each other. The prince interposed; and by demonstrating to them the fair opportunity which their absurd conduct gave their enemy of destroying them both, at last reconciled them to direct their vengeance against the head of the king of *Chima*. They attacked him in a kind of phrenzy, fought several desperate battles, and proved greatly assisting to the inca in driving the enemy out of the valley of *Pacamarca*. The confederates pursued the *Chimuans* to the valley of *Hualmi*, from whence likewise they were forced to retire after an obstinate dispute, in which some thousands were killed and wounded on both sides. Hence the enemy took shelter in the valley of *Santa*,
where

where it was resolved to make a stand, in confidence of the valour of the inhabitants of this district, who had always been celebrated for their martial disposition. Here such a variety of battles were fought with equality of fortune; that it became doubtful whether the prince would be able to reduce the province by force of arms. This raised the hopes of *Chima*, and flattered him, that a prince educated in the effeminacy and luxury of a court would not long be able to support the fatigue of so bloody a war, and that the ardor of the soldiers would give way to their tenderness and strong desire of visiting their wives and children. Full of these ideas, he refused all the offers made to him by the prince; and instead of ascribing them to his moderation, and wishes to stop the effusion of blood, accused him of cowardice. Collecting all his strength, he fell upon the imperialists suddenly with so much impetuosity as they were hardly able to repulse: notwithstanding which, his captains, who perceived things with less prejudice, became sensible that ruin was approaching with hasty strides, and therefore exhorted *Chima* to make his peace with the inca, which he persevered in refusing. However, when he perceived the prince was reinforced by fresh succours, that his own people were ready to desert him, and that every thing turned out contrary to expectation, he sunk into despondency, sent the most abject submissions to the prince, and promised to receive with gratitude whatever conditions he should chuse to impose. To put the best countenance upon his affairs to his people, he pretended that he was determined to continue the war, and still entertained hopes that their valour and perseverance would be attended with success; but when the inca's answer returned to his proposals, granting him peace, pardon, and friendship, on condition that he would own the sovereignty of the imperial wreath, he seemed to regard it with indifference, and would persuade his subjects that the proposals were made by the enemy, and not by him: however, he said that he would be directed by them in the answer. The captains, over-joyed to find their sovereign compliant to their wishes, and receding from those principles which must have been productive of their destruction, recommended to him, in the most earnest terms, to accept the offer of peace and friendship, as he had now already sufficiently evinced his courage, and might safely rely upon the promises of so just and generous a monarch as the inca. Accordingly the haughty *Chima* yielded to their entreaties, went to the imperial camp, prostrated himself before the prince, and having done homage to the inca, consented to the promulgation of the *Peruvian* religion and laws in his country.

BEFORE this war was brought to an issue, the inca *Pachacutec* began to sink under the weight of years; and having now made vast acquisitions to his empire, resolved to dedicate the remainder of his days to tranquility and repose. He honoured his son's glorious conduct with the most solemn and magnificent processions; and told him, that, as he now perceived his ability to support the load of government, he should die satisfied, and retire in comfort to the bosom of the *Sun* his parent. He lived, however, for some time longer, cultivating every virtue which could endear him to his subjects, and give beauty, grandeur, or happiness, to his empire. He planted many colonies in dry and barren countries, which he rendered fruitful by introducing streams of wholesome waters. He erected temples to the *Sun*, and monasteries for the select virgins, after the model of that at *Cuzco*. He built granaries, storehouses, and magazines, for the convenience of the people, to supply them in times of scarcity, in the most convenient situations. He reformed every abuse in the execution of the laws, and the conduct of the magistrates, which could possibly affect the liberty of his subjects, and introduced many laudable customs respecting the better regulation of moral life. He established a kind of militia in every province, in order to provide for the security of his dominions without the expence of a standing army. He founded military honours and rewards for the encouragement of merit. He enlarged and beautified the city of *Cuzco*, increased the number of its inhabitants, and built a magnificent palace for the residence of the incas. In a word, after a prosperous reign of near seventy years, he yielded to the fate of mortality, and died as much honoured and esteemed as the most glorious of his predecessors, for which reason he was enrolled by the *Indians* among their gods (H).

No

(H) There are a variety of adages ascribed to this prince, some of which we shall mention, to give the reader a more complete idea of his character. — “When the subjects cheerfully obey their prince, then is he truly honoured, and the nation happy — It is better to be envied because one is virtuous, than to envy others who are good because you are vicious. The envious man treasures up

misery to himself, just as the spider sucks poison from flowers. Drunkenness, anger, and folly, are equally pernicious, and differ only in the degree of their permanency. He who kills another without legal authority, passes sentence on himself. Adulterers are thieves, and despoilers of man's honour, the most precious of all their possessions, and therefore ought to be treated with the utmost rigour. A noble spirit is best

No prince ever ascended the imperial throne with greater *Inca* expectations than the *inca Yupanqui*, who, immediately after *panqui*, the funeral rites were performed, bound his temples with the *scutb king*, coloured wreath. He possessed the intire confidence of the people, who esteemed him not only upon account of his excellent fire, but for his own virtues, so fully displayed in the late expedition. To render himself still more popular, he resolved exactly to tread in the footsteps of the late monarch, and began his reign, like him, with making a progress over all his dominions, and visiting the remotest provinces. The children, he used to say, should imitate the virtues of the father. He was descended from the *Sun*, and should, like that benevolent luminary, cherish with his beams every corner of his empire. After passing three years in this visitation, he turned his thoughts to a dangerous expedition towards the mountains of the *Andes*, being curious to learn something concerning the nations that inhabited the opposite side; of whom the *Peruvians* had as yet but a confused imperfect idea. Religion, the usual pretext for concealing the designs of ambition, was the colour also given to this project; tho', in fact, the ultimate intention was to enlarge his empire, and exhibit further proofs of his valour. According to report, these countries were populous and fruitful, and this alone was sufficient inducement. It is supposed from a variety of circumstances, and particularly by the *inca's* crossing a great river, that this expedition was made against *Paraguay*; the country now possessed by the *Jesuits*, along the great river of *Plata*. Boats and floats were made for this purpose, and two years were consumed in great preparations. The *inca* commanded in person, and encountered such manifold difficulties, as were sufficient to overthrow the courage and constancy of a good soldier; but they made no impression on *Yupanqui*. At the

best tried in adversity. Impatience is the character of a little soul, and narrow education. Obedient subjects ought to be treated with indulgence and clemency; seditious, turbulent spirits, with severity and rigour. Corrupt judges are the worst vermin generated in the fores of society. Legislators and magistrates should be especially cautious not to transgress those laws which they form and direct. The man who is not master of

himself, is but little qualified to govern a kingdom. He who presumes to number the stars, is a fool; and the man who pretends to measure the power of the great *Pachacamac*, worthy of being derided. The physician or herbalist, who knows the name only of plants, and is ignorant of their virtues, is an empiric." Let the sovereign and legislator remember this. *Blas Valer. La Veg.*

head of a great army, he passed over deep morasses, crossed lofty mountains, and penetrated through forests almost impervious, without shrinking at the danger. While he was clambering up the steep slopes of the *Andes*, he was frequently attacked by crowds of bold savages; and forced to give battle in places where he could scarce get footing. When he fell down the river in floats and in boats, both banks were lined with troops of the natives, who discharged their weapons from either side, and kept the soldiers in a state of perpetual action, fatigue, and hazard. At last, after a variety of skirmishes, of which we have no particular account, all the nations on the banks of this great river submitted to the inca, and received the same laws, as all the other conquered provinces. In token of their obedience, they sent presents of wax, honey, fruits, and parrots, to the inca, and suffered him to appoint magistrates and officers to preside over the execution of the new laws.

AFTER reducing all the nations called by the general name of *Chunchu*, he proceeded to the province of *Musa*, called *Moxos* by the *Spaniards*, inhabited by a numerous, bold, and warlike tribe. When he arrived on the frontiers of this country, his army was reduced to a very inconsiderable number; the inca, therefore, had recourse to arguments and persuasions, acquainting the people, that he came to instruct them in points of religion and morality of the utmost importance to society. Observing that the *Musas* gave earnest attention to his religious doctrines, he ventured to promulgate the *Peruvian* laws, which proved so rational and agreeable to the barbarians, that they embraced them without scruple, and entered into a perpetual alliance with the inca. *La Vega* reports that some monuments of this expedition might be seen in his time; yet, after all, it is probable, that the inca never descended lower down the river than the province of *Guara*, from whence, again crossing the river, he proceeded to *Tucuman*, and then to *Chili* (1).

PREVIOUS to any new undertakings, he returned to *Cuzco*, and raised a fresh army, more numerous than the former, and filled with officers of the blood royal, who desired leave to attend their sovereign. The inca then advanced to the large province of *Chirihuana*, situated to the eastward of

(1) We must observe that the names of provinces have been so altered by the *Spaniards*, and the route of the incas armies so imperfectly described by all the *Spanish* writers, that it is ex-

tremely difficult to fix the precise limits of their empire, and absolutely necessary to call in the assistance of conjecture occasionally.

Charcas, the reduction of which he thought necessary to secure his retreat. As this country was intirely unknown, it was thought adviseable to dispatch emissaries to gain such information, as might facilitate the project, and direct the route of the army. Their report was unfavourable to the people, whom they stigmatized as the most bloody and cruel of all barbarians, perhaps with design to cool the inca's ardor; but this served only to animate him to the enterprize. He turned round to his courtiers, and said, "Now it is a duty incumbent on me to reduce those horrible savages to the laws of reason and civility." However, as the object was not deemed worthy of his presence, he entrusted the army to certain princes of the blood, who began their march at the head of ten thousand men; and soon found that the report given of the difficulty of the roads was not exaggerated. Having passed over mountains, bogs, and fens, the soldiers were reduced to such extremity, that all must have inevitably perished, but for the seasonable relief sent by the inca; after all, they were recalled without accomplishing the end of the expedition, the natives taking refuge in places altogether inaccessible.

THE misfortunes consequent on this attempt did not prevail upon the inca to lay aside the design of reducing the kingdom of *Chili*. Increase of dominion was a fundamental maxim of the *Peruvian* government, one reason of which was that, without an army, half the tribute paid by the provinces, in cloths, and warlike stores, would be useless to the state, unless consumed in this manner. This was the most arduous enterprize, ever attempted by the incas, and therefore every possible precaution was taken. The inca laid the matter before his council, consulted them in the means of conducting the war, and, having concerted every particular, he set out with a numerous army to *Atacama*, the remotest province on that side of his empire, which was separated by vast deserts from *Chili*. From this place he sent persons in whom he had confidence, to examine all the difficulties of the march; and indeed, the affair was deemed of such consequence, that it was committed solely to the princes royal. Magazines were likewise to be formed in the most convenient places, and nothing was neglected that could contribute to the security of the army, or the success of the expedition. These discoverers having penetrated as far as *Copayapac*, and made the most accurate observations in their power, returned with an account to the inca, who detached a select corps of ten thousand men to pursue the route they directed, and reinforced this body with an equal party sent a few weeks after. On the arrival of the troops

troops on the frontiers of *Copayapac*, under the conduct of *Sinchiroca*, an officer descended from the blood of the incas, the accustomed summons was sent to the natives, together with such menaces, as threw them into universal consternation. But when it was perceived how small the army was, which the inca detached to enforce those threats, the enemy took courage, assembled, and began hostilities. However, before any decisive engagement was fought, the reinforcement arrived; which struck the enemy with dismay, and determined them to submit to whatever terms the *Peruvian* general thought fit to propose.

A PATH being now open to further conquests, the inca prepared a more powerful force, and immediately augmented the army to the number of thirty thousand men. With this armament *Sinchiroca* advanced, and gained footing in the valley of *Chili*, as *la Vega* terms it, after an obstinate resistance, of which we have no account; whence we may infer that the narrative would redound but little to the honour of the *Peruvians*, who never failed to transmit an accurate relation to posterity of all those expeditions, in which their valour appeared conspicuous and fortunate. We are only told of one battle, in which the *Chilians* are allowed to have behaved with equal courage and conduct. After the two armies had rested for some days within sight of each other, debating the conditions of a peace, they both suddenly broke off, and prepared for a decisive action. The *Chilian* army did not exceed eighteen or twenty thousand men, but they maintained the engagement for a whole day with such astonishing resolution, that when night separated the combatants, victory remained undecided. Next day the battle was renewed, and raged till night with the same fury and fortune. Unconquered and unspent, both sides returned to the horrid scene, the fourth, fifth, and sixth days, and, at last drew off the field of battle without yielding an inch to the opposite party. The carnage was dreadful, the fields were so covered with dead bodies, and the atmosphere so impregnated with putrid vapours, that the combatants were compelled to leave off fighting before they were tired with slaughter. Both proclaimed victory, but neither possessed the field, nor ventured to pursue the enemy; so that we may justly infer, that now for the first time, the power of the incas was fairly soiled in a pitched battle, by a people, whom they reputed barbarous. How the war with the *Chilians* terminated is not known; *Tupanqui* is reported to have persevered obstinately in his purpose, and to have enlarged his empire to the extent of a thousand leagues from North to South. He might, indeed, possibly

possibly have subdued some of the provinces of *Chili*, and received the submission of certain nations of that great kingdom; but that he ever conquered the whole is extremely problematical.

WHILE his generals were carrying the reputation of his arms to the remotest countries, *Yupanqui* was beautifying his empire by a variety of stately edifices, especially temples and structures of piety and humanity. A large hospital was erected for the reception of the aged, blind, and lame, an institution scarce ever before seen in a barbarous country, immersed in the grossest ignorance, which conveys to us an amiable idea of the humanity and feeling of the people. In these employments, the inca spent his life in great tranquillity for several years, at the expiration of which he was seized with a malady that proved fatal. When he observed the hand of death upon him, he called his sons to his bedside, and strictly recommended to them the observance of the laws and religion of their country. Above all he charged his eldest son, who was to succeed him in the throne, duly to administer justice to his subjects in the most equal scales, without which all his other virtues would serve only to gild oppression and give splendor to tyranny. Thus died *Yupanqui*, full of years, glory, and triumphs, having enlarged his empire beyond the conquests made by any of his predecessors, and obtained the well merited reputation of a magnanimous, just, and sage monarch. The fortress of *Cuzco* remained for many ages a monument of his power and magnificence.

TUPAC YUPANQUI ascended his paternal throne as *TupacYasoon* as the customary rites were performed to the last remains *panqui*, of the deceased inca, his father. It was probably some time *seventh* after his accession, that he received the surname of *Tupac*, a word signifying splendor or brightness, and importing the greatness of his exploits. It was an established custom for the new monarch to shew himself to all his people by visiting every part of the empire; and *Yupanqui* did not omit a practice founded upon true policy, and equally beneficial to the king and kingdom. Four years were spent in this progress, in the course of which he displayed so many virtues, as intirely recommended him to the affection and esteem of his people; though he now resolved to confirm their favourable sentiments by some farther proofs of his own merit. Under the specious pretext of civilizing savage nations, and promoting the interest of those unhappy *Indians*, immersed in the grossest idolatry, and ignorance, the inca planned an expedition on the side of *Cassamarca*, and raised an army of forty thousand men for this occasion, with which he immediately invaded

invaded the province of *Chucupuya*, or the country of warriors, as this word is translated by *Blas Valeras*. It lies eastward of *Cassamarca*, the roads to it were difficult, the situation mountainous and craggy, and the people above forty thousand in number, capable of bearing arms; whence we may judge of the hazard of the enterprize. This nation was distinguished from all the other barbarous tribes, by the peculiar custom of wearing a sling round their heads, as an emblem of their valour, and warlike disposition. The sling was their principal weapon in war, as it had been that of their ancestors, the *Mayarkins*. Before the inca entered upon the conquest of this people, he thought it necessary to subdue the *Huacrachucans*, part of whose country lay in his way. The *Huacrachucans* were a fierce people, who, for distinction, bound their heads round with black wool, stitched with flies, and the point of a stag-horn before; whence they derived their name, which signifies horned-cap. The natives appeared in defence of their country, in full confidence that it was impregnable. They blocked up all the passes, and were dislodged with great difficulty and considerable slaughter. Having gained footing in their territories, the inca thought proper to save the effusion of blood, if possible, and accordingly sent a summons to the natives, and the most soothing professions of friendship and regard. He gave them assurances, that the ultimate design of his expedition was to promote their happiness, and instruct them in arts essential to their well-being; at the same time, to prevent their ascribing his lenity to fear, he denounced the most signal vengeance, in case they rejected proposals so moderate, and so evidently calculated for their welfare: but while the enemy were deliberating upon the terms offered, he divided his army, and renewed the assault on different quarters, with so much vigour, that he gained several very important posts, and terrified the enemy into submission.

THE reduction of *Huacrachucan* took up the whole summer, and because the rainy season was now approaching, the inca resolved to quarter his troops on the frontiers, and re-inforce his army with twenty thousand men before the ensuing campaign. This cessation of hostilities proved very advantageous to his new subjects, who were all this time learning the art of agriculture, and informing themselves in the *Peruvian* laws and religious worship, from the officers and soldiers, nor did the inca himself refuse his assistance: the chiefs he taught in person, and after they were fully instructed, he appointed them to govern certain districts, and propagate their own knowledge among the inhabitants. The season for ac-
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tion being arrived, the inca *Tupac* drew out his army into the field, and marched directly for the province of *Chuchupuyu*, dispatching a herald before him, with offers of peace and friendship, which were rejected. Both sides prepared for war, soon began hostilities, and fought with such resolution and courage, as occasioned great slaughter. The *Chuchupuyans*, aware of the ambition and growing power of the incas, expected this invasion, and had made preparations for two years past. Their country was of considerable extent; it was strong by nature, and they improved their situation with all the advantages which their skill in the art of war dictated. All the passes were strongly fortified, and several camps formed in inaccessible situations, surrounded with deep intrenchments, or strong walls, and well supplied with provision. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the inca pursued his design with so much perseverance, that the enemy were driven from many of their strong holds, though with great loss to the imperialists. The inca stormed one camp on the top of a high hill, skirted by craggy rocks twenty feet in height, and accessible only by steps of stairs, which the *Indians* had cut out for their own convenience. Here great numbers of old men, women, and children, were taken prisoners, and treated with all possible humanity and kindness by the inca, in hopes by this usage to impress the enemy with a favourable opinion of his disposition and government. Advancing after this fortunate incident, to a breach on the snowy mountain, called the *dangerous Gap*, he detached three hundred men to examine the passage, which party was buried in a prodigious mass of snow that tumbled down from the mountain; not an individual having escaped to report the circumstances of the calamity. When a thaw came on, the bodies were discovered, and the inca then ventured to proceed on his march, after the enemy had flattered themselves there was a stop put to his career. Perceiving the very elements were favourable to him, as the barbarians judged by the thaws happening at an unusual season of the year; they gave up all for lost, and submitted without further resistance to the inca's pleasure.

HAVING settled the necessary ministers and officers for the government of the country, inca *Tupac* proceeded to the reduction of another people, called *Cassu Marquilla*, who defended themselves within their rocks and fastnesses; and who followed the example of the *Chuchupuyans*, after having tried their fortune in divers unsuccessful engagements. Thence he marched against the people called *Passumarcas*, from a large excrescence on their necks, like the inhabitants of the *Alps*, and from causes nearly similar. These, with several other nations,

nations, he subdued with little difficulty, as they lay contiguous to each other, and were terrified with the report of the misfortunes of their neighbours, and the irresistible power of the inca; upon which he returned to his own dominions to repose himself during the wet season, and make preparations for extending his conquests the ensuing campaign. An army of forty thousand men was raised, and ready to take the field early in the spring, with which the inca proposed marching into the large province of *Huancapampa*, possessed by different tribes and nations, who had no kind of intercourse, nor resemblance in manners, except that all were completely savage. All were in a state of hostility with each other, which rendered them an easy prey to the inca; but, though he found it easy to gain possession of the country, he encountered many difficulties in taming and civilizing the inhabitants.

MATTERS being settled here to his satisfaction, he advanced to the reduction of the great provinces of *Cosja*, *Ayacuata*, and *Calina*, all the inhabitants of which resolved to defend their liberties; they raised an army, and in a pitched battle, slew eight thousand of the imperialists, though they were forced to yield the field of action. The inca, enraged with his loss, pursued them in their retreat, and destroyed the country with all the horrors of war, which they supported with great patience, and equality of mind, preferring the most cruel persecution and misery to the loss of freedom. They retired from post to post, disputed each with unparalleled obstinacy, and would have persevered to the utter extirpation of the whole people, had not the inca's persuasions, rather than his power, at length, prevailed, by convincing them, that all the nations, who now acknowledged his sovereignty, enjoyed an equal degree of liberty with his subjects, and much more rational happiness. With these arguments they were at length induced to submit, or rather to put an end to the war; for, after all the bloodshed, it was rather a treaty of peace they made with the inca, than an acknowledgement of subjection.

THE activity of these last campaigns now heartily disposed the inca to taste the sweets of tranquillity. He returned therefore eagerly to *Cuzco*, shut himself up for some time in his palace to relax his mind and body, fatigued with the cares of war, and then applied his whole attention to the pacific arts, and particularly to building, for which he had an excellent taste. Some of the best constructed aqueducts, granaries, fortresses, and temples, which the *Spaniards* found in *Peru* were the works of this monarch, equally magnificent
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in peace, and formidable in war. The fine arts, imperfectly as they were then understood, he cherished and advanced; but he laboured particularly to bring to a conclusion that noble monument of imperial grandeur, the citadel of *Cuzco*, the plan of which had been projected, and the foundation laid, by his father. After he had thus indulged himself for some years in the exercise of his taste and genius, he resumed the thoughts of further conquests to the Northward, and raised an army for the reduction of the vast province of *Huanuca*, inhabited by a variety of nations, who lay scattered in the fields and mountains, without intercourse with each other, or any regular plan of society among themselves. They had some fortifications erected on the tops of the highest mountains, in which they took refuge against the fury of their enemies, whenever they had the misfortune of being defeated in the field; but now they neither hazarded fighting, nor chose to rely upon the strength of their retreats. Hearing of the clemency of the inca, and the excellency of the *Peruvian* constitution, they quietly submitted; and, without a single blow, became peaceable subjects to the empire.

THE next enterprize was against *Cannari*, a province so formidable that the inca thought it advisable to augment his army to sixty thousand men. The people were fierce and warlike; they distinguished themselves by an extraordinary custom of binding the heads of their children with fillets, so as to mould them into particular forms, which gave a very strange and peculiar appearance when they grew up. The forehead was generally of an uncommon and hideous breadth, the nose extremely flat, and the neck distorted, so that the whole nation might be deemed ugly and deformed to a high degree. The *Cannarians* adored the Moon as the supreme deity; but they likewise worshipped a great variety of sub-lunary deities, such as trees, pebbles, and especially jasper, because this kind of stone was rare in their country. It was conceived these barbarians would have made great resistance to the inca, but the event proved otherwise. The imperial army no sooner appeared on their frontiers, than they sent their submissions, and voluntarily received the *Peruvian* laws and religion, of which they had heard the strongest commendations. This province was among the most valuable conquests made by the incas, as it abounded with the richest metals, precious stones, and the most valuable commodities, and was, for that reason, cherished in a particular manner by the sovereigns, who adorned it with publick edifices of the finest structure, which their knowledge in architecture could reach. *Pedro de Cieza's* words are; "In short, what ever I can
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or expels of the riches with which the incas adorned these buildings (of *Canuari*); will fall short of the true value;" and a little farther he alleges, from the report of the *Indians*, "that the greater part of the stones used in those buildings was brought from the great city of *Cuzco*, by command of the inca *Huana Capac*, by force of men, who drew them with cords and cables, though of an immense weight and size." Hence we see, that it was in the succeeding reign particularly, that the *Cannarians* began to experience the favours of the incas, and to be distinguished from the natives of the other provinces.

SUCCESS served only to whet the inca *Tupac*'s ambition; for he scarcely rested himself after this conquest, but he prepared to reduce all the nations who extend themselves quite to the frontiers of *Quito*, and opened the way to the reduction of that important province to his successor, though he was foiled in all the attempts he made to bring the haughty monarch of *Quito* to terms of friendship. Forty thousand men were sent in this reign to reduce the province; they encountered the enemy in divers bloody engagements, but could never establish a footing in the country in the life-time of the *Inca*. Whether *Tupac* commanded in person we know not; certain only it is, that the glory of this acquisition to the empire was left for his successor; and that *Tupac* died with the mortification of seeing his designs frustrated by a barbarian, and that his power was not irresistible, as he had been taught to imagine from a flow of good fortune ^d (K).

HUANAN

^d ACOST. l. 6. c. 29.

(K) For the two last years of his reign, according to *Garcilasso*, the inca *Tupac Yupanqui* desisted wholly from wars, and employed himself in the civil government of his empire, visiting the provinces, and cherishing the arts, to the unspeakable joy of his subjects, who flourished and grew happy under the benign influence of his presence. Several sayings are reported of *Tupac Yupanqui*, some of which seem to prove that he entertained a faint idea of the true God from the light of rea-

son. "Many think, says he, that the sun lives, and is the creator of all things: now, it is necessary, that whatever creates all things, should be assisting in the operation of creating those things; but we know of many things created in the absence of the sun; therefore the sun is not the maker of all things." This syllogism favours too much of the scholastic pedantry of the *Spaniards* to be entirely credited of the illiterate inca, whom we must allow to be a tolerable logician, if he argued in the manner

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HUAYNA CAPAC, who succeeded to the imperial throne upon his father's demise, had been employed for the two last years in a military capacity, in which he exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and ability. Hence he received the name of *Huana Capac*, which implies a variety of heroic qualities. When he was sent to conduct the expedition against *Quitz*, he was only in the twentieth year of his age, and knew nothing more of war than what he had been taught in the closet by his masters; yet did he appear in the field to all the advantage of an old experienced general. In the midst of the most furious hostilities, he never so far lost his temper as to omit any opportunity of effecting his purpose by treaty and negotiation. To his humanity, rather than to want of valour, the tediousness of the war is ascribed. The people of *Quiza* were fierce, obstinate, and warlike; they fought a great variety of bloody battles, but were always defeated, though the victory never proved decisive on account of the prince's moderation, who would not suffer the enemy to be pursued, imagining that so many unfortunate trials of their strength would certainly bring them to a sense of their own inferiority, and the necessity of yielding to a power they could not resist. *La Vega* speaks as if most of these battles had been fought in the life-time of *Tupac Yupanqui*; but there is reason to believe that the war never went on with such alacrity as after the accession of *Huana Capac*, at least that the kingdom of *Quino* was not conquered before the present reign. The new inca no sooner perceived himself at the head of the empire, than he determined to shew himself worthy of sovereignty by enlarging his dominions. Accordingly he brought a prodigious army into the field, hemmed in the enemy on every side, gained possession of several of their provinces, and reduced them to such extremity, that the king of *Quitz*, chagrined

never alledged by *Blas Valera*. Another of his sayings was, "That avarice was a vice the least becoming a prince of all others, as it rendered him incapable of governing himself, who was born to rule over thousands, and diverted all his attention from the public welfare to his own private interest." "Avarice, said the inca, corrupts the mind, renders it incapable of counsel, and checks every great, manly, and generous sen-

timent." He used to repeat the saying of inca *Roca*, "That the sciences should be taught only to the nobility. Knowledge made the vulgar proud, insolent, conceited, lazy, and unfit for the professions suitable to their sphere of life, while they qualified the nobility for the government of the state. Politics, especially, would he say, is a science with which the vulgar should not be permitted to meddle." *La Vega*, l. viii. c. 8.

with disappointment, harrassed with fatigue and care, deprived of great part of his territories, and unable to defend the remainder, fell sick, and died, as is supposed, of a broken heart. This event was of the utmost consequence to the *Inca*; the enemy's generals fell into confusion; having no head, they disputed about the command, and became successively a prey to the imperialists. Thus *Quito* was at last subdued, after a vigorous war that continued for the space of three years since the accession of this prince, and more than two during the reign of his father.

Not long after his return to *Cuzco*, the inca began a progress through his dominions, in imitation of that laudable custom established by his predecessors; and he was everywhere received with the greatest joy and satisfaction, the curacas coming forth to meet him, and the people strewing the roads with flowers, erecting triumphal arches adorned with roses and odoriferous herbs, and filling the air with their shouts and acclamations. *Acosta* alledges, "That he was adored by his people in his life-time as a god, and with that divine worship which was never before used towards his ancestors, as antient men, still living, do remember, and relate of their own knowledge." He was twice married before he came to the crown; and while he was visiting the provinces, the news arrived that his second queen was happily delivered of a son, which caused his return to *Cuzco* to celebrate the joyful occasion by festivals. It was now he commemorated this event by that extraordinary gold chain of which the *Indians* relate such miracles, and after which the *Spaniards* made such diligent but fruitless search. *Garcilasso* acquaints us, that the following circumstance gave rise to the chain. All festivals were celebrated by dances, which differed in the mode in different provinces. There was a royal dance, in which the incas themselves condescended to take part, as it was grave and solemn, consisting only in a sort of decent gesticulation, and taking hands in circles. From this manner of clasping and linking hands, the inca conceived the idea of the gold chain, thinking it more agreeable to the royal dignity to have these dancers joined together by a chain rather than by hands, especially as custom rendered it a kind of sacrilege to touch the skin of the monarch. As these dances were performed in the great square of *Cuzco*, the inca ordered the chain to be made of sufficient length to surround the square; so that, according to the computation of *Garcilasso*, it must have been 700 feet in length, and so heavy, if we may credit the accompanant-general, *Augustine Carate*, that being fastened to the ears of 200 *Indians*, they could scarcely

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raise it from the ground. After all the search made by the *Spaniards*, this chain could never be found, it having been buried with other treasures carefully in the bowels of the earth; insomuch that, if the *Indians* did not speak of it as a thing beyond all doubt, there might appear good reason to question its existence. Hence we may perceive why the inca's new-born son and unfortunate successor was surnamed, and generally known by the name of, *Huascar*, that word signifying a chain in the language of *Peru*. It was by a daughter of the deceased king of *Quito*, that *Huayna Capac* soon after had another son, called *Atahualpa*, who, as we have seen, disputed the imperial crown with the legitimate heir *Huascar*, at the time of *Pizarro's* arrival.

THE inca having sufficiently relaxed his mind with these diversions and amusements, raised a great army, and descended to the plains on the sea-coast to the valley of *Chima*, the utmost boundary of the conquests of his forefathers. From thence he sent heralds to the bordering nations, requiring their submission, and met with no resistance, because they had for some time carried on a regular intercourse with his subjects, and received from them a very favourable opinion of the *Peruvian* government. All the vallies acknowledged his sovereignty, and gladly received all such laws and ordinances as he was pleased to establish; after which the inca went to the kingdom of *Quito* to adorn that country with stately buildings, and render it fertile and commodious by beautiful aqueducts and canals. Having finished these works, he again descended to the coast with an army of 50,000 men, and encamping in the valley of *Sullama*, sent a herald with offers of peace and friendship to the inhabitants of *Tumbez*, on condition they would acknowledge his sovereignty, embrace his religion and laws, and own themselves his subjects. They were a luxurious, effeminate, and cruel people, who spent their whole time in feasting, diversions, and the society of buffoons and parasites. The terror of an hostile army soon destroyed their mirth; but, instead of standing on their defence, they yielded themselves up, with the most implicit and servile obedience, to the inca's pleasure, who immediately practised every possible method to reform their corrupt manners, and render them sober and industrious. To keep the rod over them, he built a fortress in the country, and garrisoned it strongly; a temple also was erected to the *Sun*, in order to draw them from their abominable human sacrifices, and the worship of tigers and lions, or rather a fierce animal more resembling a wolf, which the *Americans* generally called a lion.

He was now at leisure to punish the inhabitants of *Huancavilla*, and those nations situated about *Puerto Viejo*, as it was afterwards called by the *Spaniards*, for having in the late reign massacred the governors set over them, and engaged into a kind of rebellion. *Huayna Capac* gave orders that the perpetrators of the murder should immediately be sent to court to take their trials; and as he was then at the head of an army, the criminals were obliged to obey, although they knew they merited death, and did not doubt but they should feel the full weight of the inca's displeasure. When the criminals approached his person, they fell upon their faces with the utmost humility, in which posture they remained while one of the inca's officers represented to them the heinousness of their offence, the reverence due to the royal officers, and the obligations which they owed to the inca, for having brought them to a rational and social method of living. He set forth their ingratitude as a crime of too deep a stain to be washed away by the blood of their whole nation: however, he said, the inca was desirous, out of his great mercy and humanity, to pardon the common people, whose fault he ascribed to their ignorance, and to rest satisfied with decimating the authors and contrivers of the conspiracy. Yet there was one condition of his lenity upon which he must insist, that the memory of their offence might be transmitted to future ages, as a lesson of obedience; namely, that the curacas and principal personages of the nation should have two fore-teeth drawn from each of the jaws; and that the custom should remain to the latest posterity, as a reproach for their perfidy and breach of promise.

WHEN this act of justice was finished, the inca passed to the valley of *Rimac* to consult the famous oracle of that country, agreeable to the treaty formed with the *Incas*; and having received his answer, which was filled with ambiguities and the most insulsome adulation, he dispatched the usual alternative of peace or war to the inhabitants of the island of *Puna* in *Peru*. *Tumpalla*, a prince of a haughty spirit, was at this time curaca of the island. He was vicious in his manners, and extremely oppressive and tyrannical in his conduct, by which means he raised up a great number of enemies among his subjects. When he received the inca's message, it was with such an air of disdain as plainly evinced his intention to stand on his defence; but this resolution he could not execute, on account of the strong factions among his people, which now broke out with redoubled animosity. However, he assembled his principal subjects, and spoke to them in the following words, if we may credit the *Spanish* writers: "Here
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now appears at the gates of our houses a certain tyrant, who threatens to rob us of all our houses, estates, and property, and to extirpate our nation, if we refuse to receive him for our lord and master. In case we admit him, we must renounce our antient liberty, our command and authority over other nations, and those rites and institutions which have descended to us through many ages from our ancestors. Nor is this all; for this foreigner, not reposing any confidence in our promises, will compel us to labour in erecting fortresses to serve as scourges over us, and the sure means of never regaining our freedom. He will seize on the best of our possessions, and despoil us of our wives and children, and the most beautiful of our daughters. What is still more grievous, he will trample upon our laws and antient customs, impose new bonds upon us, make us worship strange gods, and abolish our own religion. In short, he will oblige us to live according to his will and pleasure, which, to a noble mind, is the most irksome of all servitudes. In these circumstances, I leave it to you to consider, whether we had not better heal up all our divisions, unite in one common cause, and die in the defence of liberty, than tamely to deliver up ourselves as slaves to the capricious will of a tyrant."

THIS speech produced warm debates; a few were drawn over by the spirited manner of the inca; but the majority was of opinion, that it was better to resign themselves to the government of so great, prudent, and merciful, a prince as the inca, than to remain the enslaved vassals of a petty tyrant. At last, it was agreed on all hands, that the present situation of affairs required a temporary compliance, until a proper opportunity should occur for recovering and establishing their freedom. Upon this resolution, *Tuampalla* returned a mild answer to the messenger, who had been detained to know the sentiments of the council. He also sent an embassy with presents, and an offer of all his dominions; beseeching the inca to favour the island with his presence, which all the inhabitants would consider as the greatest honour and felicity. The inca accepted the invitation: having no suspicion of treachery, he passed over to the island with a part of his forces; and while he was engaged in settling the police, furnished the perfidious natives with an opportunity of massacring a great number of his people, the bodies of whom they threw into the sea. Several princes of the blood perished in this unfortunate affair, which so deeply affected the inca, that he expressed his sorrow externally, and clothed himself in a kind of grey woollen cloth, which was never done except upon very signal calamities. But his grief soon gave way to indignation and sentiments of

revenge: He assembled his army with the utmost expedition, and with great facility subjected the inhabitants, utterly devoid of counsel, policy, and military skill. Some writers speak of this event as if it happened on the main land, the island ~~is~~ having no share in the plot; but, from circumstances, ~~it~~ is probable that *Tumpalla* was the author of the conspiracy, and that he was assisted in this treacherous design by the bulk of his subjects both on the island and continent.

As soon as the reduction of the island was accomplished, the inca gave orders that all the captains, soldiers, and officers, engaged in the revolt, should be brought before his tribunal, which was placed in the midst of a circle of his armed soldiers. From these the authors of the conspiracy were selected, bound, and severely reprimanded by one of the imperial officers; after which they were ordered to prepare themselves for a punishment adequate to their offence. The sentence passed on them was, that they should suffer the same kind of death to which they had cruelly, wantonly, and perfidiously, exposed the soldiers of the inca. Accordingly, some of them were thrown into the sea, with great weights to sink them to the bottom; others were pierced through with lances, and fixed up in the most conspicuous places as an ~~example~~ a few were quartered and exposed to publick view in the same manner, and great numbers were hanged upon trees and gibbets. In this manner was justice executed upon no less than a thousand of the wretched inhabitants, which melancholy story afterwards became the subject of those songs which were repeated to the *Spaniards*. A fortress was erected at *Tumbez*, and the island put under the jurisdiction of the governor of the neighbouring provinces of the continent; after which he attempted to lay a magnificent bridge over the river *Guayquille*, that was never finished.

ON his return to *Cuzco*, he was met by the *Curacas* of all the provinces in his way, and presented with the richest gifts which their country afforded, in token of their vassalage and esteem. When he entered his capital, his first care was to visit the citadel, which was almost finished, to his great satisfaction; and then he sent proper persons to enquire into the state of the more remote provinces, particularly *Charcas* and *Chili*, sending rich presents to the governors, to be distributed among the chiefs and leading inhabitants. While he was thus employed, news was brought, that the inhabitants of the province of *Chuchupuyas*, seeing him embarrassed with the conquest of *Tumbez*, and revolt of *Puna*, had rebelled and massacred all the imperial officers and magistrates within their jurisdiction. When this advice arrived, the inca was ordering

dering his army to the sea-coast; but he now altered the destination of his troops, appointing them to march directly to *Chuchupuyas*, and punish the rebels to the extremity of rigorous justice. Before the army entered their country, he sent notice to the inhabitants, that if they would now lay down their arms, and return to their obedience, they should still be entitled to pardon; but they rejected the proposal with the most brutal contempt, relying upon the natural strength and mountainous situation of their country. This heightened the inca's indignation; he exerted his utmost diligence in assembling forces, and laying bridges over rivers, and, when he had prepared every thing necessary to the accomplishment of his designs, he set out in full march for the rebellious province, arrived on the banks of a broad river, that separated him from the enemy, linked all his boats together so as to form a flying bridge, marched down with the utmost regularity, and, by his formidable appearance, struck the enemy with dread and confusion at the consequences of their own rashness and cruelty. Sensible they could expect no mercy, after such acts of barbarity, which they aggravated by the insolence of the answer returned to his message, they demolished their huts, and retired with their families to the most inaccessible mountains, to avoid the resentment of a prince whom they could not withstand in the open field. However, great numbers of the old and infirm remained behind, either because they were unable to undergo the fatigue of scaling mountains, or that they had greater confidence in the generosity of the inca. To screen themselves from punishment they addressed a lady, who had formerly been concubine to the late inca, imploring her intercession with *Huayna Capac*, and beseeching with tears, that she would endeavour to appease the inca's just resentment. Wrought upon by their intreaties, she undertook the task, and set out to meet the army, accompanied by women of all degrees and ages, unattended by a single person of the other sex. The novelty of the appearance of such a croud of females struck the monarch, and he made little difficulty about admitting the petitioners into his presence. *Cuchupuya*, for that was the name of the principal lady, immediately threw herself at his feet, and spoke to the following effect: "Where is it, sire, you are going? Do you not reflect, that, full of rage and indignation, you are about to destroy that very province, which your pious father was at the trouble of gaining and annexing to his empire? Consider, I beseech you, that you are proceeding directly against the nature of that clemency, upon which you have founded the most

most durable part of your reputation; that you are going to execute those desolations in your anger, which you will be sorry for in your cooler moments. Remember how many more nations have been rendered faithful and obedient to your crown by mercy, than by the sword. Exercise a virtue now, that never can be displayed more seasonably, and which will eternize your memory. There is no merit in pardoning slight faults, because they scarce deserve punishment; let it be your glory to forgive the worst of all crimes, treason and murder, for the sake of a whole nation. Your father, great fire, reduced this people, which, though undeserving of such a protector, are nevertheless your subjects; and therefore let not your fury so far transport you in the punishment and the effusion of human blood, as to forget that you are yourself a man, and consequently subject to frailty, although the offspring of the brightest of all the heavenly bodies. Eclipse not the splendor of a character, worthy of so divine an origin, by suffering yourself to be betrayed into the weaknesses of mortality. Let me repeat it, that the greater the crime is which you pardon, the higher must your piety be exalted, and the splendor of that virtue, derived from your ancestors, shine with the more distinguished lustre. My earnest prayer therefore is, that you would vouchsafe upon your own account, as well as theirs, to receive this people once more under your protection; that you would vent your anger first against me, and let my blood atone for the crimes of my deluded and insatuated countrymen." When she had finished her discourse, all the women in her train lifted up their voices, cried out: "O! thou child of the *Sun*, thou refuge of the distressed, have pity on us, and pardon our parents, husbands, brothers, and children." The inca was moved with their piteous lamentations; for a while he was silent, but, recovering himself, he raised the matron from the ground, and exclaimed in a transport of tender passion, "Well dost thou deserve the name of *Mamomhu*, or mother of the people, who art so provident, not only of their good, but of my honour. I heartily thank you for the salutary advice you have administered. If I had given way to my rage, I might very possibly have repented to-morrow of the rashness of this day's conduct. Well hast thou preserved the duty of a mother towards thy people, in redeeming their lives from destruction: for which, as you have pleaded so successfully, you shall be gratified with the accomplishment of any wish in my power. Return with the tidings of peace and happiness to the people, and consider if there be any thing else you would require of me. Pardon the criminals when you please, and
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offer them whatever grace or favour you think proper; nothing shall be denied that you promise; and, for the better assurance of this my sincerity, take with you these four incas, my brothers, who are your sons, without any other attendants than their own menial servants, to whom I shall give only this commission; namely, that they will settle the people under a good and wholesome government." Convinced by this act of lenity of their error, the *Chuchupuyas* ever afterwards became faithful and loyal subjects to the inca, of whose good understanding we may sufficiently judge from the manner in which he received the admonitions of the matron *Cu-ni-puya*.

THE rebels being thus pardoned, *Huayna Capac* resumed his former intention of sending troops to the sea-coast, in the way to which lay the province of *Manta*, which had scarcely as yet acknowledged the dominion of the inca. In the metropolis of this province, the inhabitants worshipped an emerald of extraordinary size, which they kept in a place consecrated for the adoration of this unfeeling deity; and, in the surrounding country, the same degree of reverence was shewn for wild beasts and reptiles, from the largest snake to the most diminutive maggot (L). They were also strongly addicted to the abominably unnatural passion of incest. They slayed their prisoners; and marriages were contracted on condition, that the parents and friends of the bridegroom should enjoy the bride before the husband, for a trial of her virtues. The inca determining to abolish those horrible customs, sent them a severe summons immediately to surrender, and receive the *Peruvian* religion and laws, or prepare to expect the worst effects of his vengeance; and they, from conviction of their inability to resist, cheerfully submitted to whatever he thought fit to propose. To the conquest of the *Mantase* was added the reduction of several other adjacent nations, equally barbarous, with whose uncouth names we think it unnecessary to trouble the reader's memory; as they were distinguished only by different kinds of savage ferocity, and yielded without resistance to the menaces of *Huayna*

(L) The emerald was exposed to publick view upon solemn festivals, the *Indians* coming from all quarters to worship it and make offerings of smaller emeralds, which the priests persuaded them were the children and offspring of the great stone

deity, and the most acceptable present they could bring. Hence arose the vast collection of these precious stones found here by *Alvaredo*, on his arrival in *Peru*, to join the rest of the *Spanish* invaders. *Gar.* l. 9. c. 8.

Capac.

Copac. It is reported of this prince, that when he observed the barrenness of the country, and the bestiality of the people, he cried out—"Come, let us be gone; neither this country nor its inhabitants deserve the honour of our dominion." However, he bestowed the utmost pains to bring them to a more regular and civilized way of life, and had the satisfaction to find that his labour was not altogether fruitless, although upon the arrival of the *Spaniards*, the province of *Manta* was far inferior to the other provinces, in the arts of life, and in civil polity. If we may credit the *Spanish* writers, *La Vega*, *Cieca*, *Carate*, and *Acosta*, this country was formerly inhabited by men of a gigantic stature; and *La Vega* expressly affirms, that he has seen human bones of prodigious and indeed incredible size, dug up in the neighbourhood of *Puerto Viejo*, where the giants were said to have put to shore in junks, and afterwards founded a colony. Many instances of this nature have been found in *Europe*; and we have heard of bones, that were presented to the several learned academies, which would seem to prove that the human species is greatly degenerated, unless the bones undergo some change in the bowels of the earth, which we think extremely probable; although it is the business of the philosopher, and not of the historian, to explain this phenomenon.

AFTER an absence of some years, the inca returned to his capital, about the time that the principal feast of the *Sun* was to be celebrated. Upon this occasion, he is reported to have uttered some of those memorable sayings, which were thought by the *Spanish* writers to demonstrate the knowledge he had of the true God, the author and preserver of the universe. He was one day observed by the high priest, his brother, with his eyes fixed upon the *Sun* in profound contemplation. As this was a liberty altogether unknown, and esteemed a shocking prophanation, the high-priest spoke to the inca, asking whether he reflected on the impiety of which he was guilty, by lifting his eyes to the sacred luminary? To this the inca replied, that he would ask him two questions to convince him whether this action was really so prophane and impious as he imagined. "*I am your king and sovereign; is there any of you, who dare presume to command me to rise from my seat for your pleasure, and take a journey to such remote countries, as you shall think fit to direct.*"—"No," said the high-priest, *there is none who will be so daring and presumptuous.*"—"Is there among you any curaca, returned the king, who would venture to dispute my commands, if I should think proper to dispatch him to Chili, or any other remote country?"—"Certainly no," answered the high-priest, *no one would*

presume

presume to dispute your commands even to death."—"Then, said the inca, if it be so, there must be some other Being, superior to our father, the Sun, by whose commands he every day visits the heavens without intermission or repose; for were the Sun absolute and supreme, he would undoubtedly allow himself some cessation from labour, and, at least, the liberty of changing his occupation." From this speech it was that the Spaniards conceived so high an opinion of the wit and subtilty of *Huayna Capac*, as persuaded them he would have embraced the doctrines of christianity, had they been preached in his time in Peru. It is somewhat remarkable that the superstitious Indians regard this unpractised liberty of the incas, of beholding the Sun, into a bad omen, as if that bright luminary would certainly forsake the interest of his ungrateful offspring.

ABOUT this time the inca resolved to make another visit to all the provinces, in order, as he was growing old, to leave his dominions in the most tranquil state to his posterity. While he was employed on this circuit, news was brought him, that the province of *Caranque* was in rebellion, and had formed a league with several neighbouring nations, who were to assist each other in breaking the yoke imposed on them by the Peruvians. With this view, they held secret meetings, and concerted the means of destroying all the inca's officers, soldiers, and garrisons, appointed to keep the province in obedience. To conceal their designs, they pretended the most submissive regard to the will of the magistrates; but carried their hypocrisy to such a length, as to give suspicion of some treachery, though too late for the magistrates to provide for their defence. In consequence they were all massacred, a few Peruvians only making their escape to report the calamity to the sovereign, and to rouse his vengeance. The heads, hearts, and blood, of those unfortunate victims to popular fury were offered to the gods; and then the *Caranques* took every possible measure to guard against the consequences of so bloody and treacherous an action. Immediately the inca sent an army to punish the murderers, and bring all the rebels to justice; ordering his general however to send proposals of peace and pardon to the nation, upon their surrendering the ringleaders; terms which they refused with so much scorn, that they even maltreated the ambassadors, and with the utmost difficulty suffered them to escape the fate of their countrymen. Such gross violations of the laws, regarded among the most barbarous nations, wound up the inca to

^c I. A. V. c. 1. 9. c. 10.

^d Account. l. 5.

the highest pitch of fury. He determined to attack the rebels in person, and accordingly advanced with the remainder of his forces, destroying all before him with fire and sword. He gave battle to the enemy with great resolution and courage; but they sustained all his efforts with so much constancy, that, after several thousand men were slain, both sides prepared again to dispute the victory. In this manner, several battles were fought, before the rebels would yield an inch, or at all abate of that fury, which had first impelled them to such dreadful acts of inhumanity. At length, perceiving that the inca was re-inforced, that his resources were inexhaustible, and his power invincible, they began to relax from their usual vigour, suffering their rage to subside, and listen to the dictates of reason and self-preservation. They now quitted the open plain, and took refuge in the mountains; guarding the passes with all possible caution. After all, they were intirely defeated, and several thousands taken prisoners, the most active and culpable of whom, to the number of two thousand, were put to death, after having first undergone a variety of tortures. *Pedro de Cieca* computes the number of the sufferers at twenty thousand: but he probably, as *La Vega* remarks, includes those who were slain in battle.

It was immediately after crushing this rebellion, that the inca vested his natural son *Atabualipa*, with the sovereignty of *Quito*, a circumstance that we have already related as the ground of that civil war, which raged in *Peru* on the arrival of the *Spaniards*, laid the foundation of the ruin of the empire, and violent death, both of the inca *Huascar*, and his ambitious brother *Atabualipa*. Of these events the reader has already been so minutely informed, that it would be unnecessary to resume the subject (M).

WE shall close this reign, and the history of the incas, with observing, that all the *Spanish* writers take notice of a tradition, universally credited in this country, that the em-

(M) *La Vega* repeats the opinion of some writers, that *Huayna Capac* was terrified with the intelligence he received of a strange fleet which sailed along his coast, which these writers call the squadron of *Francisco Pizarro*; whereas, in fact, the inca died eight years before the

first expedition of this commander (1). The critic, however, falls himself into a mistake, by observing, that this might have been the fleet of *Bosco Nunnex*; yet, it is certain that *Nunnex* never penetrated beyond the coasts of that division known by the name of *Terra Firma*.

pire would be subverted by a strange people, cloathed in a very uncommon manner, and looking terrible with their long beards. Among a variety of other omens,* reported to have been observed before the death of *Huayna Capac*, there is one which to this day is credited by the *Peruvians*. It is reported that, while the inca was celebrating the annual festival dedicated to the *Sun*, a royal eagle, which they call *anca*, was seen hovering in the air, surrounded by a great number of hawks, which attacked him with so much fury, that he fell down among the princes, who stood round the inca, as he marched to the temple, and seemed to beg their protection. He had lost most of his feathers, and was so severely handled, that notwithstanding they nourished the eagle with the utmost care, he died in a few days. The inca, his priests and diviners, were all terrified at the spectacle, from whence they drew the most unfavourable presages; especially as it was succeeded by some dreadful earthquakes, which shook the neighbouring mountains off their foundations: and yet demonstrated nothing more than the superstition of the ignorant inhabitants, equalled only by the credulity of the *Spanish* writers, who relate these phenomena, not only as facts, but as presages of the succeeding subversion of the empire. *La Vega* relates, that the moon, in the midst of a clear starry night, was observed to be encompassed with three halo's, or luminous circles, (no uncommon appearance, nor difficult to explain) the first of a bloody colour, the second black, and the third resembling a fog or smoak. This was no sooner beheld by one of the celebrated magicians of the court, than he came with tears in his eyes before the inca, and declared, "That his mother, the moon, like a tender parent, intimated by this strange appearance, that *Pachacamac*, the creator and sustainer of all things, threatened his royal family and empire with grievous judgments. The first bloody circle, said this conjurer, denotes, that, after you are gone to repose in the bosom of your father, terrible wars shall arise in your own family; in which there shall be such effusion of blood, that, in a few years, your whole race will be extinct. The second black circle prognosticates the total destruction of your subjects, and subversion of the religion and government established by your ancestors, a calamity that shall be brought on by the dissensions of your own children. And, as for the third circle, it plainly forebodes, that all your grandeur will vanish into smoke and vapour. If you have any doubts of the fact, come and observe it with your own eyes; if you hesitate about the interpretation, let the other magicians and diviners be consulted."

THE inca, though greatly terrified with these predictions, assumed an air of resolution, and sternly bid the magician be gone, telling him that these were the visions of a disturbed imagination; yet, after all, it must be confessed, that the magician might fairly, without any supernatural pretensions, have predicted the calamities that succeeded, from the character of *Atahualpa*, and the dismemberment of the empire. Notwithstanding the inca had banished the magician from his presence, he still entertained such doubts and fears as obliged him to assemble the whole college of interpreters, who all confirmed the prognostic of their colleague, and threw the inca into the greatest consternation; which he endeavoured to conceal from the people, by affirming, that unless the great *Pachacamac* himself would reveal a secret of such importance, he must refuse his assent. "Is it possible, said he, my father, the *Sun* should abhor his own blood, and consign it over to perdition." Yet, reflecting upon what the magicians advanced, and considering how consonant it was to an ancient tradition of a celebrated oracle; he was in a manner confounded and perplexed with different opinions; but he did not despair, nor neglect the necessary measures for preserving the tranquility of his dominions. At this time, he kept his court at *Quito*, and finding the weather extremely hot, took it into his head to bathe in a neighbouring lake, the consequences of which were fatal. He was immediately seized with a fever, which carried him off in a few days, after he had for many years wielded the imperial sceptre with equal integrity, ability, and applause.

Huascar,
brother of
inca.

WHEN the necessary duties were paid to the memory of his royal father, *Huascar* ascended the throne, and governed for the space of five years, without giving *Atahualpa* any molestation in his kingdom of *Quito*. Some writers ascribe the dissensions that followed to *Huascar's* reclaiming *Quito*, as part of the empire of the incas, incapable of being dismembered. Others impute it to the ambition of *Atahualpa*, who was desirous of extending the limits of his jurisdiction. All agree, that *Huascar* promised to confirm the cession made by his father, upon two conditions; namely, that *Atahualpa* should hold his dominions as a feudatory of his empire, and do homage for them, and that he should not endeavour to make any addition to his empire. To these conditions, *Atahualpa* gave his assent, promising in a short time to attend his brother at *Cuzco*, with all the curacas and lords of his kingdom; instead of which he raised an army, broke out into open war, defeated his brother, and took him prisoner in the manner we have already related, himself soon after becoming

coming the prey of the *Spanish* invaders. Thus ended the empire of the Incas, after it had continued for the space of thirteen generations, the most potent, civilized, and magnificent state in the southern continent of *America*. We have dwelt the longer upon the subject, because it hath not been explicitly related by any modern writer, and is explained without order, method, or elegance of style or composition, by the old *Spanish* writers.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing a general view of all the Spanish and Portuguese settlements on the continent of America, and more particularly of California, New Mexico, Florida, and Mexico Proper, or New Spain.

WHEN we reflect upon the vast extent and immense *General* wealth of the *Spanish* colonies, we cannot but ascribe *reflections* it to some error in government that his Catholic majesty is *on the state* not the most formidable potentate in *Europe*. On the conti- *of the Span-* nent only, besides the richest islands of the *West Indies*, he possesses a territory stretching from thirty-four degrees of north-latitude to fifty-three degrees of south, filled with gold *nists' domi-* and silver mines, or with the most valuable commodities. *America.* From *Cape Sebastian*, the most northern point of *California*, to the straits of *Magellan*, contains a space of between six and seven thousand miles, the whole coast of which, on one side, is entirely *Spanish*, while, on the other side, the Catholic king's dominions comprehend all that tract of land lying between the above straits, in latitude fifty-three south of the equinoctial, to our colony of *Georgia*, in about thirty-one degrees north the line, except the *Portuguese* colonies in *Brazil*, and a few inconsiderable *French* and *Dutch* settlements. Great part, indeed, of the interior part of this country is possessed by the natives; but *Spain* claims the dominion, and her right hath not hitherto been disputed.

WITH respect to the climate, in so wide an extent of country, it must differ according to the latitude and other circumstances; and thus the general opinion, that the *Spanish West Indies* and boundaries in *America* are unwholome, is both true and false at the same time, like many other general propositions. Those colonies within or near the tropics, are undoubtedly in a climate exceedingly hot; yet, where they possess other natural advantages, they are both healthy

and pleasant. Several of the provinces in *New Spain* and *Peru* are blessed almost with every advantage; and the habitable world cannot instance finer and more delightful scenes than are to be found in *New Mexico* in the north, and *Buenos Ayres* in the south, and several other countries on both sides the line in the temperate zones. Where the lands have not been cleared, where the soil is marshy and swampish, and where periodical deluges of rain pour down from the heavens, there we may easily believe the climate must be unhealthy; and this is certainly the case with some of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*: whence it is usual to pass an unfavourable judgment upon the whole.

NOR does the soil differ less than the climate; some countries within the *Spanish* jurisdiction consist of the most beautiful lawns, pastures, fields, and meadows, watered with fine streams, shaded with groves, and variegated with hills and vallies; while others present to the eye nothing besides dreary deserts, dreadful mountains, vast forests, and the most tremendous scene of wild and rough nature. Several of the *Spanish* plantations are wonderfully rich and fruitful, abounding in corn, the most beautiful pastures, trees for fruit, shade, ornament, or the purposes of mechanics, odoriferous shrubs, medicinal plants, flowers delightful to the senses, herbs, and roots; in short, whatever nature or art produces in any quarter of the globe may here be found spontaneous, or raised by labour, in its greatest perfection. In the bosom of the earth the greatest treasures of the precious metals are combined; and, for the conveniency of navigation, *America* is furnished with several of the noblest rivers in the world. Let us instance *La Plata*, the river of *Amazons*, the *Mississippi*, and the river *St. Laurence*; the two last of which, indeed, are without the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* jurisdiction. We may, indeed, affirm, that were the *Spanish* councils vigorous in the prosecution of commerce, these colonies open the noblest field for wealth and glory. They contain every valuable material of trade which the increase and refinement of luxury hath rendered necessary to life; but it requires industry at home to set this complex machine in motion. Here the first principle resides; and, unless it be properly directed, all those vast resources serve only to impoverish, weaken, and enfeeble, the whole constitution. The gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, rich drugs, dying woods, tobacco, ginger, coffee, cotton, and sweetmeats of *America*, are properly the rewards of those nations, who, by dint of genius and industry, render themselves essentially necessary to the very existence of *Old Spain*.

If we now take a view of the country with respect to its inhabitants, we shall find another reason why her colonies have proved less serviceable to *Spain* than might otherwise be imagined. The impolitic expulsion of the *Moors* proved an irreparable blow to this monarchy, and the colonization of *America* encreased the evil; for notwithstanding this discovery preceded the event we have just mentioned, yet, for many years after the conquest, the constant drain of people made from *Old Spain* was not felt or perceived; perhaps the consequences appear at this day more manifestly than at any preceding period. Yet, though *Old Spain* was almost depopulated by the constant migration of her people to the continent of *America* and the *West Indies*, still the number was very inadequate to the purpose of rendering the plantations populous and flourishing; especially as the cruelty of the first conquerors had almost extirpated the natural inhabitants. To this we may add, that the very nature of the constitution is the greatest obstruction to the encrease of inhabitants, and the propagation of the species. When *America* was first reduced, it was thought necessary to establish great numbers of ecclesiastics in the country for the instruction of the natives in the Christian religion; as the surest method of bringing them under obedience, and the rules of regular and civilized society: At first the clergy proved of the utmost utility, as they laboured with the utmost diligence in the vineyard of salvation; but they soon proved extremely troublesome to the civil power, and have since multiplied to such a degree, as hath evidently the most pernicious effect on population. Every province is filled with monasteries, nunneries, and persons condemned by superstition to celibacy, and doomed by the tyranny of the church from the gratification of the most natural passion. The corruption too, and spirit of avarice and oppression, which reigns among all the officers deriving their authority from the crown, who are generally chosen out of families of distinction of broken and shattered fortunes, sensibly affects the state, not only by ruining the revenue, but discouraging industry, and extinguishing public spirit. We may subjoin, that the unaccountable attention which the *Spaniards* have shewn for gold and silver, has been equally prejudicial to the mother-country and to the colonies. This has not only prevented the government from cherishing those commodities and manufactures which in themselves would prove more valuable than the mines of *Potosi*, but has diffused such narrow and sordid principles through all the subjects of *Spain*, as is visibly productive of the most fatal effects: but as it would be foreign to our subject to enter upon a political detail, we

must content ourselves with this general view of the advantages and disadvantages of *Spanish America*, and now descend to particular descriptions of the several provinces that compose this vast empire. Already the reader has been informed of our reasons for treating this subject in strict geographical order; and it will only be necessary to observe in this place, that the history of the conquests of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Chili*, forms the military history of all *America*, no other nations having made any considerable resistance to their invaders.

Name of
Califor-
nia.

CALIFORNIA, the most northern of all the *Spanish* dominions on the continent of *America*, towards the *Pacific Ocean*, is also distinguished in some writers by the names of *New Albion*, and the *Islas Carabiras*; but the most antient appellation is *California*; a word which, in the opinion of the ingenious Jesuit *Miguel Venegas*, owes its origin to some accident, and possibly to some words spoken by the *Indians* and misunderstood by the *Spaniards*. This province, which for a long time was supposed to be insular, is a peninsula in the *Pacific Ocean*, issuing from the north coasts of *America*, and extending to the south-east as far as *Cape St. Lucar*, another cape, called *St. Sebastian*, forming the northern extremity; not but that the land runs farther, but that it has not yet been sufficiently discovered. In general, it is agreed among geographers, navigators, and particular narratists, that *St. Lucar's* cape lies in twenty-two degrees thirty-two minutes north latitude, and *Cape St. Sebastian* in forty-three degrees thirty minutes of the same latitude. *California* is divided from *Mexico* by a gulph of the name of the province, the opposite coasts lying nearly parallel, and the intermediate body of water being filled with islands; upon some of which the Jesuits have established settlements. The breadth of the peninsula is very unequal. Towards the north, it is near 200 miles broad; but at the southern extremity it tapers away, and is scarcely fifty miles over. It is bounded on the north by a continent scarce at all known, on the east by the province of *New Mexico* and the Gulph, or, as some call it, the *Lake of California*, or the *Pomilian Sea*, and by the great *Pacific Ocean* on the south and west.

Situation
and cli-
mate.

WE may judge of the temperature of the climate by the parallels within which it is confined: lying altogether in the temperate zone, the natives are neither chilled with cold, nor scorched with intense heat; and indeed the improvements in agriculture, made by the indefatigable Jesuits, are the strongest proofs of the excellency of the soil and climate. In some places the air is extremely hot and dry, and the earth wild, rugged, and barren, over-run with rocks, sands, and moun-
tains,

tains, without water in a sufficient quantity to render it fit either for pasture or tillage. In a country stretching about 800 miles, there must be variations of soil and climate; and thus, in effect, we find, from good authority, that *California* produces some of the most beautiful lawns, as well as many of the most unhospitable deserts, in the universe. The lands to the westward of the river *Colorado* are level and fruitful, interspersed with delightful woods, cool refreshing springs and rivulets, and the most enchanting pastures and meadows. Upon the whole, although *California* be rather rough, craggy, and unpromising, on a general view, we are assured by *Venegas* and other good writers, that it furnishes every necessary of life and felicity, with due culture; and that, where the atmosphere is hottest, vapours rising from the sea, and dispersed by pleasant breezes, renders it of a moderate temperature.

THE peninsula of *California* is now stocked with all sorts of domestic animals which are commonly used in *Spain* and *Mexico*. Horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, hogs, goats, and all other quadrupeds imported, thrive and encrease in this country. Among the native animals of *California* is a species of deer, which, in the language of *Marqui*, is called *Taye*. It is of the size of a young heifer, greatly resembling it in shape, the head like that of a deer, and the horns thick and curved, resembling those of a ram. The hoof of this animal is large, round, and cloven, the skin spotted, but the hair thinner and the tail sharper than of a deer. The flesh is greatly esteemed, and eat with the same relish as venison is by our epicures. There is another species of animal peculiar to this country, larger and more bulky than a sheep, but greatly resembling it in figure, and covered like it with a fine black or white wool. The flesh of this animal is nourishing and delicious, and, happily for the natives, it is so abundant, that nothing more is required than the trouble of hunting, as these animals wander in droves about the mountains and forests. Here too is a peculiar species of wild dog, somewhat different from the *coyotes* of *New Spain*, and greatly resembling the *European* fox in disposition, cunning, arts, and stratagems. Some years since an *Indian* killed a wolf, the first of the kind ever seen in the country, as all the natives declared. Father *Torquemado* describes an animal which he calls a species of large bear, something like a buffalo, of the size of a steer, and nearly of the figure of a stag. Its hair is a quarter of a yard long, its neck aukward and long, and on its forehead are horns branched like those of a stag. The tail is a yard in length and half a yard in breadth, and the hoofs cloven like those of an ox. But the greatest curiosity of the quadruped

kind, is a species of amphibious animal exactly resembling a beaver, and probably the very same animal, though not endowed with that extraordinary ingenuity and sagacity which peculiarly distinguishes the beaver of *Canada* and other northern countries.

WITH respect to the feathered kind, we have but an imperfect account. The natural history of *California* is still in its infancy; for we are only told, that, besides the birds produced in other parts of *America*, it has also a great number peculiar to itself, which are described by no author within our knowledge. Even the ingenious and sensible *Venegas* affords no satisfaction in this particular. He only relates in general, that the coast is plentifully stocked with peacocks, bustards, geese, cranes, vultures, gulls larger than geese, cormorants, mews, quails, linnets, larks, nightingales, and most of the birds found in other parts of the world.

As to insects, they swarm here as in most warm countries; but they are neither so numerous nor troublesome, on account of the dryness of the soil and climate. With respect to fish, the multitude and variety with which the gulph of *California* and the *Pacific Ocean* are supplied, is almost incredible. Salmon, turbot, barbel, skate, mackarel, pilchard, thornback, seals, bonetos, and all the rest of the finny kind, are caught here with very little trouble; together with pearl oysters, common delicious oysters, lobsters, and a variety of exquisite shell fish. However, of the testaceous kind, the most remarkable and abundant is the tortoise, caught in the utmost plenty upon the coasts. On the *South Sea* coast are some small shell-fish, or *conches*, peculiar to it, and perhaps the most beautiful in the world; their lustre surpassing that of the finest pearl, and darting its rays through a transparent varnish of an elegant vivid blue, like the *lapis lazuli*. The fame of *California* for pearls drew forth great numbers of adventurers, who, stimulated by avarice, have searched every part of the gulph, and are still continually employed in that work, notwithstanding fashion hath greatly diminished the value of this elegant natural production. Father *Torquimado* observes, that the sea of *California* affords very rich pearl-fisheries, when the *hostias*, or beds of oysters, may be seen in three or four fathom water, as plain as if they were on the surface.

As neither the air nor the qualities of the earth are uniform in *California*, the effects must appear in the arborious, as in the other productions of the earth. The extremity of the peninsula towards *Cape St. Lucar*, is more level, temperate, and fertile, than any other, and consequently more woody. In the more distant part, even to the farthest missions on the

east coast, no large timber has yet been discovered. In the territory of *Guadalupe* alone are found large quantities of timber fit for ship-building. Among the shrubs of this country, the most remarkable is the *pitahaya*, a kind of beech, the fruit of which forms the great harvest of the natives. The tree is peculiar to *California*; its branches are finely fluted, and rise vertically from the stem, so as to form a very beautiful top. The shrub bears no leaves, the fruit growing to the boughs without shade or cover. It resembles a horse-chestnut externally, but the pulp comes nearer a fig than any other fruit. In some it is white, in others yellow, and sometimes red; but always exquisitely delicious; being a rich sweet, tempered with a grateful acid. It would lead us beyond our design, were we to enumerate all the different fruits with which this neck of land abounds; most of them are to be found in other parts of *America*: we shall therefore close this short sketch of the natural history, with mentioning a species of manna supposed to fall with the dew, and to become inspissated on the leaves of the trees. Father *Pinolo* says, that without the whiteness of refined sugar, it has all the sweetness; and botanists are now agreed, that this manna is a juice exuding from the tree, although the natives firmly believe that it drops down from heaven.

THERE have been a variety of opinions with regard to the nations inhabiting *California*, and also concerning their languages. It is usual to distinguish barbarous nations by this circumstance, and to call all those of the same nation, who speak the same language, or dialects nearly similar of the same root. Accordingly some missionaries relate, that there are six different nations and original languages in *California*; while father *Turawal*, a very curious and learned missionary, affirms there are only three; namely, the *Cachimi*, *Pericu's*, and *Loretto's*, each of which hath its own language. From the *Loretto* two dialects have been formed; namely, *Guayamu* and *Uchiti*; and the difference is so considerable, that a person not perfectly conversant in languages would be apt to conclude they were all original and unconnected with each other. Since the arrival of the *Europeans* the names of nations have been greatly multiplied, as they called them by the names of the places where certain tribes happened to reside. The general appellation is *Manqui*; but then there are *Edues*, *Pericues*, *Laymones*, and an infinity of other terms expressive of greater or smaller numbers, or circumstances of language or situation, by which they happen to be characterized. It would be endless, and indeed useless, to specify the subdivisions into which each of these nations run, all of whom have certain pecu-

arities of diction, and variations in the idiom, termination, and pronounciation.

Persons.

It must be confessed that no other people on earth produce fewer instances of deformity than the *Californians*, who are in general handsome in their features and genteel in their persons, strong, vigorous, and robust, of a healthy countenance, but very swarthy. The paintings with which they daub themselves, and the holes with which they disfigure their ears and nostrils, are, however, great disadvantages to their appearance in the eyes of an *European*, though deemed a great beauty in their own. There is no reason to believe that the

*Genius and
arts.*

Californians have hitherto had any knowledge of the wonderful contrivance of letters, by which we communicate our ideas to each other at the greatest distance of place and time, converse familiarly with our remotest ancestors, and transmit our own opinions to the latest posterity; and indeed of all the *American* nations, the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* alone possessed the art of rendering themselves intelligible by certain types or symbols of ideas; rude and imperfect, indeed; but demonstrative of their address and genius; the former in their hieroglyphical signs and paintings, and the latter by their *quipos*, or strings of different colours. It is the observation of the ingenious Jesuit *Venegas*, that had the *Californians* been acquainted with the use of letters, we should easily have discovered whether the founders of the *American* nations passed from *Asia* to the continent of *America*, as hath been supposed by many of the learned, and whether this happened before or since the invention of letters in *Europe* and *Asia*. We should also be able to draw probable conjectures with regard to the particular nation of the first peoplers of this extensive country. As matters now stand, the *Californians*, if ever they were possessed of any such invention to perpetuate their memoirs, have entirely lost it; nothing now remaining besides some obscure oral traditions, that their ancestors came from the North; which might reasonably be inferred from their situation, without any information from them, *California* being surrounded by the sea, except on the north, where it joins the continent. They speak more particularly of the cause of this migration; alledging, that it arose from a quarrel at a banquet, at which the chief inca of every nation was present. This was followed by a bloody battle; the consequence of which was, that the defeated party fled to the South, to establish settlements in a distant country, where they might at least avoid servitude and oppression. Such is the imperfect idea the *Californians* entertain of their first migration, which shews nothing more than that the country was peopled from the continent;

there

there not being a clear monument in all *America*, among the nations on either side the equinox, of their coming originally from *Asia*. Nor is there in the farthest parts of *Asia*, to which the *Russians* have hitherto penetrated, the least vestige or tradition that the inhabitants ever had any communication with, or knowledge of the *Americans*; and, indeed, the *Russian* voyages, lately published by the ingenious professor *Muller*, seem to place it beyond all doubt, that both continents, however contiguous, are nevertheless separated by an arm of the sea;—a discovery rather curious than likely to be attended with any important consequences either to science or commerce.

EXCEPT in the two great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, *Genius of* where there was a greater intercourse and union, productive *the people,* of the cultivation of reason, in the establishment of laws, *govern-* policy, and military conduct, and of all the endearing rela- *ment, and* tions and reciprocal friendly dependencies of society; all the *manners.* other nations of *America* differ only in the modes of barbarity; being nearly similar in capacity and disposition. The characteristics of the *Californians*, as well as of most *Indian* nations, is insensibility and a degree of stupidity; want of knowledge and reflection; inconstancy, impetuosity, and violent appetites; excessive sloth and abhorrence of labour; an insatiable love of pleasure and dissipation, however trifling and brutal; and, finally, a total deprivation of every quality which gives worth to humanity, and renders man ingenious, inventive, and useful to himself and society. This is the picture drawn by the masterly hand of the Jesuit *Veugas*, and applied by him to the bulk of the *Americans*, though with too much rigour and severity; as many instances may be produced of the tractable, docile, and ingenious dispositions of the natives both of *North* and *South America*, proper allowances being made for the state of total ignorance and rude simplicity, in which they were found when the *Europeans* first invaded their country. The *Californians* have only faint glimmerings of the virtues and vices; actions appear good or evil rather from habit or accident, than from reflection in the moral sense. The most that is observed in the natives of this country is some sensibility of emulation, and ambition of applause. To see their companions praised or rewarded kindles up some latent sparks of rivalry, and this sometimes stimulates them to shake off their innate sloth. The general extent of their desires soars no higher than to get daily provision with the least fatigue possible, taking little concern about the future; and, as for their household furniture, it consists entirely of the implements of fishing and hunting, or of

of war. There being no such thing as property, they have consequently no idea of wealth, as their notions of right extend no farther than that of being the first in gathering the spontaneous productions of the earth.

AFTER this general description of the disposition and genius of the *Californians*, we can entertain no great expectations from their form of government. It is perhaps impossible for an *European* to annex any ideas to what is commonly called civil government, if he be not allowed to join property. We have already observed, that the *Californians* know no division of lands or possessions, and consequently no succession to immoveables, nor any claim of patrimonial inheritance; nor, on the other hand, any complaints of illegal intrusions. Every nation or language consists of certain *Rancherias*, more or less in number, according to the fertility of the soil, and other adventitious circumstances, and each *Rancheria* is united by consanguinity. On the first arrival of the missionaries, these little tribes acknowledged no chief by any kind of tribute, homage, or external ceremonies. Families governed themselves according to their company; and the authority of parents over their children ceases as soon as the latter are able to provide for themselves. A kind of forcerers, in whom they had great confidence, found means to impose on the understandings of this simple people, and gain considerable influence and power; but this authority, founded on imposture, lasted no longer than their festivals, or in sickness, or other incidents, which excited their fear or superstition. Yet there was in each *Rancheria* two or more persons who gave orders for gathering the products of the earth, directed the fisheries, and, in case of rupture with any neighbouring clan, headed the forces. This dignity was not acquired by blood, descent, age, or formal election; but by merit solely and popularity. It was unanimously agreed, that he who was brave, expert, artful, or eloquent, should be promoted to the command; but his authority was limited to terms, imposed by the fancy of those who submitted to his directions. This occasional leader conducted them to the forests and sea coasts in quest of food; he sent and received messages to and from the neighbouring nations; he gave the earliest notice of any impending danger; he spirited up the clan to revenge injuries; he directed the execration, and he headed the people in their wars, ravages, and devastations. In all other particulars, every one was intire master of his liberty.

THE *Californians* distinguish their want of ingenuity in their dress and houses. The houses consist of wretched huts, built

built near those few streams, wells, or ponds, found in this country. As they are under the necessity of frequent migrations in search of nourishment, they easily shift their residences, it requiring only a few hours labour to build a little habitation fitted for all their purposes. In the severity of the winter, it is usual with them to live in subterraneous caverns, either natural or artificial, and the nations near *Cape St. Lucar* make tents of the branches of trees, like those of shepherds, which the Jesuits think they must have learned from seamen, who have been forced upon the coast; although we think the contrivance so simple, that it might easily have occurred to the most ignorant people. In some places the *Californian* houses are only a little space enclosed by stones or earth half a yard high, and without any covering. In general these habitations are so small, that the wretched inhabitants, not having room to stretch themselves at full length, sleep in a kind of a sitting posture. The missionaries taught them how to build, and even prevailed on some to erect little houses of unburnt bricks, covered with sedges; but, notwithstanding this convenience, there was no bringing them to live under cover, or to relish advantages to which they had not been accustomed; an evident proof that most of those things, which are deemed the necessities of life, arise purely from fancy, example, and custom.

WITH respect to their dress, it is uniform over the whole peninsula, consisting of a few ornaments and decorations of the hair, and a girdle round their waists; all the rest of the body being entirely naked. *Vengas* acquaints us, that the *Edues* adorned their heads with strings of pearls braided with their hair, and interwoven with the most beautiful feathers; some wear fillets of neat net-work; others neck-cloths of well-wrought figures of *Nacar*, and sometimes strings of round small fruit. Their arms are likewise frequently adorned with fruit, net-work, or strings of pearls, in the form of bracelets. The *Indians* of the North wear their hair short, and, instead of pearl strings, decorate the head with a splendid crown, formed of *Nacar*, which they make of the mother of pearl, detached from the shell by a flint, and finely polished on both sides. Although many of the women went naked like the men, yet they shewed great regard to that decency, so necessary to the security of virtue. In general, indeed, they wore a kind of petticoats made of palm leaves, and all carefully concealed those parts, which nature intended should be concealed; perhaps for the wisest reasons, the rendering them the more sacred by the mysteriousness in which they were wrapped. The dress made of palm leaves

is peculiar to the women of the *Edues*. They beat these materials until the filaments are separated, which they afterwards weave into a kind of soft stuff, superior in fineness and beauty to what is commonly composed of hemp in *European* countries. A love of ornament also prevails more among the *Californian* women than the men; this is a female weakness, that seems common to all countries. Here the women are set off with pearls, and all the other splendid trinkets, which nature affords, or their ingenuity can invent. In the northern parts, the women wear a meaner garb, made of sedges; but, as this proceeds from their displaying less genius and invention, than those of the more southern climes, we may affirm, that all are equally taken up with the love of dress, and ambitious of making a handsome appearance.

In their fishing nets only the *Californians* displayed any degree of ingenuity and invention: these were made with admirable skill of various colours, and such diversity of texture and workmanship, as cannot be described. Father *Toraval's* words are, "I can affirm, that of all the nets I ever saw in *Europe* and *New Spain*, none are comparable to these, either in whiteness, the mixture of the colours, or the strength and workmanship, in which they represent a vast variety of figures. The nets are woven by the men, but the women spin and manufacture the materials, which they prepare from plants, and a coarse sort of thread made from the palm." These nets serve also for decorating the head and neck, as well as for catching fish, or holding fruits and the vegetable productions of the earth.

THE *Edues*, or southern *Puriques*, admitted a plurality of wives, who took care of the sustenance of the family, and were diligent in collecting the fruits of the field, to keep their husbands in good humour. It was allowable for the husband to dismiss his wife, in which case the discarded disconsolate woman was regarded as an outcast from society. Thus the more wives any man possessed, the better he lived; great part of his maintainance depending on their industry, and his power over them keeping the wretched creatures more diligent and obedient; a particular which greatly contributed to the conservation of this brutal custom. In some other nations there appeared more moderation. The chief men among them never exceeded two wives, while only one fell to the share of the vulgar. Adultery was reckoned a crime deserving the severest punishment, except on two occasions; at their festivals, and publick trials of strength and agility, the most beautiful women, whether married or single, was for that night only the scandalous reward of the victor.

victor. The manner of contracting the matrimonial alliance was as peculiar, as some of its restrictions and privileges. In the nation of *Loretto*, it was customary to present the bride, by way of earnest with a bottle, or jug, in their language called *alo*, her acceptance of which denoted her consent. On her part, she was to make her return by presenting the bridegroom with a net, the reciprocation of which testimonies of friendship confirmed the marriage. There were some nations in *California*, where the marriage was concluded at the end of a ball, the whole ceremony consisting in the mutual consent of the parties before the tribe, or *Rancheria*, upon which they retired and lived together.

AMONG other ridiculous customs of this country, one is peculiarly absurd, and hardly known in any other part of the world, except in *Brazil*. The women, immediately after delivery, go to some water and wash themselves and the child, then sally forth to the forest, and use the same diligence in collecting wood and food, as if nothing had happened, returning home laden with heavy burdens; while the lazy husband lies stretched at his ease in his cave, or at full length under the shade of a tree, affecting the pangs of labour, extreme weakness, and illness; a farce that usually continues for the space of three days. Mothers have been known to destroy their children with impunity upon any scarcity of food, until a stop was put to this shocking practice by the Jesuits, by ordering that a double portion of provision should be given to women in childbed. We must likewise observe, that it was an established custom among the *Californians*, like the *Jews*, for the widow to marry the brother, or nearest relation of the deceased.

ALL the high festivals are kept during the time of gathering the *Pituhayas*, when the natives throw aside the little reason, with which they are endowed, and resign themselves to feasting, dancing, buffoonery, and every species of absurd and ridiculous mirth. Whole nights are spent with the utmost delight in riotous and tumultuous jollity; but acting comedies is the principal entertainment. The actors are selected for their talents in mimicry and imitation, and if we may credit the reverend Jesuit fathers, these barbarians have carried pantomime to an astonishing degree of excellence. The *Californian* dances are excellent, and various in their kinds, and the performers acquit themselves with much agility and gracefulness, representing the different motions of war, fishing, hunting, marrying, and whatever is most important among them, by gesticulation and dumb shew. Even children act their parts to admiration, and perform a variety

variety of action in the most natural manner, which require practice, and long assiduous application.

Religion of the Californians. THE most interesting subject of curiosity is the ancient religion of the *Californians*;—but it will be impossible to avoid obscurity, or fully to gratify the reader, because of the general or prejudiced relations given by travellers. All, indeed, agree, that no idolatry has hitherto been found among the *Californians*. They neither worshipped any living creatures, or formed images of false deities, to whom they paid any kind of adoration. They had neither temples, altars, oratories, nor any other place set apart for religious exercises. In a word, no outward profession of religion appeared in festivals, prayers, vows, or expiations. There were, however, the Jesuits affirm, a set of speculative tenets, which must surprize the reflecting reader. They alledge that the *Californians* not only had an idea of the unity and nature of God, as a pure spirit, but also some faint glimmering of the Trinity, the eternal generation of the *word*, or *logos*, and other articles of faith mixed with a thousand absurd superstitions. As the following account is curious, we shall venture to transcribe it on the authority of *Venegas*, a most sagacious observer, and excellent writer. Speaking of the *Pericues*, he says, “they believe there is in heaven a lord of great power, called *Niparaya*, who made the land and the sea, gives food to living creatures, created the trees, and every thing we behold, whether animate or inanimate, and is possessed of unlimited power. He is invisible, because he is without a substantial body; he has a wife called *Anayiccyonli*; but he uses her not carnally, because he has no flesh, though he has begot three sons upon her, one of whom was *Quahap*, or man. It was from this printe of divine origin, they were taught many arts: he was very powerful, and had under his command a great number of men, whom he raised from the bowels of the earth. At length he was put to death by the *Indians*, and crowned with a crown of thorns, though to this day he remains beautiful, and without corruption. His wounds are continually streaming blood, and although he does not speak in his own person, all his thoughts are communicated through the organs of an owl, or *Teolote*.” A figment, which, we must confess, we think owes it birth to the Jesuits, or other missionaries, who would insinuate from hence, that the *Californians* have a glimmering notion of the birth and passions of *Christ*.

It is farther alledged, as a religious tenet of the *Californians*, that formerly there were violent wars and commotions in heaven, which is more populous than the earth.

A person

A person of eminent power rebelled against the sovereign lord, and being joined by numerous adherents, ventured to give battle, but was totally defeated, expelled heaven, and confined to a vast cave under the earth, with a great sea round him, and whales placed as guards, that he might not escape from his confinement. This rebellious lord they call *Wac*, or *Tuperen*; he delights in fighting and slaughter, because all who die in battle go to his cave; whereas the great lord *Niparaya* is pleased with peace and concord. Should any truth really exist in this monstrous relation, we should only infer from it, that some *Christians* had entered this country, before the date of the earliest accounts we have of the missions undertaken to *California*, and that these superstitions are the remains of the *Christian* and *Jewish* religions, which were but imperfectly understood by the simple and ignorant natives.

BESIDES *Niparaya*, the *Californians* believe in two other invincible spirits of inter or power, called *Sunongo*, and *Gayai-pua*. The former sends pestilence, and sickness; whereas the latter is reputed the author of the greatest blessing; namely a plentiful harvest of *Pitchers*. His employment was to make vestments for his priests, of the skins of wild beasts; he likewise made a great many creeks on the coast, which he stocked with fish, and after having shed his bounty on mankind, he took his flight to the skies, and left a painted table, which his priests now use at their entertainments, as a memorial that he once resided on earth. The sun, moon, and stars, they believe to be human creatures, thrown every night into the western sea, where they are under the necessity of swimming out by the east. But as it would be tedious to enter upon a detail of the religious absurdities of the *Californians*, we shall only touch upon a few particulars of the creed of the *Cachimies*, who are not only the most numerous and extended tribe of the whole country, but the most ingenious, rational, and least addicted to absurdity, and superstition, or brutality. According to them there is in heaven a Lord, whose name in their language signifies *he who lives*. This lord begot a son without a mother, who went by two names, implying his swiftness, and perfection. There is besides in heaven another great lord, who is the creator of lords; but the first mentioned is the greatest, as his power extends over the brute, the vegetable, and every other part of the creation, except some individuals among mankind. They have also a notion of a rebellion in heaven, and the expulsion of evil spirits, to whom they give the appellation of liars, ensnareers, or seducers;

from

from all which we would infer, that some *Europeans* or inhabitants of the *Philippines*, of whom no memory now exists among the *Indians*, had been driven by some accident to the coast of *California*, and being obliged for a time to take up their residence among those barbarians, endeavoured to propagate the doctrines of christianity, which, in process of time, became disfigured into the fictions we have related.

As to the priesthood, it was just what might be expected from this shadow or phantom of religion. In most narratives they are called *Diminuchos*, *Gnosmas*, or *Hechicheros*; according to the different language of the tribes to whom they belong. The latter of these terms signifies a forcerer, or magician, supposed to communicate with infernal spirits; an opinion which they endeavoured to impress on the minds of the people by a thousand frauds and impostures. This pretended commerce with spirits gained the priests great influence, and they heightened the reverence by a variety of ceremonies, gestures, and the introduction of different mystical rites; an art practised with success in countries where a purer religion is professed, that requires not the aid of imposture. The sole and ultimate intention of all these pious frauds was interest; the people imagining that success was to be obtained, and misfortune avoided, by bringing the priests the first fruits of whatever sustenance they collected. This was a principle carefully inculcated by the priesthood, who thundered out anathemas and the curses of sickness and famine, whenever the people happened to grow remiss in their offerings. They affirmed they were possessed of sufficient power to bring on the most dreadful calamities, by means of their friendship and intercourse with spirits; and it heightened their reputation with the people, that they were the only physicians from whom they could hope for relief in their distempers: whatever was the medicine, it was administered with great ostentation and solemnity. One was very remarkable, and the good effects which it usually produced augmented the reputation, and elated the confidence of these religious empirics. They applied to the part affected of the patient's body the *Chamac*, or a tube formed of black solid stone, through which they sucked, and sometimes blew, with all their force, supposing that by this means the disease would either be exhaled or dispersed. Frequently the tube was filled with *Cumaron*, or wild tobacco lighted, the smoke of which was sucked in or swallowed by the patient, according to the physician's directions; and this plant alone, without other remedy, has been known to operate so powerfully, as to remove the most dangerous maladies. In most other transactions,

transactions of life, they practised a variety of deceits, by which they gained an unlimited ascendant over an ignorant people, whose gross stupidity opened a way to those inseparable companions of ignorance, credulity, fear, and superstition. Schools were erected in certain provinces of *California*, in which the youth were instructed in these impostures and puerilities, which they regarded as truths of the greatest importance. The pupils attended their masters to caves and solitary places at a distance from the dwellings, where they were taught to draw certain figures in tablets, in the same manner as our children are taught to write; a secret first discovered by father *Salva Tierra*, who observed, that, about the season for gathering *pitabayas*, all the boys about the garrison of *Loretto* disappeared, and from one of these he drew the secret; but not without artifice and trouble; for silence is one of the strongest injunctions imposed on the noviciates.

At the public festivals celebrated by the whole nation, it is that the authority of the *Californian* hierarchy appears with peculiar splendor, whose presence makes the most riotous assemblies be considered as religious orgies. They act the principal parts, and dress themselves in the most solemn habits of their function, which are never wore but on extraordinary occasions. These consist of a large cloak, covering them from head to foot, entirely composed of human hair. Their heads are adorned with a very magnificent plumage made of hawks feathers, and in their hands they hold a large fan composed of the longest feathers which the country affords. When the southern *Edues* cannot procure a sufficient quantity of feathers, they deck out the head with the tails of deer, adding two strings of the hoof of the same animal; one round the neck, and the other as a girdle round the loins. The ridiculousness of this dress is still heightened by daubing the body over with red, black, and different colours; so that the appearance they make is equally absurd and ugly. The priests open the entertainment with sucking the *chucucos*, until they are become frantic and almost drunk with the smoke, when they pronounce a panegyric on their tenets, delivered with the wildest gestures, and horrible vociferations; pretending they are inspired by those spirits which the people acknowledge, and denouncing vengeance, or imploring blessing, just as the fumes of intoxication inspire. Sometimes they affirm, that they are the very identical spirits so much revered by the people; at others, that they had visited the skies, and just conversed with the deities; in proof of which they will produce a piece of deer's flesh, of the skin of that animal, or of an herb, with which they pretend they can kill at pleasure.

pleasure. But their most usual device is to hold up in their hands some little tablets of wood made with great labour, on which are painted certain grotesque figures; asserting this to be the true copy of the tablet which the visiting spirit left with them on his departure to heaven. During this frantic harangue, the audience is feasting and dancing; and being inflamed by gluttony and intemperance, the whole concludes in the most lascivious scenes and abominable gratification of their appetites, all mingling indiscriminately, as if determined to violate every principle of shame, reason, and modesty.

THERE is another public festival on piercing the ears and nostrils of the children; at which the priests do not fail to exercise that authority which they found on the simplicity of the people, celebrating, according to their private passions, some as brave and generous, upbraiding others as cowardly and factious, enjoining penitance and abstinence, and sometimes laying a whole tribe under interdiction, and prohibiting them, for a certain time, to taste fish, flesh, or fruit. Nor is this the only method of venting their spleen and demonstrating their power. They frequently order the people to make roads and clear ways over the most rugged and difficult mountains, for the more easy descent of the visiting spirit; and what cannot be read without horror is, that these inhuman impostors sometimes even order them to throw themselves down from precipices, which they obey implicitly, in the full persuasion their lives will be saved by invisible powers, although repeated experience demonstrates the absurdity of their faith. In recompence of these services, the priests raise contributions on their flocks by way of tythes, and in consequence are enabled to live more luxuriously than any other set of people. A yearly tribute of the best fruits, and daily tythes of fish and flesh is paid to them. The first is the acknowledgement made by the children for their instruction, and the adults recovered by their skill and care from dangerous diseases. The priests even find means to lay a tax upon the dead, under pretence of recommendations given to departed spirits. When a *Californian* was seized with a malady, the priest was sent for, consulted as an oracle, and all his prescriptions were followed with the utmost exactness; but if the distemper proved too obstinate to be removed by herbs, juices applied internally or externally, the *chimaco*, or *simarion*; then all the patient's relations were assembled, and the little finger of the nearest female relation was cut off, under pretence that the blood which streamed from the wound would either effect a cure, or at least remove all sorrow for the deceased from the family. This barbarous ceremony was followed

followed by visits from the whole tribe, each conversing in their turns with the dying patient, and, if the case be desperate, setting up a melancholy howling, covering their face with their hands and hair, and repeating this ceremony, from time to time, divided into separate companies. The cries of the bye-standers ceasing, the patient desires they will suck and blow him in the same manner the physicians had done, which is obeyed, each using his utmost strength to testify the degree of his affection. When he is just expiring, these rational humane doctors thrust their hands into the patient's mouth, saying they pluck death forcibly out of his body; and the women still continuing their yellings, give him many severe strokes to awaken life, at the moment they are extinguishing it with pain and torture.

No sooner has the patient yielded his last breath, than the friends proceed to the funeral rites, either burning or burying the body, just as it is found most convenient. The first care of those barbarians is to remove every spectacle that can possibly give them uneasiness, and immediately to resume their former mirth and festivity; to which end they inter the body before it is well cold, consuming by fire or burying all the deceased's effects with him. So little do they enquire into the reality of his death previous to the funeral, that father *Salva Tierra* acquaints us, that hearing lamentations, and seeing the fire, in the neighbourhood of *San Juan de Lando*, he hastened to the spot, where he found them just going to burn a man, who, he could perceive, had life and motion. He snatched him from the fire, administered medicines, recovered the patient, and severely reprov'd them for their rashness and barbarity.

We shall close this account of the genius, manners, and religion of the *Californians*, with the words of father *Torquemado*, speaking of the island of *St. Catharine*. "In this island are several *rancherias*, or communities, and a temple with a large level court, where they perform their sacrifices. The place of the altar was a large circular space, with an inclosure of feathers of several birds, of different colours, which, I understood, were those of birds they sacrificed in great numbers: and within the circle was an image, strangely bedaubed with a variety of colours, representing some devil, according to the manner of the *Indians of New Spain*." How different is this, and the account given of the religion of the *Californians* by *Veregas*, from what is asserted by most of the Jesuits, who first entered that country; namely, "that the natives had no external signs of worship; that they neither offered prayers, sacrifices, nor expiations, but

adored an invisible, all-creating, and omnipotent being, in silent and mental reverence. However, as these are inconsistencies that cannot be rectified by us, who pretend to nothing more than compiling from the most authentic journals, it may be agreeable to the reader that we should pursue *Torquemado's* account, which places the absurd superstition of the natives in the strongest point of view. "The inhabitants of *St. Catherine*, says the reverend father, place in the hands of this image a figure of the sun and moon; and when the soldiers came to see this temple, they found within the circle of the altar two crows of larger size than common, which flew away at sight of the *Spaniards*, but alighted among the neighbouring rocks. The soldiers, observing their extraordinary size, fired their pieces, and shot them dead; at which an *Indian*, who attended them for a guide, fell into perfect agonies. I was informed that they believed the devil spoke to them by means of these crows, whence they paid them the greatest reverence. Some time after, one of the religious going that way, saw some *Indian* women washing fish along the shore, in order to dress them for their families. The crows came and picked them from their hands, while they observed a profound silence, without daring to lift up their eyes, or frighten them away."

To conclude the history of this peninsula, we shall observe, that notwithstanding it was discovered soon after the conquest of *Mexico*, and some expeditions were made to the Gulph by *Cortez* and his officers, yet it was for a long time wholly neglected by the *Spaniards*, who to this day have but one settlement, we believe, on this valuable coast. In the year 1595, a galleon was sent to make discoveries on the *Californian* shore; but the vessel was unfortunately lost in port *des los Reyes*. Seven years after, the count *de Monterey*, then viceroy of *New Spain*, sent *Sebastian Biscaino* on the same design with two ships and a tender. He sailed as high as *Cape Mendocino*, but discovered nothing of importance. In 1684, the marquis *de la Laguna*, also viceroy of *Mexico*, dispatched two ships with a tender to make discoveries in the lake of *California*, of which, after all his pains, he brought back but an indifferent account; though he was among the first who ascertained its being joined to the continent of *America*, and contiguous to that of *Asia*. Father *Mutierrez* reports, that during his residence in *Pekin*, in *China*, a Christian woman of *Mexico* was brought thither as a slave, who affirmed, that she had come by land all the way from her own country, except two days spent in passing an arm of the sea, which he supposes must have been the straits of *Anian*. So this as it will, we

owe to father *Caino*, a German Jesuit, the absolute certainty that *California* is a direct peninsula joining to the continent of *New Mexico* and the more northern parts of *South America*. He landed on the former from the island of *Sumatra*, and passed to the latter without crossing any other water than the river *Azal*, into which the *Rio Colorado* falls in about the thirty-fifth degree north-latitude. Since the first ingress of the Jesuit missionaries into this country, they have laboured with indefatigable zeal to propagate the Christian religion and civilize the inhabitants, though the fruits have hitherto proved inconsiderable. To them *Spain* certainly owes the first reduction of this barbarous people; but they are taxed, possibly not unjustly, with enslaving the minds of the simple natives, propagating false doctrines, and laying the foundation of an independent hierarchy and empire, as they certainly have done in *Paraguay*. The reader who is anxious to be fully informed upon this subject, may consult the writings of father *Miguel Venegas*^h, so frequently referred to in the above account, as it would greatly exceed our limits to enter upon a detail of the several missions made to *California*, and treat the matter with historical precision. Let us only observe, that were the court of *Madrid* to push their interest with half the zeal of the Jesuits, *California* might become one of their most valuable acquisitions, on account of the pearls, and other valuable articles of commerce, which, without all doubt, this country contains. At present, the little Spanish town near *Cape St. Lucar* is made no other use of than a place of refreshment for the *Manila* ship, and the head residence of the missionaries (N).

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^h Hist. Californ. p. 3. §. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, &c.

(N) The coasts of *California*, especially towards the *Vermilion Sea*, or *Gulph*, are covered with inhabited islands; such as those of *St. Clement*, *Paxaros*, *St. Anne*, of *Cedars*, so called from the great number of these trees which it produces of the largest size; *St. Joseph*, and a multitude of others, which may be seen by casting an eye on the map of that country. But the islands best known, are three lying off *Cape St. Lucar*, towards the *Mexican* coast. These are,

ed *The Three Marys*, *Les Tres Marias*. They are but small, have good wood and water, abundance of game, as in *California*, salt-pits, &c. and therefore the *English* and *French* pirates have sometimes wintered there, when bound on cruizes in the *South Seas*. Many years since it was proposed by captain *Dampier*, with great judgment and knowledge of the terraqueous globe, to search for a north passage, by doubling *Cape Blanco*, towards the northern extremity

New
Mexico.

WE come now to describe *New Mexico*, upon which subject the reader must not expect we should be very minute or explicit, as the *Spanish* accounts themselves are extremely defective. The boundaries of this province are by no means ascertained, and the greater part of it is still in the hands of the natives, who might easily be reduced, if the *Spaniards* found it advisable to render the colonies less populous, in order to render their dominions more extensive. This vast region, sometimes called the kingdom, and sometimes the province of *New Mexico*, lies eastward of *California*, being divided by the Gulph from that peninsula. It extends a great way towards the North Pole, and is bounded on that side by very high mountains, and a country never pervaded by *Europeans*, and indeed utterly unknown. On the east it has the spacious, new-discovered country of *Louisiana*, on the west the *Californian* lake and *Rio Colorado*, while, on the south, it is hedged in by some of the provinces of *Mexico Proper*, or *New Spain*. With respect to its situation geographers differ; but, in the best maps, we find *New Mexico* laid down between the thirtieth and forty-fifth degrees of north-latitude, and between two hundred and sixty and two hundred and seventy-three degrees of longitude; but whether we ought to extend or contract these limits, is what we cannot affirm with any degree of certainty. The longitude indeed is the most precarious, some giving the province much greater breadth than we have allowed; affirming, that it stretches above six hundred miles from east to west, and about nine hundred from north to south. Until the frontiers of *Louisiana* are perfectly ascertained, we shall never be able to fix those of *New Mexico* to the eastward.

THE division of the country is equally uncertain with its limits. Most geographers divide it into fifteen provinces, many into five only: but the bulk of the *Spanish* writers reckon eighteen provinces; concerning which they give us nothing besides a dry catalogue of the names. A favourable judgment of the excellency of the climate will be formed from its lying within the Temperate Zone. The summers are warm indeed, and the winters pretty sharp; but then the former are neither scorching hot or unwholesome, nor the latter intensely cold, or deluged with floods of heavy rain; on the contrary, they are clear, healthy, and bracing, neither partaking of the

mity of *California*, on the *Pacific Ocean*, and in about forty-one degrees fifty minutes north-latitude; but though the proposal

merits, in our opinion, the concern of the several maritime powers of *Europe*, it has been neglected.

Rising

stiffing moisture of the *West-Indies* and some parts of *South America*, nor of the rigorous congealing colds of *Canada* and the countries round *Hudson's Bay*. In general, the weather is just what is desirable in the season, and extremely refreshing to an *European* constitution.

THE greatest encomiums are lavished on the fertility of the soil, the richness of the mines, and the variety of the valuable commodities produced by *New Mexico*, which abounds with fruit and timber, fields and meadows, precious stones, silver and gold, fine rivers, and the most beautiful variety of hill and vale, land and water. All kinds of wild and tame cattle, especially cows and oxen, are found here in the greatest plenty. The hills are stocked with fowls of different kinds, and the rivers abundantly stored with the most delicious fish. Upon the whole, we may safely affirm, that *New Mexico* is among the pleasantest, richest, and most plentiful countries in *America*, or any other part of the world, which might one day probably induce the *French* to extend the frontiers of *Louisiana* quite to the Gulph of *California*, if their ambition had not been seasonably checked by the loss of *Canada*, their principal strength in *North America*. The *British* legislature may likewise find it necessary to the security of their own colonies, and to prevent encroachments on the *Spanish* territories in *America*, to deprive that restless enterprising people of their settlements on the west of the river *Mississippi*, and connect their frontier immediately with that of the *Spaniards*.

NEW MEXICO is finely watered with rivers and rivulets, although few of these are large, or at all navigable. The *Rio Salado* and *Rio del Norte* alone deserve notice, the last of which flows the whole length of the country, and then, making a sweep eastward, runs through the province of *New Leon*, and discharges itself in the Gulph of *Mexico*. There are also several smaller rivers which fall into the *Mexican Sea*, and divers bays, ports, and creeks, on that coast, which might easily be converted into excellent harbours, were the *Spaniards* possessed of any portion of that diligence and commercial spirit which animates the other maritime nations of *Europe* to the most arduous enterprizes. *Gemelli Careri*, who was in this country in the year 1698, gives the following account of the produce and natives, the conquests of the *Spaniards*, and the force they maintain in *New Mexico*. Part of this country, says he, is already reduced, but there still remains much more to conquer. The natives are easy, generous, and pacific; yet extremely formidable, on account of the dexterity with which they handle their bows and arrows. They are better provided for their defence than any of the

other inhabitants of the New World, except in one particular: that instead of being united in one society, and under the same prince, like the empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, they are divided into tribes, each commanded by its *curaca*, or petty sovereign, which renders them an easier prey to invaders, than if their whole strength was combined. When the *Spaniards* first entered this country, they found the natives well clothed, their lands cultivated, their villages neat, and their towns built with stone and some knowledge of architecture, not drawn from the rules of art, but the convenience dictated by nature. Their flocks of cattle were numerous, and they lived in a state of more comfortable barbarity than any other nations in *America*, unless we except the subjects of the two great monarchs of *Peru* and *Mexico*. So skilful were they in shooting, that with an arrow they could shake all the grain out of an ear of corn without breaking it, at a considerable distance. They were great lovers of mules flesh, and upon this account frequently fell upon the *Spanish* travellers, leaving their chests of silver upon the roads, because they set no value upon this metal. They were idolaters, and worshipped the sun and moon; but in what particular manner, or whether they offered human sacrifices, we are not informed; and as to their government, it was free; their princes being little more than leaders of their armies, and the chief persons in the state, elected, at the pleasure of the people, for their wisdom or valour. They discovered a greater readiness to embrace the doctrines of Christianity than any other of the *American* nations, and only expressed their dislike to the new tenets proposed, lest they should oblige them to part with their freedom, to which they were extremely attached. It was usual with them to paint their bodies, and to lodge the colours in scars made in the skin, by which they rendered them indelible.

It is reported by the *Spanish* writers, that *New Mexico* is inhabited by a great variety of different nations totally unconnected with each other; but the principal are the *Apaches*, the several tribes of whom are distinguished by their towns and settlements. They are a brave, warlike, resolute people, fond of liberty, and the inveterate enemies of tyranny and oppression, of which the *Spaniards* had fatal experience about the close of the last century, when they rebelled against the Catholic king, massacred several of his officers, laid desolate the plantations, ruined the towns, and committed the most dreadful enormities. At length they were rather appeased than subdued, and ever since they have remained the allies not the subjects of *Spain*. A more formidable garrison and greater number of troops have since been maintained by

by the viceroy of *Mexico*; but not a single advantage deduced by the crown of *Spain*. As the *Spaniards* are themselves so negligent in cultivating the commercial advantages deducible from this country, so abundant in gold, silver, turquoises, emeralds, and other precious stones, it is matter of astonishment that no attempts have been made by any of the maritime powers, when at war with *Spain*, to penetrate into this country by the Gulph of *California*; a scheme first suggested by captain *Dampier*, and extremely rational in the design, especially if we confine our notions to *Great Britain*; for it is certain this country runs the hazard of one day becoming subjected to *France*, should the settlements of that nation ever become powerful and numerous on the banks of the *Mississippi* (O).

THE

(O) It has not been in our power to describe the geography of *New Mexico*, by distinguishing it, after our usual method, by its towns and provinces; the reader must therefore be contented with a general view of the country, extracted from the account of father *Alonso de Bonnavides*, with some inconsiderable additions from *Herrera*, *De Lart*, and other writers. *Santa Fé* is the capital of the whole province or kingdom, seated on the *Rio del Norte*, in thirty-six degrees of north-latitude, and about one hundred and thirty leagues from the sea. The way to it is through the province of *Conchas*, which is parted from *New Biscay* by a river of the same name. Then follow the *Tobosos*, *Tarrabumarcos*, *Tapocantes*, *Sumas*, *Tomites*, *Hanos*, and other barbarous nations, for the space of an hundred leagues north and west. Nearest to them are the *Apaches*, a powerful people mentioned in the preceding text; and here again we fall in with the *Rio del Norte*, where *New Mexico* properly commences, and extends an

hundred leagues north from *St. Anthony of Seneca*, the first town of the *Biroros*. In *New Mexico*, properly so called, are the following nations, placed in the order in which we shall mention them. At the *Rio Norte* begins the territory of the *Piros*, a civilized people, who are clad, dwell in houses, are subject to their chiefs, possess a fertile soil, and have abundance of cotton, wheat and other grains, and articles of traffic. In the neighbourhood of these are the *Tebas*, who have fifteen towns; then the *Queros*, who are lords over seven towns; and next *Tompieres*, to whom belong fifteen towns, the chief of which are the *Chilili*. Next to them is the city *Santa Fé*, in which dwell about two hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, not more than half of whom are soldiers, although they keep this whole adjacent country in awe; than which there cannot be a more forcible argument of the pacific disposition of the natives: however, as this account of *Bonnavides* was written more than a century ago, there is great reason to believe the number of

THE capital *Santa Fe* is a well-built, handsome, and rich town; but its immense distance from the sea, and the caution of the *Spaniards*, prevent our receiving authentic accounts of this and other towns of *New Mexico*. We believe the whole province is subject to the jurisdiction of the viceroy of *Mexico*, although *Santa Fe* is honoured with the residence of a particular governor, who is enjoined to maintain a constant force of six hundred horse, half of which number is seldom kept up, their pay going into the governor's pocket; which alone would make a considerable salary, no less than four hundred and fifty pieces of eight being allowed for the annual support of every soldier. If we may credit *Gemelli*, the governor almost monopolizes the whole sum allotted for the support of the army: for as he furnishes the troops with provision and cloathing, he fixes his own price, and obliges them to pay twenty pieces of eight for what could not cost a tenth part of the sum. In *Gemelli's* time, the *Spanish* soldiers were armed with a shield, musket, and half-pike, or spear; not to fight, says our author, but to hunt down the natives like wild beasts, notwithstanding their orders from the government are not to kill the savage inhabitants, but to subdue them by reason and instruction, and the powerful charms of civilization. By order of his late Catholic majesty, the viceroy of *Mexico* sent every year a certain number of poor families into these northern countries, which was certainly a wise measure; not only as it provided for the poor *Spaniards*, but the effectual reduction of these barbarous provinces, by rendering them populous, and instructing them in those doctrines of religion and policy, and principles of the arts, conducive to society and good government. Such is the unsatisfactory account of *New Mexico*, which we are able to lay before our readers, after having consulted all the materials, which should furnish us with more explicit information. Whether we are to ascribe this deficiency to

Europeans has been greatly increased, not only in the capital, but in the other towns. Not far from *Santa Fe* live the *Teos* in eight villages, being the first who embraced Christianity, and expressed an affection for the *Spaniards*. West of them are the *Hemes*, and to them, north, the *Picaries*, beyond whom are the *Toasites*. Again, west of the *Queres* is the town of *Acoma*,

and farther west the *Zanis*, masters of twelve towns; next to whom come the *Moquis*. All of these have now embraced Christianity, and pursue every species of industry, especially the cultivation of the soil, with an ardour which promises that this will one day become the finest country in *North America*. *Laet. Bonavides, et Herr. tom. v. vi.*

the caution or to the indolence of the *Spaniards*, is not worth enquiring ; possibly both may contribute.

WE come now to the province of *Florida*, the most Florida. eastern frontier of the *Spanish* dominions in *North America* ; being washed on the South by the gulph of *Mexico*, on the North by the mountains *Apalaches*, and *French* settlements behind ; on the East by the *British* province of *Georgia*, and the channel of *Bahama* ; and on the West by the *French* settlements in *Louisiana*, and the great river *Mississippi*. It hath been already observed, that this country was *Discovery*. first discovered in 1497 by *John Cabot*, a *Venetian* mariner, in the service of *Henry VII.* king of *England*. It was more completely discovered in the year 1512, by *Juan Ponce de Leon*, a *Spaniard*, who gave it the name of *Florida*, because it was seen first in *Easter*, called *Pasqua de Flores* in the language of his country ; or, as *Herrera* alleges, because it was covered with flowers and the most beautiful blossoms¹. This voyage turning out to little account, another was undertaken, in the year 1528, by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, who sailed with four hundred men from the island of *Cuba*, few of whom returned. As for *Pamphilo*, he was never more heard of, some imagining he penetrated quite to the *South Sea*. At last, it was intirely subdued, in the year 1539, by *Ferdinand de Soto*, one of the bravest officers in the *Spanish* service, whose name has been mentioned with applause in the preceding history. It cost the *Spaniards* seas of blood before they established themselves in this country, which is now of scarce any other utility than to secure their navigation to the islands of the *West Indies* : formerly was comprehended under the general name of *Florida*, all those parts of *Louisiana* and *New Mexico*, which were then discovered. At present, the limits of the province are confined, narrow, and inconsiderable in value to the *Spaniards*, although to the *French*, or *English*, it would prove an acquisition of the last importance.

THE air is pure and temperate, and the country generally speaking, exceedingly salubrious. The power of the sun would sometimes prove intolerable, were it not tempered by refreshing sea and land breezes ; while the air towards the *Apalachian* mountains is in general cool and even sharp. Hence it is, that the natives of *Florida* are supposed to derive that strength and robustness of constitution, which distinguishes them from the more southern *Indians*, and once was deemed so formidable by the *Spaniards*. The stories related by the

¹ Vid. Univ. Hist. sect. 1st of America, l. 9. c. 5.

Produce.

Spanish writers of their ferocity and gigantic stature, are altogether incredible and inconsistent with what daily experience now evinces. The soil is rich and fertile, producing in great abundance all kinds of timber and fruit-trees, especially pines, laurels, palms, cedars, cypresses, and chestnut-trees, which grow to an extraordinary height and size. But the wood, most prized, and in greatest plenty, is the *sassafras*, quantities of which are annually exported. There is no species of vegetable, but may be raised with little trouble in *Florida*; and even with the mean culture at present bestowed, it produces corn, pulse, roots, herbs, and fruits, in abundance for the inhabitants; also flesh, fowl, and fish, where sufficient industry is exerted to collect those gifts of nature. For the distance of two hundred miles from the sea, every part almost produces two crops of corn, and some would yield three, with a small share of labour; besides, the root *Mendibaca* of which the *Cassavi* flour and bread are made, grows in the utmost plenty: there also is another kind of grain, like our oats, that shoots up spontaneously in marshy places, and by the sides of rivers. Limes and prunes grow wild, and the latter are plentifully eat from the tree by the natives, or dried and laid up for winter provision; but the most delicious fruit is the *Tuna*, so exquisite and wholesome when ripe, that the *Europeans* call it their cordial julep. Excellent beef, veal, and mutton are the produce of the country, together with horses fit for draught and carriage, so cheap that they may be purchased for the value of a crown in *European* commodities. Not to enumerate the valuable articles of commerce and living found in this country, we shall only mention the pearls found on the coasts of *Florida*, the ambergrease, cochineal, and indigo, produced in the country; also a kind of stone-pitch, called *Copea*, used by the *Spaniards* as tar for their shipping. Nor ought we to omit the hemp, flax, silk-grass, anethyts, turquoises, *lapides lazuli*, and other precious stones; nor the copper, quicksilver, pit coal, and iron-ore, discovered in different parts of this invaluable province. As to cotton, it is so plentiful that most of the civilized inhabitants are clothed of a manufacture composed of that useful natural production. The country is well watered; but it must be confessed the sea-ports are so indifferent and difficult of access, that, in this circumstance, the *Spaniards* place their chief security.

Natives.

THE natives of the country are of an olive colour, robust, active, and well-proportioned. They go naked, men and women, unless we except a deer skin, wrapped in the nature of an apron, round the loins. Those, indeed, who have come
into

into the manners of the *Spaniards*, dress in cotton garments, nearly in the *Spanish* fashion. They are stained over with the juice of herbs, which leaves an indelible mark, and preserves them, as they imagine, from the inclemency of the weather. Their hair is long and black, falling down loose on the shoulders, and floating carelessly in the wind, or twisted in beautiful shining wreaths, fastened up in a knot upon the head in a manner extremely agreeable and becoming. The women are also remarkably handsome, well-shaped, and they not only support the fatigue of all domestic offices, but accompany their husbands in the field, either in war, or the chase; swimming over rivers with their children on their back. No people on earth are more hardy, bold, and persevering, but the women are more particularly so, and it is difficult to determine, whether most to admire their beauty, their courage, or their conjugal fidelity. We cannot alledge so much of the men, who are charged by the *Spaniards* with several vices, especially a fraudulent disposition, and strong inclination to cheat and deceive in traffick. As an instance of this, we cannot but take notice of one piece of fraud, which displays more ingenuity than might be expected from such unpolished people. They counterfeit the ambergrease so dextrously, that they often impose upon those who are not perfectly acquainted with this elegant production. As the *Spaniards* have lived in a state of constant warfare with these *Indians*, we are to make some grains of allowance for the prejudices which they naturally entertain; they have always represented them in the blackest colours, although such of our countrymen as have traded with them tax them only with subtilty, and an inclination to knavery in trade, in a stronger degree than any of the other inhabitants of *America*.

THE religion of the *Floridans* favours of the same absurdity and ignorance, as that of the other barbarians of the continent. The Sun and Moon are worshipped as supreme deities, the people are immersed in the grossest idolatry, and the more irrecoverably, because they bear the most irreconcilable hatred to the Christians, whom they believe to be cruel, ambitious, and covetous to an extreme. With respect to government, the *Floridans* are subject to petty chiefs, whom they call *Parauusi*. These are their leaders in war, and the presidents of their councils in peace, to whom they are extremely obedient and submissive. To these princes only polygamy is allowed; they are indulged with three or four wives, as a mark of sovereignty; but the children only of the first are deemed legitimate, and capable of succession. Next to the authority of the princes, the most powerful is the influence of the priests, who act in the triple capacities of priests,

priests, conjurers, and physicians. They are clad in long robes made of skins, always preserve a very grave appearance, speak little, live abstemiously, and practise every part of hypocrisy necessary to maintain that ascendant they have gained over the minds of their countrymen. As priests, they pray and sacrifice to the Sun and Moon; as magicians, they pretend to foretel future events; under the quality of physicians, they bleed, bathe, vomit, sweat, and purge the sick; in all which cases they levy heavy taxes upon the ignorance of their employers.

In Mr. Coxe's description of *Carolana*, which the Spaniards call *Florida*, we meet with a variety of ingenious and interesting particulars, respecting the produce of this country, and the genius of the natives. He likewise specifies the names of a variety of tribes or clans, to enumerate which would serve only to burthen the reader's memory. From him we shall extract the subsequent account of the rivers of *Florida*, and the adjacent provinces; as upon a just knowledge of these depends the success of any attempts which in time may be made to add *Florida* to our more southern settlements (P). About twelve miles above the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, a branch runs off in the east side, which after a course of 160 miles, falls into the north-east end of the great bay of *Spirito Santo*. Sixty leagues higher up, on the east side, is the river of *Yafona*, which falls into the *Mississippi*, near three hundred miles out of the country, and is inhabited by the nations of the *Yafons*, *Tonnicas*, *Kowronas*, and others; and sixty leagues still higher is the river and nation of *Chonque*, with divers other tribes to the eastward. The river *Ouespa*, about thirty leagues to the north-east of the lake, divides into two branches, the most southern of which is called the Black River, its rise being in the vast ridge of mountains running along the back of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*. Thro' these mountains, there is a short passage to the sources of the great river *Polemachy*; and as the *Indians* are perfectly acquainted with all these passes, it affords them an opportunity, in conjunction with the *French* on the *Mississippi*, to insult our colonies. A variety of other rivers are specified in Mr. Coxe's description, which we shall omit, as they properly belong to *Louisiana*, or our provinces of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, *New York*, and *Maryland*; but it is necessary to observe, that a fine river discharges itself in the bay of *Mexico*,

(P) Since the above was written, it appears, from the preliminaries of peace, that *Florida* is ceded in perpetuity to the crown of Great Britain; an acquisition of the utmost importance to our cotton manufactures.

on the east-side of the harbour of *Pensacola*, which flows a course of an hundred miles out of the country.

THE only towns or fortresses possessed by the *Spaniards* in *Fort St.* the whole province of *Florida*, are *St. Augustine* and *St. Mat- Augu-*
theo, against the former of which an expedition is now in *tine.* agitation. *St. Augustine* stands on the eastern coast of the peninsula, about seventy leagues from the Gulph of *Florida*, and Channel of *Bahama*, thirty south of the river *Alatuma-*
cha, and forty-seven from the town and river *Savannah*. It is situated in latitude 30, and lies along the shore at the bottom of a hill, in the form of a parallelogram, the streets cutting each other at right angles. The fort is formed by an island, and a long point of land divided from the continent by the river, which falls into the sea two miles above the fort. About a mile to the northward of the town stands the castle; defended by four bastions, built during the last war, and reported to be considerably strong. Before the last attempts made by the *English* upon this place, the fortifications were very indifferent, but they were repaired on that occasion; fifty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted, sixteen of which are brass, and strong intrenchments formed. The *Spaniards* were scarce established in *Fort St. Augustine*, when they were attacked, in 1586, by Sir *Francis Drake*, who reduced and pillaged the fort and town. It underwent a similar fate in 1665, being attacked by captain *Davis*, at the head of a considerable body of buccaneers. In 1702, an attempt was made by colonel *More* to annex *St. Augustine* to the *British* dominions. This gentleman was governor of *Carolina*, and was persuaded by the assembly to undertake the conquest of what the *Spaniards* still possess in *Florida*. Considering the restrictions under which the governors of the *British* colonies are laid, it cannot be imagined, that the troops with which he entered upon this enterprize were considerable; in fact, they did not exceed five hundred *English* and seven hundred *Indians*, with which corps he had to march about three hundred miles by land. After destroying the farms and villages in the open country, he sat down before *St. Augustine*, and besieged it for three months; at the expiration of which the *Spaniards*, though extremely dilatory in their motions, sent some ships to the relief of the garrison, which obliged colonel *More* to raise the siege, and retire precipitately, just as he was on the point of accomplishing his enterprize. His retreat has been stigmatized as too hasty and favouring of timidity; for had he continued in his camp, it is more than probable the enemy would not presume to attack him, as their numbers were not considerable, and it was besides attended with this bad consequence, that, notwithstanding the war continued

rued for the space of ten years between *Great Britain* and the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the provincials of *Carolina* were so discouraged with their late repulse, that they never repeated the attempt. The great distance, indeed, and the difficulties under which they laboured, that are now happily removed, leave us no cause of astonishment at the conduct they pursued.

If the *Spaniards* dreaded the *British* power in *Carolina*, and the adjacent provinces, at so early a period, they had much more reason to be alarmed when the danger drew nearer, and a colony was settled in *Georgia*, in the year 1733. Accordingly, the *Spanish* general in *Florida* complained of encroachments, made dispositions for a rupture, and spoke in such high terms, that all expected he would use his utmost endeavours to ruin the infant settlement; but whether it was from a sense of his own weakness, or that he received no instructions from his court, certain it is, that, in the year 1736, he thought proper to conclude a treaty with the *English*, for which he afterwards lost his head on his return to *Spain*. The last expedition against *Fort St. Augustine* was set on foot and conducted in the year 1740, by general *Oglethorpe*, who made all the preparations that circumstances would admit, though greatly inadequate to the occasion. The *Spanish* governor, who was an officer of prudence and experience, having intelligence of the designs formed by the *English*, had augmented his garrison to near a thousand men, all well disciplined troops, and taken every precaution which his knowledge of the art of war dictated. He had in particular laid traps for general *Oglethorpe*, by abandoning a number of out-posts of no consequence to the defence of the place, although the general's taking possession of them served to weaken his army; a circumstance which the governor improved to such advantage, that he cut off above a hundred and thirty *English* posted in the negro fort, under the command of colonel *Palmer*. This unfortunate incident immediately turned the scale against the besiegers; to which was added the fruitless toil of erecting batteries in the island of *Enstatia*, which were found incapable of doing execution on the fort. Reflecting upon these circumstances, general *Oglethorpe* perceived that pursuing his project would answer no other purpose than that of sacrificing his troops, and giving the *Spaniards* greater cause of triumph, accordingly raised the siege towards the close of the month of *June*, and thereby blatted the sanguine expectations entertained, that our southern settlements would have been secured against any attempts of the *Spaniards* by land; that we should henceforward be able to annoy their commerce, and possess the most convenient

most convenient station for cruising on their numerous bound-
 ings from the Gulf of Florida and the Straits of Bahama,
 though it certainly lies too far from these straits to be so
 useful to that design as the *Havannah*, the distance being
 about seventy leagues. It must be observed that *Fort St.*
Augustine, as well as the whole province of *Georgia*, is cer-
 tainly within the *English* dominions, according to the limits
 of *South Carolina*, fixed in the charter of the second *Charles*,
 in the year 1665; but the *Spaniards* alledge that this grant
 is an invasion of their rights; and we have no other refuge
 than the claim of being the first discoverers of the country,
 as they never admitted the limits of that charter in any subse-
 quent treaty.

To this account of *Florida*, we shall only subjoin, that *St. Mat-*
thæo is situated about fifteen leagues north of *Fort St.*
Augustine, and is a place of much less consideration,
 though it likewise was unsuccessfully besieged by the *English*,
 not to speak more harshly of the miscarriage of an expedi-
 tion, which, in the beginning, afforded the happiest prospects.

GEOGRAPHICAL order next brings us to describe *Mexico* ^{Mexico,}
Proper, or *New Spain*, the first valuable acquisition of the ^{or New}
Spaniards on the continent of *America*, and that glorious ^{Spain.}
 monument of the courage, conduct, and perseverance of the
 brave and fortunate *Cortez*. This vast country extends for
 the space of twenty-three degrees, from seven degrees thirty
 minutes, to thirty degrees forty minutes, north latitude. It
 is bounded on the south-east, lengthways, by the Isthmus of
Darien, or *Panama*; and on the north-west, by *New Mexi-*
co; the north and south seas washing it on both sides. Along ^{Its extent;}
 the *Pacific Ocean*, it stretches above two thousand miles, and
 the coast towards the north sea cannot extend less than sixteen
 hundred miles; but the breadth of this great empire is un-
 equal. Towards the north-west we may safely reckon it
 between six and seven hundred miles over; while towards
 the south-east, the breadth cannot exceed sixty miles. To
 ascertain the number of solid miles contained in the
 area, it will be necessary to trace the outlines of an accurate
 map of the country, which we shall leave to the curious
 reader.

THE greater part of *Mexico* lies within the torrid zone,
 yet the air is temperate and healthy. As you approach the
 equinoctial, it necessarily grows hotter; but in no place is
 the atmosphere heated to such a degree as to render the cli-
 mate insupportable. This arises from the land and sea-
 breezes, which blow alternately, and the great number of
 lakes and rivers, the vapours from which refrigerate the air,

and render it mild, soft, and pleasant. The greatest heats are during the months of *February, March, and April*, when the sun is seldom obscured by clouds; and the waters are dried up in such a manner that it is difficult to meet with any in a variety of places. The rainy season begins towards the close of *April*, and continues till the month of *September*; it is always preceded by tempests or tornadoes, thunder, lightning, and hurricanes, when the wind blows almost from every point of the heavens, increasing daily in fury to the month of *June*, at which time the rains fall as if a second deluge was to ensue.

and produce.

No country under heaven abounds more with grain, delicious fruits, roots, and vegetables of every kind; many of which are peculiar to the country, or at least to *America*. The woods on the tops and declivities of mountains consist either of fine forests, or delightful groves of trees of various kinds, large, and unincumbered with brush-wood; so that a traveller may pass through them on horseback, without inconvenience. The coasts are covered with bamboes, mangrove groves, log-wood, and other species of timber; either serviceable to the natives, or valuable as articles of commerce. Among the most curious species of woods in this country may be reckoned the red and white cotton trees, the cedar, log-wood, blood-wood, mangrove, maho, of which the natives make ropes and cables, light-wood, white-wood, and other trees, equally curious and valuable. Of the fruit trees we shall only specify the cabbage, calabash, cacao, and venella, which the *Spaniards* call *Bexuco* or *Bainilla*, plantain, bananoes, pine-apples, sapadillo, avogato pear, mamee, mamee-sapota, grape, prickles, bibby, and other curious fruit trees; besides which the *Spaniards* have introduced most of the *European* fruits. *Mexico* also produces the poisonous manchineel apple, gourds of a prodigious size, melons, fill-grass, tamarinds, and locust trees; the little black, white, and *Borachio* *sapote* trees, the last of these taking its name from the inebriating quality of the fruit. To these we may subjoin the *Grenadillo de China* creeping plant, and the may-hey, which furnishes the natives with thread for linnen, and cordage, and also a balsam and liquor, which when fermented, is as pleasant and strong as wine. From this too is distilled a strong spirit, not unlike brandy. The particular description of these trees, fruits, and plants, we must leave to travellers and naturalists, it being sufficient for our purpose that they are produced in *Mexico*.

AMONG the valuable commodities of *New Spain*, may be reckoned the following drugs; namely, copal, anime, taca-mahaca,

ambers, caruba, liquid amber, oil of amber, balsam of Peru, found in *Mexico*, galacum, *China* root, Santapartilla, and root mechoacan; all of which are known in the shops of retailers of medicine, and of excellent use in a variety of tempers. Besides the grain, or native grain of *Mexico*, the *Spaniards* have introduced the use of barley, wheat, peas, beans, and other grains, pulse, roots, and vegetables, which are now to be met with in every province. Rice grows abundantly, and flourishes extremely, on account of the long seasons. Trees are all the year in leaf, blossom, or fruit, and every month in the year presents an appearance of Spring, Summer, and Autumn, altogether.

THE principal commodities of *New Spain* are wool, cotton, silk, cochineal, chocolate, feathers, honey, balsams, gums, dying woods, salt, tallow, hides, tobacco, ginger, amber, pearls, precious stones, gold and silver. It was an insatiable thirst after those precious metals, more than zeal for religion, which first led the *Spaniards* to the conquest of this country, then overflowing with the riches of the great *Montezuma*. In most general accounts of *New Spain*, we are told that mines of gold and silver are found in the greater part of the provinces of *Mexico*. Of silver, it is reported, there are not fewer than a thousand different mines, but gold only in *Veragua*, and *New Grenada*; although, by the way, the latter of these provinces is entirely without the *Mexican* frontier, and in *Terra firma*; and therefore scarcely within that constituted the limits of the empire. Notwithstanding this, they are considered as provinces of *Mexico*, because they are under the jurisdiction of the same viceroy. Gold is found either in the mines, or in grains at the bottom of running streams, and *Acosta* affirms that he has seen grains of pure gold weighing two pounds, although, in general, they seldom exceed a twentieth part of that weight. In the mine, the gold runs in veins, through a hard stone, to separate which requires great labour and expence; especially as it is generally incorporated with silver or copper. Both the mines of gold and silver are usually found in barren rocks, mountains, and such places as are entirely unfit for pasture and tillage; as if nature had wisely provided, that soil fit for bearing every thing necessary to the life of man, should not be mangled and torn in search of those metals, which generally turn to his prejudice. As we shall have occasion to touch upon the method used by the *Spaniards* in refining the precious metals, when we come to describe the present state of *Peru*, we will here only mention that some of the mines are of an extraordinary depth. That of *Pachuca* is above

three hundred yards deep, and above a thousand negroes are continually employed in digging. From the mine called *la Trinidad* no less than forty millions of pieces of eight were drawn into the royal treasury in the space of ten years, deducting all expences. Whoever discovers a mine of gold or silver, is at liberty to work it, paying the king a tenth of the product, and limiting himself within sixty yards round the place upon which he has fixed. Beyond this space, any other person may open a mine, leaving five yards between to serve for partition. All the silver and gold, either dug or found in grains, is entered in the royal exchequer; and it is reported that, notwithstanding great quantities are run and concealed, not less than two millions of silver marks, weighing eight ounces each, are entered yearly, out of which they coin seven hundred thousand marks into pieces of eight, half pieces of eight, quarter pieces, ryals, and half ryals, the value of the latter being about three-pence sterling. As to the *Indians*, they have no coin; formerly gold and silver served them only for ornament, and now they value it only as the means of purchasing the comforts of life from their masters the *Spaniards*. Their whole commerce consisted in bartering one commodity for another, and with cacao-nuts they purchased things of small value.

BUT the wealth of *Mexico* does not entirely consist in the particulars we have mentioned; there are quarries of jasper, porphyry, and exquisite marble, in this country, of which the temples and palaces of the antient inhabitants were built. In the old *Spanish* historians we read of the valuable jewels which adorned the crown and royal robes of *Montezuma*; but their names are not mentioned, and at present there are only pearls, emeralds, and turquoises, found in *Mexico*.

Different ranks of the natives. *NEW SPAIN* is at present inhabited by a mixed people, consisting of the native *Indians*; the *Spaniards* and other *Europeans*; the unmixed descendants of the *Spaniards*, who are called *Creoli*; the *Mestizos*, or issue of the *Spaniards* by *Americans*; the *Mestiches*, or the issue of such issue; the *Terceerons dez Indies*, or the children of the last, married to *Spaniards*; and the *Quarteroons dez Indies*, whose descendants are allowed the same privileges as true *Spaniards*. The negroes are likewise pretty numerous, being imported from the coast of *Africa* for various purposes, and many of them admitted to their freedom. The issue of an *European* and a negro constitutes another distinction, called *Mulatto*; besides which there is a mixed breed of negroes and *Indians*, which is generally deemed the lowest rank of the people.

As to the persons of the *Indians*, they are like those *Persons* of the *Americans* in general, tall, clean, well-proportioned, and handsome. They are active, nimble, and remarkably of the swift. The complexion is a deep olive; the eyes large, lively, and sparkling; the face round, and the features usually good and agreeable. All are proud of their hair either flowing loose in the wind, cut short, or twisted and plaited on the head; but this is the only hair which they suffer to remain on their bodies, the rest being pulled off by tweezers as soon as it begins to appear; and this is generally the employment of the old women, where their own sex is concerned. Some nations, indeed, within the limits of this vast empire, differ widely from the general appearance and manners of the country; a few there are who deem flat noses the greatest ornament, and practise very early upon their children to produce that beauty on the faces of their infants; while others mould their tender skulls into a conical or pyramidal form by means of compression. Almost all the *Mexicans* disfigure themselves with paint, or rather daubing, and anoint their bodies with oil or fat, not only to preserve the skin against the intense heat of the sun, but to render the joints supple and pliant. On the body are represented the figures of various birds and beasts; and, in times of war, many of the *Mexican* nations paint their faces with red, to give them a warlike, bloody appearance. In general, however, the people are clothed, tho' in a manner extremely different from the *Spaniards*, and still retaining part of their ancient barbarousness. In *Veragua* there is a nation, which we have already mentioned, where the men cloathe nothing besides the penis, which the vulgar wrap in a leaf, and the great enclose in cases of gold and silver, of a conical fashion. This they adorn with jewels and precious stones, letting the scrotum fall under, in full view. In general, the *Indians* are fond of pendants, bracelets, and neck-laces; the *Mexicans* are so in particular, the nose, lips, ears, necks, and arms, being all adorned with pearls and other jewels, or trinkets made of gold, silver, or some other metal. Those who live in the *Spanish* towns wear a short waistcoat and wide breeches, with a short cloak of various colours, resembling the *Spanish* dress; but their legs are bare, and only a few cover their feet with sandals. The women wear a short jacket of cotton or linen, over which flows a loose robe, or a trait petticoat, and frequently both. There are, however, such varieties in dress, depending upon fancy or necessity, that it would be endless to enter upon particulars.

With respect to genius, temper, and manners, the *Mex-Genius* appears to be greatly degenerated since the conquest.

Once ingenious, hospitable, generous, and civilized, except in the article of human sacrifices, they are become cruel, cowardly, treacherous, and altogether vicious and stupidly unconcerned about futurity, if we may credit *Gemelli*. The buildings, images, paintings, carvings, cotton cloths, manufactured feathers, and many other elegant arts, evince the genius of the antient *Mexicans*, and the total privation of these is equally demonstrative of the decline of that genius; nor is the cause difficult to be assigned. Their temples and images, on which they had lavished all the powers of art, being destroyed; themselves reduced to a state of servitude, and forced to labour in the mines to gratify the avarice of their new masters, it is no wonder they were effectually discouraged from cultivating any kind of talent, which could only turn to their own destruction, and gain stripes instead of rewards. Besides, the introduction of *European* manufactures, arts, and the implements of mechanics, made the *Indians* despise the inferiority of their own, all knowledge of which they soon forgot,* without being able to acquire any degree of skill in the other, to the drudgery and lower branches of which they were confined. To what purpose should an *Indian* labour to improve talents that can serve only to make his bondage more irksome? Why should he strive to accumulate wealth, of which he knows he shall be stripped by his avaricious, arbitrary master? Hence it is that necessity renders the *Mexicans* mean, thievish, and pilfering; inasmuch that *Gemelli* reports he has seen above four hundred natives take their trials before a judge, all at the same time, for burglary. The mulattoes are still more knavish; and such is the sloth, indigence, and immorality, of the lower class of people, that a traveller can scarcely escape being robbed; which, by the way, shews a great defect in the *Spanish* police. Those *Indians* who have preserved their freedom in the open country and mountains, are still a brave, generous, and humane people, totally untainted with the sordid vices and corrupt manners of the inhabitants of the *Spanish* towns and cities. They spend their time in fishing, hunting, and field-exercise, and discover a natural spirit of generosity and humanity even towards the cruel *Spaniards*, who never fail to treat them with the utmost rigour, whenever the occasion offers^k. They cultivate but little soil; they sow and plant just sufficient to answer the purposes of nature, and allow nothing for the gratification of appetites founded wholly upon luxury. This is the business of the women, after the men have cleared the ground.

Those who
have pre-
served
their free-
dom.

* DAMPIER, vol. II. p. 115.

The females execute, besides, all the domestic offices, spin, weave, and dress cotton and linen cloths for their own and their husbands' apparel. They are obedient and respectful, and meet in return with all the tenderness of conjugal affection; at least this is the picture given us by French and English travellers, although the Spaniards, perhaps in palliation of their own conduct, speak less favourably. They still preserve the religion of their ancestors, and are, with little alteration, what we have already described in our relation of the conquest of this empire. But, to give the reader more distinct ideas, we must descend to particulars, and treat of this country under the three divisions of *Guadalajara*, *Mexico*, and *Guatemala*, all under the same viceroy, but, for the convenience of government, split into audiences, as those tribunals are called by the Spaniards.

GUADALAJARA, also called *Galicia*, is bounded by *New Mexico* on the north, by the audience of *Mexico* on the south-east, and by the Gulph of *California* on the south-west, containing a space of eight hundred miles in length, and above five hundred miles in breadth. This audience is divided into seven provinces, is the most temperate division of the empire, and in general pleasant and healthy. The capital, likewise called *Guadalajara*, is the seat of the royal courts of judicature, a bishop's see of considerable revenues, and pleasantly situated on the north banks of the river *Barenja*, and to the north of the lake *Chapala*, reported to be forty leagues in compass. About the year 1531, this country was first entirely reduced and colonized by the Spaniards under *Nunez de Guzman*, who found it inhabited by a bold, warlike people, well armed, well clothed, obstinate lovers of freedom, and who, for a long time, resisted all the power of the Spaniards. Their towns were well built, the people were comparatively civilized, and conducted their affairs, both civil and military, with great address and regularity. Notwithstanding their women were remarkably beautiful, the Spaniards charge them with a certain unnatural vice; apologizing for their own unjust usurpation and barbarous usage by raising a report that favours equally of malice and falsehood.

Forty leagues north of the city *Guadalajara* stands the city *Zacatecas*, capital of the province of that name. It consists of about six hundred houses, and is defended by a considerable Spanish garrison, on account of the silver mines, the produce of which is lodged in the capital. The western parts of the province are celebrated for the richness of the silver mines, and the eastern for their fertility in corn, fruit, and herbage.

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THE province of *New Biscay* is the next in situation, and is reputed to produce some of the precious metals, and to be extremely rich in corn, cattle, and the other conveniences of life. Its principal towns are *St. John*, and *St. Barbara*, concerning which we know no particulars.

NEXT in order comes the province of *Cinaloa*, abounding in corn, cattle, and cotton, and rendered extremely picturesque, by a number of beautiful cascades of chrystal water, which tumble down the mountains. The chief town in the province goes by the same name, and stands in twenty-six degrees of north-latitude.

THE province of *Culiacan*, bounded by *Cinaloa* on the north-west, has the Gulph of *California* on the opposite side, and a city of no great consideration, of the same name, for its capital.

ANOTHER province, called *Chiamettan*, is bounded by the foregoing on the north-west, and has for its capital the city of *St. Sebastian*, situated on a river of that name, and about forty miles to the eastward of the *South Sea*. This province is reported to contain mines of gold and silver.

THE seventh and last province of this audience is *Xalisco*, which hath three considerable towns; namely, the capital of the same name; *Compostella*, a rich town, lying in the midst of divers mines; and *Santa Pecaque*, where the *Spaniards* maintain some hundred slaves. In the year 1686, this town was plundered by the *English* buccanneers, of whom *Dampier* was one; but being attacked by a body of *Spanish* cavalry, they were forced to retire precipitately, with the loss of fifty men. It is affirmed, that jealousy of attracting the attention of other nations to this defenceless audience, has prevented any *Spanish* writer from giving a minute description of *Guadalajara*; a country which abounds not only in silver, but the richest gold mines, if the accounts left by some of our buccanneers with their friends in *Jamaica*, may be credited. The sea-coasts are purposely deserted, that strangers may find nothing to invite them to land, or to gratify curiosity; and this precaution is deemed the more necessary as the *Spaniards* are not very numerous, except in the cities *Guadalajara* and *Compostella*, and the natives but too ripe for revolt, if the occasion offered. Indeed, the chief strength of the audience is in the *Mextizos*, who are considerable in point of property and number, extremely civilized, and a brave, hardy, warlike people, well affected to the government. In the reduction of these, a foreign enemy would find the only difficulty; and indeed they so soon over-awe the natural inhabitants, or pure *Indians*, that it is a question whether these would presume to take

take up arms; even though they were supported by a vigorous descent. It is observable, that not only the natives but the *Spaniards* live to a very advanced age in *Guadalajara*, and the climate is daily rendered more healthy by the pains taken in clearing the woods and draining the marshes; insomuch that several towns in the audience are regarded as the *Montpeliers* of the *Mexican* empire, and visited by the sick for the recovery of their health.

WE come next to the audience of *Mexico*, which is beyond *Audience* comparison the most valuable part of the *Spanish* dominions of *Mexico* north of the Equator. On the east it is bounded by the Gulph of *Mexico*, on the west by the *Pacific Ocean*; *Guadalajara* forms the frontier on the north-west, and the audience of *Guatemala* skirts it on the east. The extent of this audience is great, its soil fruitful, its appearance beautiful, and the climate pleasant, though situated under the Torrid Zone; but in rich commodities, in gold, silver, and precious stones, it far surpasses all the rest of the empire. The variety likewise of great lakes, rivers, and sea-ports, with which it abounds, furnish it with every commercial advantage; but to acquire a just notion of the country, it will be necessary to consider it under its present division into seven provinces. The first of these is *Mechoacan*, bordered on the north by *Panuco* and *Guadalajara*, on the east by *Panuco* and *Mexico Proper*, on the south by the *Pacific Ocean*, and on the west by *Guadalajara* and the *South Sea*. The soil is admirably fertile, and the climate so wholesome, that the *Spaniards* imagine it is possessed of some peculiarly restorative quality, for which reason the sick and infirm flock to it from all quarters. Here are the most beautiful corn-fields, the richest pastures, the most numerous herds of cattle, the finest breed of horses, and greatest abundance of fish, fowl, and game; but the commodities for which the province is celebrated, are sulphur, indigo, sarsaparilla, saffras, ~~indigo~~, cacao, venillas, ambergrease, hides, wool, cotton, silk, sugar, the root mechoacan, sometimes called white rhubarb, and silver. Some gold is likewise found in this province; but it is not so considerable as to merit a place among the native articles of commerce. *Mechoacan* formed an independent kingdom at the time *Mexico* was reduced by *Cortez*. The sovereign had long been the inveterate enemy of the *Mexicans*, who had made repeated unsuccessful attempts to reduce him, and he was considered, next to the republic of *Tlascala*, as the most formidable barrier against the extension of the imperial frontier. However, he submitted to the reputation of *Cortez*, being intimidated by the wonders he had performed with a handful of men; and thus *Mechoacan* became

came a *Spanish* province without striking a blow, and a valuable addition to the ancient limits of *Mexico*. At that time the country was exceedingly populous; but the natives are since thinned, rather by the luxury and manners introduced by the *Spaniards*, than in consequence of their rigour. The capital of the province is the city *Mechoacan*, called *Valadolid* by the *Spaniards*, standing pleasantly on the banks of a large river at an inconsiderable distance from a large lake of the same name. It lies in the latitude of nineteen degrees, ten minutes, and forty-seven leagues, from *Mexico*; is large and beautiful, adorned with a fine cathedral, full of handsome houses, the property of rich *Spanish* merchants, who are proprietors of the mines of *Guanaxoto*. Besides this city, there are other rich and handsome towns in the province; *Colima* in particular, situated not far from the *South Sea*, is reported to be spacious, well built, and populous. *Navidad* has a good harbour, and here the *Spaniards* build some of their larger shipping used in the commerce of the *South Sea*. To conclude, in this province are several kinds of trees remarkable for their odoriferous gums and balsams. Here are flocks of cattle and herds of swine without owners, wild boars, multitudes of hares and rabbits, and, among other quadrupeds, the bezoar goat. *Ximenes* alledges, there is a kind of bezoar formed in the river *Mechoacan*, which is washed down from the mountains, where there is great store of bole-armoniac. In the neighbourhood of *Colima*, cassia and the famous plant alcacazon are produced, the latter of which is reckoned a catholicon in all decayed, enervated, and emaciated constitutions. The natives apply the leaves to the parts chiefly affected, and judge of the success of the application by its sticking or falling off.

PANUCO, the next province, is bounded by *Mechoacan* on the west, by the Gulph on the east, by *Tlascala* and *Mexico Proper* on the south, and, on the north, it has part of *Florida* and of the audience of *Guadalajara*. The province is fine and extensive. It was among the first conquests of the celebrated *Cortez*; its inhabitants made considerable resistance; however, they have been since thoroughly bridled by a variety of *Spanish* cities and garrisons, which occasioned great numbers to retire to *Florida*, and save their liberty at the expence of all their valuable possessions. This is the principal reason why the province is so thinly peopled. Its capital *Panuco*, at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, is a neat well-built town, the houses being of stone, prettily shatched with palmetto leaves. It contains five hundred families, and has a large harbour, rendered almost use-

left by a dangerous bar, although the river is navigable for ships of five hundred tons, it is thought, as far as the mines of *Zacoticas*. *Cortez* was the founder of this city, originally called *St. Iſtevan del Puerto*; besides, which there are several other towns in the province, though of no consideration.

THE next province in the audience of *Mexico* is *Tlaſcala*, skirted by the south or north seas. This province is also called *los Angeles*, and the capital bears the same name, the ancient city of *Tlaſcala* being dwindled to a pitiful village. *Puebla de los Angeles*, or the City of Angels, vies in magnificence with *Mexico* itself. It is situated in nineteen degrees of north latitude, on the river *Zacatula*, in a fine valley, about twenty-five leagues to the eastward of *Mexico*. In the middle is a beautiful spacious square, from whence run the principal streets in a direct line, which are crossed by others at right angles. One side is almost entirely occupied with the magnificent front of the cathedral, while the other three consist of piazzas, under which are the shops of tradesmen. The city is the see of a bishop, suffragan to the archbishop of *Mexico*, and we may form a judgment of the wealth of the inhabitants, by the revenue of the cathedral and chapter, which amounts to three hundred thousand pieces of eight annually. True it is, indeed, that the wealth of the laity bears no proportion to that of the clergy; yet still it is very great, and we may justly reckon this among the most opulent cities in the empire of *Mexico*. What adds exceedingly to the convenience and riches of this province, is, that here is situated the city of *la Vera Cruz*, or *Ulua*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, lying about seventy leagues from the city *Mexico*. As this is the great mart of all the *Spanish* trade in the North Sea, no pains have been spared to fortify a place naturally strong. Old *Vera Cruz* was built, as we have seen, by *Cortez*; but, as the situation was inconvenient, unhealthy, and defenceless, a new city was built at the distance of sixteen miles, on a safe and strong, though not capacious, harbour. At first only a fort was erected on a triangular rock, merely for the protection of the shipping in port; but the *Spaniards* soon began to remove their habitations thither, and, in course of time, old *Vera Cruz* was almost entirely forsaken for the new. Even this situation is so unhealthy, that no *Spaniards* of distinction make it their constant residence; though it is a place of great convenience. On the one side, it is exposed to clouds of dry sand, and, on the other, to the putrid exhalations of bogs and marshes, which impregnate the air with the most pernicious vapours. *La Vera Cruz* receives from *Acapulco* over land a prodigious quantity of *East-Indian* commodities, which

which the *Spaniards* dispose of chiefly in the *West-Indies*. It is the natural center of the *American* treasures ; and the magazines of the greater part of all merchandize exported from *New Spain*, or imported from *Europe*. The ware-houses are constantly full of *European* manufactures and commodities ; insomuch that the trade of this city alone may be reputed nearly equal to the commerce of almost all *Spanish America*. The merchants in this part trade not only with *Mexico*, but by *Mexico* with the *East-Indies*, with *Old Spain*, *Cuba*, *Yucatan*, *Peru*, and all the interior parts of the *Spanish* dominions. Here the *flota* winters, and, on its arrival, there is a great fair held, which entirely alters the face of the city for some days ; nor does it intirely cease during the stay of the *flota*. Writers, who have not made accurate distinctions, report that *La Vera Cruz* is one of the richest cities in the universe, and this is certainly true, if confined to particular periods, and the arrival of the *flota* ; but it cannot generally be reckoned so, as most of the rich merchants reside chiefly at *Los Angeles*, where they keep their plate, until an opportunity offers of securing it on ship-board ; a necessary precaution, as experience evinces the possibility of surprizing this harbour, the *French* and *Dutch* buccaneers having taken it in the year 1683, and the number of inhabitants not exceeding four thousand men, including slaves, upon whom there is no great dependance in case of an attack.

The province of *Guaxaca*, having the *Gulph* on the north, *Tabasco* on the east, and the *Pacific Ocean* on the south, is one of the best situated provinces in the audience of *Mexico*. It produces great abundance of those valuable commodities, venellas and cochineal ; yet, though the soil be fertile, and the climate tolerable, the province is but thinly inhabited, for which we can assign no reasons ; especially, as it is furnished with excellent ports. Among these may be reckoned *Guatulco*, or *Aquatulco*, situated on the *South Sea*, a safe and commodious harbour, now intirely abandoned ; because it had been frequently plundered by pirates and privateers. The capital of this province is *Guaxaca*, standing upon the river *Atvarado*, which flows through the beautiful valley that bears the name of the province.

To the eastward of this province stands that of *Tabasco*, extending along the *Gulph of Mexico*, and inconsiderable in its dimensions. Neither the soil nor the climate are inviting ; yet it is tolerably well inhabited, because it produces great abundance of fruit, and excellent pasturage, by which means, they make great profits of their cattle. The principal, and indeed the only, town worth mentioning, stands in the eastern corner

corner of the province, and is called by the Spaniards *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria*.

THE three remaining divisions of the audience of *Mexico*, except the province of *Mexico Proper*, which we reserve for a more particular description, are the provinces of *Yucatan*, *Chiapa*, and *Soconusco*. The first is a peninsula in the Bay of *Mexico*, situated between the bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*. The chief produce consists in cotton, salt, and logwood; and the only town possessed by the Spaniards on this extensive coast, that deserves any notice, is *Campeachy*. Its situation, exposed to the sea, gives it a fine appearance, and this is increased by a strong citadel placed at one end, and mounted with several pieces of heavy cannon; notwithstanding which, *Campeachy* was taken in 1659, by Sir Christopher Mims, who, though he was advised to make use of fraud, marched boldly up to the walls, with drums beating and colours flying, telling his men, "that he came not to steal, but to gain a victory." As to *Chiapa*, it is an inland province, fertile, and well-stocked with cattle; but neither rich nor populous, its whole trade consisting in an exchange of commodities with the neighbouring provinces. The metropolis of the province is called *Ciudad Real*, situated about the sixteenth degree of north latitude, at equal distances from the North and South Seas. Here the courts of judicature are held, and it is a bishop's see; but it is neither rich, populous, nor splendid. With respect to the province of *Soconusco*, it has nothing, either in its productions, commerce, buildings, or inhabitants, to merit the attention of the reader, who peruses books for the sake of improvement.

THE case is otherwise with the province of *Mexico Proper*, the finest country in the Spanish dominions to the north of the Equator, and incontrovertably the richest in the audience of *Mexico*. It is reported to exceed all the provinces of *America* in extensive, beautiful vallies, rich arable lands, and delicious pasturage. Fruits are in the greatest variety, perfection, and abundance; the great lakes, rivers, and the neighbourhood of the sea, afford fish of every kind. In a word, it enjoys every external and internal advantage, being washed towards the south by the *Pacific Ocean*, by which means the inhabitants trade with the other maritime provinces, while the richness of the country furnishes every article of commerce, and the roads, lakes, and rivers, every requisite of domestic industry and intercourse. The climate is indeed variable: strangers complain of its excessive heat, while the natives frequently shiver with cold; however both, who are blessed with sound constitutions, agree that it is temperate and pleasant

sant in general. The soil is so fruitful, that notwithstanding the great abundance of money, and the external luxury of the *Mexicans*, the necessaries of life are exceedingly reasonable, which affords a pregnant proof of the plenty that reigns in the provinces. The silver mines are much richer than those of *Mechuacan*, or indeed of any other province of the empire, and their value is still augmented by their containing a considerable portion of gold.

THE royal city of *Mexico* is now the capital of the audience, and of all *New Spain*, as it formerly was of the *Mexican* empire. The situation is now, where it always was, in the midst of the great lake of *Mexico*, the *Spaniards* not thinking it necessary to desert a city so well built and magnificent. In point of regularity it exceeds all the cities in the universe, the streets being so strait and exactly disposed, that from any part of the town the whole is visible. The *Spanish* writers place it in nineteen degrees forty minutes, north latitude, but most other writers twenty minutes more to the northward. The want of gates, walls, and artillery, together with the five great causeways leading to the city, renders *Mexico* extremely remarkable. All the buildings are convenient, but the publick edifices are magnificent. Here are twenty-nine cathedrals and churches, and twenty-two monasteries and nunneries, of the opulence of which we may form some judgment from the revenue of the grand cathedral that amounts to near eighty thousand pounds a year, out of which the archbishop has fifteen thousand pounds annually, besides vast sums that arise by way of perquisites. All the inhabitants are indeed immensely wealthy; and nothing can convey a higher idea of the vast grandeur and riches of *Mexico*, than the prodigious quantities which are daily exposed to sale in the streets of the most valuable commodities of *Europe* and *Asia*.

THE great square in the middle of the town is extremely magnificent, and the palace of the marquis *de Valle*, as it is called, one of the noblest pieces of architecture any where to be met with. It is built in the very spot where formerly stood the palace of *Motexuma*, and occupies nearly the same space. Several of the hospitals are superb; but what most strikes the eye of a traveller is the vast abundance of silver, gold, and jewels, exposed in plate and toys in the streets by the goldsmiths and shopkeepers. A sensible writer of our own country gives the following method of calculating the wealth of *Mexico*, which very well answers that purpose, as the account is by no means exaggerated, though different from many other writers. The king's duty from the mines, which
ought

ought to be one fifth of the whole, brought into the royal exchequer, in the year 1730, more than a million of marks of silver, at eight ounces to the mark; so that the inhabitants draw annually from the bowels of the earth above ten millions of money, without reckoning the vast sums secreted in order to defraud the king of his rights. Yet with these almost incredible treasures the people may be reckoned poor, as most of them live beyond their fortunes, and terminate a life of profusion in the most wretched indigence. The military power of *Mexico* is inconceivably low, there not being more than four or five hundred men about the viceroy's person, owing possibly to the jealousy of the *Spanish* government; for otherwise the viceroy might be much better provided against all danger at a very inconsiderable expence. The great dread indeed of the ministry, since the days of *Cortez*, has been lest the *American* governors should throw off the yoke, claim independency, and endeavour to establish a sovereign dominion in *America*; a dread which, we may venture to pronounce, is wholly imaginary. It might, however, be dangerous to put arms into the hands of this unruly people, especially as *Mexico* is but little exposed to the invasion of foreigners; for nothing is more common than to see the mob, upon the slightest grievance, threaten to burn the royal palace, and tear the viceroy to pieces.

It might reasonably be imagined, that the extraordinary multitude of people contained in the metropolis, which is reported to amount to near three hundred thousand souls, would prevent any other towns in the province from attaining to a pitch of grandeur; but the case is otherwise, for besides *Petallan* and *Cataiuthi*, which are maritime places of some consequence, there are the towns of *Ostuma*, *Tasco*, *Caxruabaca*, *Atlixco*, with several more, scattered up and down the province; and there are, even upon the lake, some handsome cities, within sight of *Mexico*: whence we may judge, that notwithstanding this country was stripped of myriads of its inhabitants by the sword, famine, pestilence, servitude, and all the miseries consequent on the *Spanish* conquest, yet that it is still populous. Next to the capital, the most considerable town, at least in point of commerce, is *Acapulco*, standing in seventeen degrees north latitude, in a bay of the *South Sea*, about two hundred and ten miles south-east from *Mexico*. The haven is large, commodious, and capable of containing several hundred large ships; and the entrance is secured by a flat island running across, at each end of which is a deep channel, sufficiently broad for the greatest vessels. The only inconvenience is, that ships must enter by the
 sea

sea wind, and go out by the land-breeze, which seldom fail to succeed each other alternately ; so that frequently they are blown off to sea, after repeated attempts to make the harbour. The town is large, but ill-built ; and the considerable extent of the place hath occasioned false conclusions as to its wealth and importance. The great trade carried on with the *East-Indies* and *Peru* requires such a multitude of warehouses, as would alone make no inconsiderable town ; but *Acapulco* is poor and mean-looking, because the principal inhabitants retire from the sea-coast, except when business requires their immediate attendance, and the houses are built slightly on account of the frequent earthquakes to which this country is exposed. Besides the climate is exceedingly unhealthy, sweeping off great numbers of the inhabitants every year ; it is always fatal to strangers, unless the greatest care be taken to conform to the necessary regimen, and not to expose the body to unwholesome dews and damps. Opposite to the town, on the east side, is a lofty strong castle, said to be mounted with forty pieces of very large cannon, and the ships ride near the bottom of the harbour, under the command both of the castle and platform ; so that this place is by no means so accessible as is commonly imagined.

THERE is a general mistake with respect to the commerce between *Acapulco* and *Peru*, that it is confined to the annual ship from *Lima*. This ship arrives about Christmas, and all the rest of the year the trade is open, ships continually passing and repassing, from one part to the other with the commodities of their several countries. It is true, that *Acapulco* derives its chief importance from the annual *Lima* and *Manilla* ships ; whence arises the mistake that no other shipping comes into this harbour. All the intercourse which the *Philippine* islands have with the rest of the world is by means of *Acapulco*, without we except the ships sent to these islands by our traders in the *East-Indies*. For these forty years past, the *Manilla* trade has been carried on by two large ships, one laden with goods, and the other serving chiefly the purposes of a convoy. The galleon is generally about 1200 or 1000 tons burthen, while the convoy is a frigate mounting thirty-six or forty guns. What the intention of that strict regulation may be, whereby the inhabitants are obliged to send no more than this annual ship, we cannot presume to determine. The galleon is freighted with all the rich merchandize of the East ; such as ambergrease, civet, bezoar, oriental pearl, piece goods, and gold-dust, to the value of fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling ; and we may conjecture what the profits of the voyage are, from the emoluments

lements arising to the captain, which are reckoned worth forty thousand pieces of eight, twenty thousand to his chief mate, and a thousand to the meanest seaman. The truth is, these profits are purchased at the expence of great danger and fatigue, this being the longest possible voyage from land to land; for except touching at *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, the ship makes three thousand leagues, during which tedious course nothing besides the sea and sky is visible to the mariners. At *Acapulco* she meets with the *Quira* ship laden with the richest produce of *Peru*, and at least two millions of pieces of eight, to be laid out in the purchase of *India* commodities; upon which occasion there is a great fair, which lasts commonly for a month. Now the town is populous and gay, being crowded with the richest merchants of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and even of *Chili*, who come hither to provide themselves in whatever they want, either for the purposes of luxury or of commerce. All the houses in the town are not sufficient to lodge half the strangers, who are therefore provided with tents, which they pitch in the neighbourhood in the form of a large encampment. It is supposed that the *Manilla* galleon carries off from *Acapulco* at least ten millions of dollars for the purchase of goods, and the payment of the *Spanish* garrisons in the *Philippine* islands. Formerly the galleon went one year, and returned the third; but the trade is so much encreased, that the returns are quicker, and the burthen of the vessel greatly encreased.

BEFORE we conclude the description of this province, it may be necessary to shew in what manner the trade is carried on between *Mexico* and *Europe*. In the month of *August*, a fleet, consisting of eight large galleons, loaded with merchandize, chiefly on the king's account, and mounting fifty guns, and about sixteen merchantmen fraught with the goods of private adventurers, set sail from the port of *Cadiz*, in *Old Spain*, for the *Spanish* Main. This fleet of galleons is distinguished from the *flota*, because the former is employed chiefly in carrying military stores to *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the *Spanish* islands; whereas the latter is fraught chiefly with merchandize. The cargo brought back to *Europe* by the *flota* is not so rich as that of the galleons, though it is said to encrease annually. As soon as the galleons and *flota* arrive at the *Havannah*, the *flotilla*, so called because it is composed of the lightest and cleanest vessels, is detached to *Europe*; with a considerable quantity of money and merchandize, but principally with an exact account of the cargoes of the homeward bound galleons and *flota*, that the court may be able to judge of the requisite convoy, according to the value and the

Mod. Hist. Vol. XXXIX. L danger;

danger ; as well as to regulate the *indulto* proper to be levied on the merchants, according to their respective interests in their cargoes (P).

Audience
of Guati-
mala.

THE last audience in the kingdom of *Mexico* is *Guatemala*, a fine country, inferior to the audience of *Mexico* in nothing except in flourishing cities, and as capable of improvement as any part of *Spanish America*. It contains about a thousand miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, being bounded by the audience of *Mexico*, and the bay of *Honduras*, on the north ; by the *North Sea*, and some of the provinces of *North America*, on the east ; and, on the south and west, by the *Pacific Ocean*, thus enjoying every advantage of situation with respect to commerce. Some writers place the provinces of *Chiapa* and *Sacouisco* in this audience, and some in the audience of *Mexico* ; as we think this a matter of very little consequence to the reader, we have followed the latter, almost without any cause for preference. The first province, therefore, according to this disposition, into which the audience of *Guatemala* is divided, bears the same name, extending itself along the coast of the *South Sea*, for the space of one hundred leagues, having the provinces of *Vera Paz* and *Honduras* on the north, *Nicaragua* on the east, the sea on the south, and the province of *Sacouisco* to the westward. The country is mountainous, filled with volcanos, and subject to earthquakes and dreadful fiery eruptions. It abounds, however, with rich and fertile valleys, equally pleasant and

(P) As we have touched upon this subject, it may not be amiss to specify what is intended by a register ship, which takes its name from being registered with all the effects in books kept for that purpose in the chamber of *Seville*. These register ships go every year to *Buenos Ayres*, *St. Mariba*, *Porto Cavalle*, and other places neither frequented by the *flota* nor galleons ; yet they generally return and go out with them, perhaps to save the government the expences of different convoys. When a set of merchants find that *European* commodities are much wanted in any part of *America*, or the *West Indies*, they petition the council of the *Indies* for leave to

send a ship of three hundred tons, or under, to such a port ; and having obtained permission, they pay a sum, from 30 to 50000 pieces of eight to the crown, besides presents of considerable value to the king's officers. The ship and cargo are registered to prevent any species of fraud ; yet she is generally twice the burthen specified in the licence, and contains double the cargo entered. When such glaring frauds are permitted in the *Spanish* ports by the king's own officers ; need we admire that the endeavours of the court to prevent an illicit trade with the *West Indies*, have been vain and fruitless ?

healthy,

healthy, notwithstanding it does not frequently rain for a whole year in some parts of the province. The pastures are so admirable, that the multitudes of cattle are incredible; but the principal commodities are corn, rich dying drugs, sugar, silver, and cotton. Great quantities of bees-wax are likewise exported out of this province. *St. Jago de Guatimala*, standing in fourteen degrees north latitude, about nine leagues from the *South Sea*, is the capital. Formerly this was among the noblest cities in *New Spain*, before it was destroyed in 1541, by a dreadful hurricane, in which an hundred and twenty thousand *Spaniards* and natives lost their lives. Never appeared a more terrible and awful scene than this: the day preceding a prodigious noise was heard from the bowels of the volcano, seated in the mountain above the city, which was succeeded in the night by a furious explosion, as if the earth had discharged all her bowels; and a torrent of water issuing from the mountain that swept all before it, and carried off houses and inhabitants. The horror of the scene was heightened by one of the most dreadful earthquakes ever felt in any part of the globe. *New Guatimala*, the present capital of the audience and province, the residence of the president and royal courts, the seat of a bishop, and the center of commerce in these parts, is situated in a beautiful plain at a good distance from the fatal volcano; however, all the precautions cannot secure it against the dreadful earthquakes, so frequent in this country. It is, nevertheless, well-built and well-inhabited, the citizens trafficking largely, not only with all the provinces of *Mexico*, but even with *Peru*. In this way immense fortunes are raised, with which the parties then retire to the neighbourhood of the capital of the empire, to spend the remainder of their days in the fullest enjoyment of riches.

THE other places of any consideration in this province are *La Trinidad* or *Sonfonate*, situated in a bay of the *South Sea*, about two miles to the south-east of the capital, containing about five hundred *Spanish* families, besides *Indians* and mulattoes; *St. Michael*, another sea-port town, to the eastward of the former, having about six hundred families; and *Amapalla*, standing upon a fine bay to the eastward of *St. Michael's*, with above a hundred *Spanish* families, who trade largely in cochineal, cocoa, hides, indigo, and the other commodities of the province.

BETWEEN the gulph of *Honduras*, and the province of *Guatimala*, lies the province of *Vera Paz*, so called because the natives submitted without resistance, and maintained the treaty made with the *Spaniards* religiously. The extent

of this province is but forty-eight leagues in length, and about half that breadth; nor is it remarkable, either for being populous or fertile, to which the woodiness of the country, and the frequency of earthquakes, are great and insuperable impediments. As to the climate the *Spanish* writers affirm, that half the province is very pleasant, healthy, and temperate, while the other half is insupportably hot; the air participating of all the bad qualities which can be expected from heat and moisture. With all these inconveniencies, the *Spaniards* find it worth maintaining, upon account of the admirable medicinal gums, dying drugs, and other valuable commodities, produced here in abundance. Formerly there was gold in the *Gulfo dulce*, but now it is either exhausted, or so scarce as not to reward the trouble of searching. The capital is *Vera Paz*, a city pretty enough, but not magnificently built, and emblematical of the real situation of the inhabitants, who enjoy a sufficiency to live at ease, without opulence or grandeur. This town is also called *Coben* by some modern travellers and geographers.

HONDURAS province, lying from west to east considerably above a hundred leagues in length, and near eighty in breadth, is the next in situation. On the north it is skirted by the bay of *Honduras*, and on the east by the *North Sea*: it has on the south, the provinces of *Nicaragua* and *Guatemala*, and is bounded on the west by *Vera Paz*. No part of this continent is more healthy and fruitful; corn is abundant, the pastures rich, and the cattle numerous. Several rivers overflow their banks, and greatly increase the fertility of the province, which likewise furnishes divers valuable articles of commerce; such as *Vigonia* wool, cotton, wax, sugar, pearls, log-wood, gold and silver; but these two last particulars in no great abundance: nor are the pearls, found upon the coasts of the island of that name, at all so plentiful as formerly, and indeed the fisheries are much neglected. With all these advantages, the country is by no means populous, the *Spaniards* having almost extirpated the original inhabitants, in revenge for their not discovering the rich gold mines, which they supposed were situated in the province, because they saw the natives adorned with trinkets made of the precious metals. There is indeed some silver dug in the mountains, which the *Spaniards* refine in *Valladolid*, the capital of the province, which the *Indians* call *Comoagua*. This city stands in fourteen degrees of north latitude, upon a river, which falls into the gulph of *Honduras* after a long course. It is now a bishop's see, removed in 1558 from *Truxillo*, and for an inland town, is rich, populous, and handsome.

handsome. *Truxillo* is the only sea-port of consequence belonging to the province of *Honduras*, unless we except *Porto Cavallo*, chiefly famed for being the port of the city *Guatemala*, to and from which, all commodities are carried on horse-back by a road cut in many places through the living rock. According to most geographers it lies without the limits of *Honduras*.

WE come now to the province of *Nicaragua*, of which we have made frequent mention in relating the first expeditions of the *Spaniards* to the continent of *America*. It is washed both by the *North* and *South Seas*. The air is clear and healthy; the soil excellent, and the whole country finely diversified with mountains, valleys, extensive lakes, and beautiful savannahs, or meadows, on which feed numerous herds of cattle. Corn, timber, wax, tar, cordage, and sugar are the principal commodities; but the province is so well furnished with all the necessaries of life, and so pleasant, that it is frequently called the *Mohammedan Paradise*. What adds equally to the beauty and convenience of *Nicaragua* is a delightful lake of the same name, that runs across from within twenty miles of the *South Sea*, until it discharges itself by a pleasant canal into the *North Sea*, at the entrance of which is the port of *St. Juan*. The tides rise quite up to the lake; so that every species of fish, peculiar to fresh and salt water, is found here in great abundance, almost together. Happy is it for the natives, that their country produces no mines; for otherwise their bonds must have been drawn tighter, and their lives destroyed in digging for the precious metals, to glut the avarice of their masters. For this reason, both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* employ themselves in husbandry and agriculture, for which no part of *America* affords more encouragement. They have erected divers manufactures, with which they draw large quantities of gold and silver from the other provinces; and hence it is observed, even among the *Spaniards*, that the industry of *Nicaragua* is the most permanent and secure treasure; because the money drawn from it remains in the country. It is also observed, that a more free and bold spirit of liberty reigns here than in any other of the *Spanish* provinces; for the people constantly refuse to stoop or truckle to oppressive governors. The capital is called *Leon*, and frequently the whole province is distinguished by the appellation of *New Leon*. This city stands in a sandy plain, directly on the edge of the lake, and at the distance of twenty miles from the *Pacific Ocean*. Round it are several beautifully enamelled meadows, though the spot in which it is immediately situated be dry and barren. It is the see of a

bishop, and hath, besides a handsome cathedral, several churches and monasteries, with divers private buildings of magnificent appearance. The *Spanish* inhabitants do not exceed a thousand, but the city is pretty populous if we include all the natives, who live with more conveniency and under more regular social institutions, than in any other town in the *Spanish American* dominions; because the *Spaniards* do not require that servitude from the *Indians*, which they absolutely refuse to their own governors. In 1685, the buccaneer captains, *Swan* and *Townly*, attacked, plundered, and destroyed this city to the ground; but it has since been rebuilt with more lustre and beauty than before.

BESIDES the capital, this province is adorned with the handsome city of *Granada*, which carries on a great trade by the lake to *Carthagena*. The buildings are splendid and elegant, every thing bearing the marks of wealth and industry; the latter of which is, through the misconduct of the government, turned into an illicit channel, the greater part of the commerce of the lake consisting in smuggling. The *Spaniards*, indeed, discover such an attachment to ancient customs, that projects of the utmost advantage to the community have been rejected, merely because they were novel; nor can a stronger instance of this weak prejudice be given, than that the manner of navigating and constructing vessels on the lake, are directly the same they were before the improvements made in ship-building, and the art of sailing. The very constitution of the people seems to be altered with the climate; for we see the descendants of those bold, enterprising, and active conquerors, who hesitated at no danger, and stickled at no difficulty for gain and glory, now degenerated into a slow, cautious, unambitious, dastardly race, devoid of every principle of virtue and publick spirit, and tamely suffering themselves to be trampled upon by their governors. One more place there is in the province of *Nicaragua* that deserves notice; this is *Rialoxa*, an excellent port on the *South Sea*, situated in a plain, by the side of a river. It stands twenty miles west of the capital *Leon*, and serves not only the purposes of a port to this city and province, but likewise to *Guatemala*, with which it carries on a very considerable trade. *Dampier* acquaints us that the situation is unhealthy, and reckons this the principal obstruction to its becoming populous and important.

THE province more immediately contiguous to *Nicaragua*, is that to which the *Spaniards* have given the name of *Costa Rica*, or the *Rich Coast*; and yet the communication is interrupted by an exceeding rough country, and a long chain

of

of mountains, which run across it from east to west. It stands to the northward of *Nicaragua*, being hemmed in by the *Pacific* on the south, and by the province, of *Veragua* on the west. The country is barren and mountainous, but it gained its name from the valuable pearls found on the coast, for which the *Spaniards* still maintain a fishery (Q). *Carthage*, generally called *Carthago* by the *Spaniards*, is the capital; but the city stands forty miles within land, is poor in trade, and inconsiderable in point of wealth and inhabitants. *Nicoya*, which is considered as only the second town in point of dignity, is beyond comparison more opulent, because it has a communication by rivers with the bay of that name, much frequented by the *Spanish* shipping (R).

It has been usual to class the provinces of *Costa Rica* and *Veragua* in the audience of *Guatemala*, and we have reason to believe they absolutely come within the jurisdiction of this tribunal; yet the ingenious *Don Antonio de Ulloa* places the latter within the division of *Terra Firma*, without taking the least notice of what is asserted by all other writers. We shall, however, adhere to the old division, and reckon *Veragua* a *Mexican* province. It is skirted by both seas, has in the east a part of *Terra Firma*, and the Gulph of *Panama*; and, on the west, the province of *Costa Rica*. The country is mountainous, and unfit for culture, extending about fifty leagues in length, and twenty-five in breadth. The vast woods, which cover the mountains, add great beauty to the country,

(Q) It is likewise more than probable that the great quantities of gold, of which the natives were possessed when the *Spaniards* first arrived on that coast, gave the adventurers the highest opinion of the wealth of the country; but as this gold was chiefly found in their rivers, the quantity decreased in proportion as the people were diminished, who used to search for it with more diligence than since it subjected them to the dominion of the *Spaniards*.

(R) The *Spaniards* trade from hence to *Panama*, in salt, maize, wheat, fowls, and the purple juice of a shell-fish, found in the neighbouring bay. This

may possibly be the ancient *murex*, which, however, we cannot possibly affirm, because we can find no description of the animal, nor of the juice, any more than that it dyes wool of a fine purple, which the *Spaniards* use in their *Segovia* cloth. They call the fish *Purpura*, and it is described as not eatable, living for the space of seven years, and always hiding itself about the rising of the dog star. Here also the shell is converted into a slimy soft wax, also used by the dyers. We shall speak of the fish more particularly, when we come to describe *Punta de St. Elena*. *Ulloa* T. i. p. 176.

but no way improve the natural unwholesomeness of the climate. Indeed, such is the barrenness of *Veragua*, in all the productions necessary to life, that the *Spaniards* would certainly abandon it, but for the great quantities of gold found in the rivers, especially after floods of rain. In this particular, *Veragua* alone is more abundant than all *Mexico*, if we may credit some of the latest travellers. There are likewise some gold mines in the heart of the country, near *Santa Fe*; and the bars of gold, made out of the pure gold of the rivers, and extracted from the mines, is reported to amount to an immense revenue. The city of the *Conception* is reputed the capital, and is a large, rich, populous, and flourishing town, standing not far from the coast of the *North Sea*. Forty miles within the province stands the town of *Santa Fe*, considerable only for the gold mines in the neighbourhood. *Puebla Nova* is reputed to be a place of considerable extent, seated upon a river that discharges itself into the *South Sea*. — As we cannot specify every little town in each district, or even descend to a minute description of the larger places, the reader must be contented with this general delineation, since we profess to write a history, and not a geographical account of the countries of which we treat; adding a concise view of the present state of each, merely for the further satisfaction of the publick.

S E C T. XIV.

Containing a short description and account of the present state of Terra Firma, called also the New or Golden Castile; and of Peru and Chili, Buyenos Ayres, Paraguay, Brasil, &c. In which the commodities and curiosities of each province are specified.

THIS vast peninsula, extending itself from the Isthmus of *Darien* to *Cape Horn*, in the form of a triangle, of which the *Terra Magellanica* and the *Cape* form the vertex; goes by the general name of *Peruviana*, which includes the whole of *South America*, although all the countries included within these limits do not acknowledge the dominion of the crown of *Spain*. The heart of the country hath not yet been reduced, or at least civilized; the *Portuguese* are in possession of a large tract, and some other nations have found means to establish themselves on the skirts of this noble empire. On the

the North Sea, the Spanish territories reach no farther than the Equinoctial, on one side; and commence again at *Rio de la Plata*, on the other, the fine country of *Brasil* occupying the middle place; and from this river quite to the Straits of *Magellan*, the Spaniards rather claim than possess a real dominion. Indeed the territories already in their hands are of such extent, and afford such vast treasures, that they have no temptation to make either conquests or discoveries; and, as the Portuguese are much in the same situation, with respect to *Brasil*, we may infer that there is a tract of interior undiscovered country, stretching for near two thousand miles from east to west, and above a thousand from north to south; part of which is only known even to the Jesuits, who have established themselves in *Paraguay*. The inhabitants consist not only of the natives, who first possessed the country, but of vast numbers of other *Indians*, driven by the cruelty of the European conquerors to seek repose and shelter in those remote parts. If we consider their multitudes, and the natural strength and situation of the country, it is highly probable, these barbarians will always preserve their liberty, unless they should happen to yield to the address of the jesuit missionaries, who have, by dint of civil policy and religion, erected a more firm and permanent empire, without shedding a drop of blood, than the court of *Spain* has after the slaughter of millions; yet there is the greatest reason to believe, that it is infinitely rich in gold, silver, jewels, drugs, fruits, cattle, corn, and every conveniency of life and commerce.

THOUGH the Spanish dominions in *South America* are subject to one governor, stiled viceroy and captain-general, titles which have sometimes been disjoined by writers, and assigned to different persons, yet as it would be impossible to govern immediately territories of such vast extent and so remote from each other; his jurisdiction is therefore divided into several audiences, such as *Panama*, *Terra Firma*, *Chuquisaca*, *Quito*, *Lima* and *Chili*; of each of which we shall treat separately. Over these audiences, which are composed of a president and council, the viceroy enjoys only a pre-eminence, with a reservation in cases of appeal. We may compare an audience to a *French* parliament; each consists of judges appointed by the king of *Spain*, and a number of inferior officers dependant on them; the whole under the direction of a president. The business of these two tribunals is transacted by four chambers, called the chamber of justice, the criminal court, the exchequer, and the chamber of treasure, the various departments and proper business of

which are implied in the names. Commonly the viceroys and presidents hold their authority for the space of seven years; and the inferior magistrates for four or three years, though the viceroy has power to renew their commissions, upon their exhibiting proofs of the able and honest discharge of their duty; a scheme of policy, which, ~~at the same time, that it~~ is advantageous to the crown, is productive of the greatest miseries to the people. It prevents the great officers from establishing too extensive an influence within their several jurisdictions, but it encourages the subaltern magistrates to fleece and oppress; they know their power is only of short duration, and they lose no opportunity of making their fortunes at the expense of principle and reputation. They regard this season as a kind of harvest, which occurs but once in a lifetime; and thus the royal officers are generally a set of legal thieves, and the rulers of the people only a succession of robbers screened by authority, and guarded against all inquiry by the royal mandate. The stated appointment of the viceroy of *Petu* is, notwithstanding the great dignity of the employment, no more than forty thousand pieces of eight *per ann.* but then he has occasional salaries and perquisites which exceed all computation; for this reason these employments are usually bestowed on favourite noblemen of broken fortune, who by this means soon lay up sufficient resources for new scenes of luxury and dissipation.

THE province of *Terra Firma* is a very extensive country, being bounded by *Peru*, the country of the *Amazons*, and part of *Guiana*, on the south; by the river *Oroonoko* on the south-east; by the *North Sea* on the north and east; and by the *South Sea* on the west, where the Isthmus of *Darien* also divides it from *Mexico*. From east to west, it extends above 1300 miles, and is about 750 in breadth from north to south, though these dimensions are extremely unequal, on account of the curvatures of the great river *Oroonoko*. Sometimes the province of *Guiana* is included in the division of *Terra Firma*; however, as it is not within the jurisdiction of the same governors, or indeed under the dominion of the *Spaniards*, we propose treating it in a separate article. The *Spaniards* have made such frequent alterations not only in the names, but in the boundaries of the several provinces in *South America*, that it is not easy to ascertain their exact jurisdictions. *Terra Firma*, also called *New Castile*, or *Castilla del Oro*, from the quantities of gold found in the district of *Uchala*, and other parts, was first discovered by the celebrated *Columbus* in his third voyage, as we have already related. We have seen the changes which happened in the government

government of this country, and the misfortunes and hardships to which the *Spaniards* were exposed through their own insolence to the natives, treachery to each other, and general misconduct. The climate is neither pleasant nor healthy; one part of the year the inhabitants are scorched by the most intense and burning heat, and the other, almost drowned with perpetual floods of rain, pouring from the sky with such violence, as if a general deluge was to ensue. In so large a tract of country the soil must necessarily vary; accordingly in some parts of *New Castile*, though the trees put forth a perfect verdure, yet they bear scarce any fruit. In others, the soil is so fertile naturally, that it scarce requires the assistance of the husbandman to produce two harvests; while, at the same time, the meadows are stocked with the most beautiful herds of cattle. The mountains abound with tigers, it is reported with lions, and great numbers of other wild beasts; the rivers, seas, and lakes teem with fish, and the bowels of the earth were once furnished with the richest treasures, now almost exhausted. The same may be said of the pearl fisheries on the coasts, which now yield nothing equal to their former profits. The natives have never been thoroughly subdued, and probably never will, as they are not only a gallant warlike people, but have almost impregnable fastnesses to retreat to, and bear an inveterate hatred to the *Spaniards*; yet there is little appearance that they can ever again acquire the entire dominion of their own country by the expulsion of the strangers. They are not cordially affected to any *European* nations, as may be perceived by the expeditions of the buccanniers, of whose assistance they made use against the *Spaniards*, without expressing any inclination to suffer them to settle in the country; and yet this is the only prospect they have of getting rid of that particular nation, for which they entertain the most invincible aversion.

NEW CASTILE, or *Terra Firma*, is divided into the following districts or governments; namely, the Isthmus of *Darien*, or *Terra Firma Proper*, *Carthagena*, *Santa Martha*, *Rio de la Hacha*, *Venezuela*, *New Grenada*, *New Andalusia*, and the province of *Popayan*. The most northern of these is that country lying between the Gulph of *Darien* and *Mexico*, along the coast of the *North* and *South Seas*, particularly distinguished by the name of *Darien*. It is that narrow neck of land which forms *South* and *North America*, by some writers called the Isthmus of *Panama*, extending in the form of a crescent round the bay of *Panama*, for about three hundred miles in length, and sixty in breadth, from the

North

- North Sea to the Pacific; which situation, together with the gold mines, gold sands, and fine pearls found here, renders the province invaluable. The land is generally rough, but beautifully variegated with mountains and valleys, woods and rivers, brooks and perennial springs, that discharge themselves in the *North* and *South Seas*; which are separated by a ridge of mountains. Great floods of rain fall in this country, which some ascribe to its situation between two seas; they begin towards the close of *April*, and pour down without intermission to the middle of the month of *August*, or of *September*, when they abate and yield gradually to the fair season. The principal rivers are the *Darien*, which, after a course of near a hundred miles, falls into the *North Sea* near *Golden Island*; the river *Conception*, which discharges itself in the same sea, opposite to one of the *Santuloe* islands; and the *Chagre*, the most frequented by mariners, which forms a harbour about ten leagues west of *Porto Bello*. Into the *South Sea* fall the *Santa Maria*, on the south side of the bay of *Panama*; the *Conga* to the northward of *Santa Maria*; and the *Chagre*, which empties itself seven leagues to the westward of *Panama*. All these rivers are navigable, but their utility for the purposes of commerce is greatly diminished by bars, which run across the mouths of each, and admit only of small vessels.

Porto
Bello.

NOMBRE DE DIOS was the first settlement made by the *Spaniards* in this province, which rose in a short time to a flourishing city, and would have continued so, in despite of the climate and unwholesome situation, had it not been repeatedly destroyed by the *English*, which obliged the inhabitants to look out for a more safe and commodious situation. This gave birth to *Porto Bello*, standing in $9^{\circ}. 34'. 35''$ north latitude; the harbour of which was first discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, and so named from its beauty. It was in 1584, that a colony was first planted here by order of *Philip II.* The town lies close to the sea, on the declivity of a mountain, which surrounds the whole harbour. Most of the houses are built with wood, they do not exceed a hundred and thirty in number; and are ranged into one long street, which runs the whole length of the town, and is divided by several lanes and inlets to the harbour. Besides this street are two handsome squares, chiefly of stone, in one of which the governor usually takes up his residence. All the inhabitants do not amount to three thousand, half of whom are *Indians*, mulattoes or negroes; the *Spaniards* of any substance not chusing to reside in a place so extremely unhealthy

unhealthy and fatal, even to the lives of the natives. Until of late years, the air of *Porto Bello* was supposed to be remarkably unfavourable to parturition; and it was customary with the *Spanish* women to remove, about the third or fourth month of pregnancy, to the opposite side of the isthmus, to be delivered at *Panama*. It has even been a generally received opinion, that animals brought to *Porto Bello* cease to procreate; but *Ulloa* affirms no more, than that the cattle removed hither from *Panama* or *Ciudadagena*, lose their flesh so fast in the best pastures, as to become scarce eatable; and he lays it down for certain, that neither horses nor asses are bred here, which serves to confirm the notion, that this climate checks the generation of animals produced in a less noxious atmosphere. The heat, indeed, is here excessive, which, joined to the moisture of the rainy season, may possibly enervate the system, and relax the solids, so as to render animals unfit for procreation; but we would not chuse to reason too much upon a fact, not yet sufficiently established. The torrents of rain are so dreadful, sudden, and impetuous, as to threaten a second deluge; and they are usually accompanied with such tempests of thunder and lightning, as must daunt even the most resolute, the noise being prolonged by repercussions from the mountains, like the explosion of cannon, the rumbling of which is heard for some time after. To this may be added, the shrieks and howlings of the multitudes of monkeys of all kinds, which inhabit the surrounding woods, and encrease the horror of the scene. Great pains have been taken to fortify the town and harbour, yet no place has been more unfortunate than *Porto Bello*; which, in 1595, was taken and ransomed by Sir *Francis Drake*; in 1601, was surprised by Capt. *Parker*; in 1657, by Capt. *Morgan*; in 1678, by Capt. *Groen*; and, in 1733, was taken by Admiral *Vernon*; a petty conquest, which was extolled with as much noise as if he had reduced *Peru* and *Mexico*. Except during the fair, opened on the arrival of the galleons, the place is very inconsiderable; and, indeed, at no time of importance, but for the harbour, which is extremely beautiful and commodious for every kind of shipping. The entrance is wide, but well defended by Fort *St. Philip de Tolo Fierro*, standing upon the north point of the channel. On the south side, and opposite to the anchoring place, is a large castle, called *St. Jago de la Gloria*; to the east of which, at a small distance, begins the town, having before it a point of land projecting into the harbour, on which stood the castle of *St. Jerome*, demolished by admiral *Vernon*.

BEFORE the arrival of the galleons at *Porto Bello*, proper expresses are dispatched to *Panama*, requiring the king's treasure, and the merchandize from *Peru* and *Chili*, to be conveyed higher; which is either performed by land in summer, or by water in the winter. When the galleons come into port, the cargoes are landed and lodged in proper warehouses, and the price immediately paid out of the treasures lodged in *Porto Bello*. The whole country round is filled with mules and beasts of burthen, employed in transporting the silver from *Panama*, which are emptied in the open square, and yet without theft or loss, notwithstanding the seeming hurry and confusion. This exchange of plate for merchandize constitutes the business of the fair, which, by order of the king, lasts no longer than forty days; and, if the merchants cannot finish their bargains within that time, those of *Spain* shall, in that case, have liberty to carry their goods up the country to *Peru*; but, otherwise, by virtue of a compact among themselves, and ratified by the king, no *Spanish* trader is to send his goods, on his own account, beyond *Porto Bello*, nor can a *Peruvian* ship money or send remittances in his own name to *Spain*.

Panama.

THE next city we shall mention in this province is *Panama*, standing, agreeable to the observation of those excellent astronomers, Don *Juan* and *Antonio Ulloa*, in latitude $8^{\circ} 57' 48''$. $\frac{1}{2}$. north, upon that capacious and beautiful bay from which it derives its name (S). When *Guzman* first touched here in 1514, the place consisted intirely of fishermen's huts; *Orius D'Avila* settled a colony here in a few years after, and, in 1521, it was constituted a city by the emperor *Charles V.* with the proper privileges. In 1670, it was sacked and burnt by *John Morgan*, an *English* adventurer, who had the preceding year taken *Porto Bello*. This misfortune occasioned the inhabitants to remove the city to its present situation, distant about a league from where it stood before; and, for the greater security, the new city was inclosed by a free-stone wall, and the houses were built of stone and brick. Since that time several bastions have been added, and now there is always a complete garrison maintained, and the walls mounted with large cannon. But all these precautions could not save the city from another misfortune, being

(S) It must be observed that the civil and military tribunal residing at *Panama* is honoured with the appellation of an audience; though we are unacquainted with the reasons, unless it be what *Ulloa* alledges, that it is the capital of the three provinces.

intirely

intirely consumed by fire, in the year 1737. After this accident it was again rebuilt in the manner in which it now stands, with neat elegant houses, but not magnificent. The inhabitants are rather independant in their fortunes than rich, there are few of them opulent, and scarce any in a state of poverty. As to the harbour it is convenient, and well secured against storms by a number of sutrounding islands. Here the royal audience is seated, at which the governor of *Panama* resides; for which reason this city is commonly deemed the capital of the province (T).

(T) We cannot avoid taking notice, that near the north-west point of the gulph of *Darien* stood the fortrels of *New Edinburgh*, built by a *Scotch* colony, who attempted to establish a settlement, in the year 1699, and denominated the sutrounding country *New Caledonia*. In 1695, the *Scotch* parliament passed an act for erecting a company to trade to *Africa*, and the *East* and *West Indies*, under his majesty's letters patent, which the company obtained. The design was so plausible, that it induced several *English* and *Hamburgh* merchants to engage deeply in the adventure, in consequence of which divers ships were equipped, and a body of forces raised to plant a colony on or near the isthmus of *Darien*. The territory of which the adventurers took possession was governed by eight *Indian* princes, then at war with the *Spaniards*, for which reason they joyfully received the *Scotch*, in hope of being able to expel the *Spaniards* by their assistance. For some time the new colony flourished extremely, but their good fortune soon met with a check from the jealousy of the *English* and *India* company and the court of

Madrid. The former complained of an ingeagement of their charter, and the latter of a violation of the treaties subsisting between *Spain* and *Great Britain*. Accordingly the *English* parliament interposed, and addressed king *William* to vacate the charter granted to the *Scotch* company. The *Scotch* defended their rights with all the arguments of reason and justice; but the influence of their adversaries was too powerful, and all measures were taken to ruin the infant settlement. The *Hamburghers* were prevailed on to withdraw their subscriptions; the merchants of *London* were threatened with the ministerial displeasure, and orders were sent to the *English* plantations to deny the colonists all provision and assistance. In a word, such was the power of faction and private interest, that the nation was robbed of the benefit of one of the most useful establishments ever projected, the advantages of which must have appeared in the most sensible manner, whenever a rupture happened between *England* and *Spain*; for while the isthmus remained in possession of the colony, the *Spanish* treasures must be detained in *America*.

Cartha-
gena.

THE next contiguous province is *Carthagena*, which is one of the most considerable governments in *New Castile*, on account of the great trade carried on by the capital; otherwise the country is neither rich, fertile, nor populous. It indeed produces some valuable balms, gums, and drugs, together with a few emeralds; but there are neither mines of gold nor silver, nor extraordinary crops of corn, or herds of cattle. The principal river is *Magdalena*, that falls into the sea about seventy-two miles north-east of the city *Carthagena*, which is not only a fine opulent town, but a strong fortress. Its advantageous situation, the extent and security of its bay, and the great share it obtained in the commerce of *South America*, occasioned its being erected into an episcopal see, and contributed to its preservation and increase, as the most esteemed settlement and emporium of the *Spaniards* in that country. Its wealth drew upon it the hostilities of foreigners, who, thirsting after the riches it contained, have attacked, taken, and plundered it, without ever attempting to maintain it as a settlement. The first invasion was made in 1544, soon after its establishment, by certain *French* adventurers, conducted by a *Corfican* pilot. In 1485, it was pillaged and almost destroyed by Sir *Francis Drake*, that celebrated scourge of the *New Spanish* settlements. *M. de Pointis* came before it in 1597, with a squadron of privateers, protected by the *French* king; and, after obliging the fort of *Boca Chica* to surrender, whereby he gained the entrance of the bay, a descent was made, fort *Lazare* besieged and forced to capitulate, which agreement could not however preserve the place from the rage of avarice. The *French* soldiers were no sooner in possession, than they entered the town, and pillaged it, without regard to the articles of capitulation, or the laws of nations. It was supposed that the governor had betrayed his trust, and this suspicion was corroborated by his embarking on board the *French* squadron, with all his treasures and effects, none of which had shared in the general calamity. As to the attempts made on this city by the *English*, they were unfortunate and disgraceful; the expedition of admiral *Vernon* is too fresh in the memory of every *Briton*, to need a recital in this place. The city of *Carthagena* is situated on a sandy island, called a peninsula by most writers, which, forming a narrow passage on the south-west, opens a communication with that port called *Tierra Bomba*, as far as *Boca Chica*. The little island, which now joins them, was formerly the entrance of the bay, but it having been filled up by orders of the court, *Boca Chica* became the only entrance, but this also has been filled up, since

frank the attempt of *Kernon* and *Wentworth*. The danger to which the town was exposed on that occasion by the loss of the forts which defended the entrance to the harbour, gave birth to a fresh order for opening the old passage, by which all ships, at this time, enter the bay. On the north side the land is so narrow, that, before the wall was begun, the distance from sea to sea was only thirty-five toises, but afterwards enlarging, forms another island on this side; so that, excepting these two places, the whole city is intirely surrounded by the salt water. To the eastward, it has a communication, by means of a wooden bridge, with a large suburb called *Xexamani*, built on another island, which is also joined to the continent by a bridge of the same materials. The fortifications both of the city and suburb are constructed in the modern fashion, and lined with free-stone; and, in time of peace, the garrison consists of ten companies of seventy-seven men each, besides militia. The city and suburbs are well laid out, the streets strait, broad, uniform, and well paved. All the houses are built of stone or brick, only one story high, well contrived, neat, and furnished with balconies and lattices of wood, which is more durable in that climate than iron, the latter being soon corroded with the acrimonious quality of the nitrous atmosphere. The city is populous, though most of the inhabitants are the descendants of the *Indian* tribes; but it is by no means opulent, the country producing no mines, and even the money for paying the salaries of the governor, and inferior offices coming from *Santa Fè* and *Quito*. Yet there are many persons, who have acquired large fortunes by commerce, whose houses are splendid, and who live in every respect with great magnificence. As it would greatly exceed our bounds to enter upon a minute description of this city, its inhabitants, climate, and other particulars, we must refer the reader to the voyages of that excellent writer, don *Antonio de Ulloa*, which work is well translated into the *English* language. We cannot, however, quit this subject without touching upon some very remarkable circumstances, that distinguish this from every other climate. To this singularity, we may probably ascribe some extraordinary distempers, which make horrible ravages among the human race, and especially the *Europeans* who visit *Carthagena*. This disease is called *Chapatonada*, alluding to the name given here to *Europeans*, and is a species of the *vomito prieto*, or black vomit, that being a constant, leading, and fatal symptom. The other symptoms, except a fever and delirium, are not to be found similar in any two patients, or distinguishable from those of a slight indisposition. Multitudes of people are yearly swept

off by this distemper on the arrival of the galleons; it usually continues above three or four days, in which time the patient is either dead, or out of danger, and, what is remarkable, never again subjected to the same disorder; which has foisted all the art of the *Spanish* physicians.

ANOTHER dreadful endemial disease is the leprosy, which gains ground every day, and is now so frequent, that an hospital is erected for patients labouring under this loathsome distemper. It is observable here, that the leprosy greatly encreases the desire of coition, in consequence of which the patients in the hospital are allowed to intermarry; a strange policy! that only tends to propagate a disease so extremely contagious, and baffles all endeavours to extirpate it. At *Carthagena* likewise that painful tumour in the muscles of the legs and thighs, occasioned by the entrance of the *Dracuncula*, or Guinea worm, so common on the coast of *Africa*, and some of the *West-India* islands, is extremely troublesome, especially to the natives. Another disorder, nearly similar, is occasioned by a little insect called *Nigua*, peculiar to this country and to *Peru*, where it is called *Pigue*, so extremely minute, as scarce to be visible to the naked eye. This insect breeds in the dust, insinuates itself into the soles of the feet, the toes, and the legs, piercing the skin with such subtilty, that there is no being aware of it before it has made its way to the flesh. If it be perceived in the beginning, it is extracted with little pain; but having once lodged its head, and pierced the skin, the patient must undergo the pain of incision, without which a nodus would be formed, and a multitude of insects engendered, who would soon overspread the foot and leg. They cause an extreme pain, especially when they have penetrated deep, as they sometimes do, quite to the bone; and then the incision is not only attended with exquisite torture, but much trouble, and sometimes with real danger. One species of the *Nigua* is venomous, and when it enters the toe an inflammatory swelling is soon perceived in the groin, greatly resembling a venereal bubo, which phenomenon is not easily explained, as all the intermediate parts are untouched, and devoid of pain, or uncommon external appearance¹.

As the galleons first touch at *Carthagena*, on their arrival in *America*, the inhabitants enjoy the first fruits of that trade, and, for this purpose make public sales, which are very considerable, though not accompanied with the formalities usually observed at *Porto Bello*. The merchants of *Santa Fe*, *Papayan*,

¹ ULLOA, T. I. L. i. c. 7.

and Peru, not only dispose of all their stock, but also lay out all the money entrusted by commission for those goods most wanted in their respective countries. They bring gold and silver in specie, ingots, and dust; and also emeralds, the demand for which being now decreased; they are less sought after than formerly. This traffic was prohibited for some years at the instance of the merchants of *Lima*, who complained of the great damage they sustained by the transportation of *European* commodities from *Quito* to *Peru*; but it being afterwards considered that this prohibition was no less injurious to the traders of *Quito* and other places, it was ordered in regard to both parties, that, on notice being given in those provinces of the arrival of the galleons, all commerce in *European* commodities should cease between *Quito* and *Lima*, and that the limits of the two audiences should be those of their commerce; an equitable regulation, that was first enforced in the year 1730. During the *tiempo muerto*, or dead interval between the departure and the arrival of the galleons, all the trade of *Carthagena* is confined to the towns and villages within its jurisdiction, from whence the inhabitants are supplied in all the necessaries of life in exchange for *European* commodities. To this we may add, the illicit trade carried on with the *English* of *Jamaica*, and the *Dutch* of *Curacao*, in despite of all the vigilance of the *guarda costas*.

PROCEEDING towards the south, the next country we meet with is *Santa Martha*, a province bounded on one side by the *Rio Grande de Santa Magdalena*, and, on the other, by the *Rio de la Hacha*, extending near a hundred and forty miles in length from east to west, and above two hundred in breadth. The country is extremely mountainous, and some of these mountains, especially that called *Santa Martha*, higher than the *Pike of Teneriffe*, if we may credit *Dampier* and other travellers, who speak rather from appearances, than actual mensuration, from the surface of the ocean. From hence result considerable advantages to the inhabitants, the air being cooler and wholsomer, than in other parts of *America* near the Equator, and the valleys especially being exceeding fruitful. The gold mines too are rich, and in the mountains are found emeralds, sapphires, jasper, and marble, of an exquisite vein and polish. It is reported, that, notwithstanding the air is sultry hot by the coast-side, yet the mountains in the interior country are covered with snow, and the cold so severe, that, while the people in one place are scorched with the sun-beams, others, at the distance of sixty miles, are shivering with the rigor of the season. The capital city is ex-

Santa
Martha.

cellently situated on a branch of the *Rio Grande*, near the mountains of *Santa Martha*. It gives name to the province, has a direct communication with the *North Sea*, and lies, according to the latest observations, in eleven degrees thirty-four minutes of north latitude. Formerly the city was flourishing and populous, when the *Spanish* fleets used to touch at the mouth of this river; but now the inhabitants are reduced to three thousand souls, including all degrees. Still, however, it is honoured with the residence of the governor of the province; and is the see of a bishop, suffragan to the metropolitan of *New Granada*. The frequent shocks it hath sustained from hostile fleets has likewise greatly contributed to its fall. In 1525, it was entirely ruined by Sir *Francis Drake*; the year following, it was plundered by Sir *Antony Shirley*. In 1630, it fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who by no means encreased its wealth, and was frequently afterwards pillaged by the buccaneers.

On the east side of the *Rio Grande*, is seated, about twenty miles from the capital, the town of *Baranca del Malambo*, a place of more consideration, by reason of the brisk trade carried on by the inhabitants. The merchandize of *New Granada* is brought down hither by boats, and conveyed to the bay about forty miles below the town, or else directly to *Santa Martha*, by a branch of the great river. But the chief article of commerce is salt from the mines, of which in the neighbourhood of the town, the inhabitants draw very large profits.

Rio de la
Hacha.

ON the southern frontier of *Santa Martha* is situated the little province of *Rio de la Hacha*, in the form of a peninsula, between the gulph of *Venezuela* on the east, and a bay of the *North Sea* to the westward. The country is pleasant, tolerably healthy, and exceeding fruitful. The rains are not so violent as in *Santa Martha*, though there are frequent tornadoes and thunder showers. In the middle of the province are some mines of jasper and chalcedone, and, on the coast, a very rich pearl fishery, in which the *Indians* are chiefly employed; so that, in despite of the utmost vigilance of the *Spaniards*, they reap the chief profits. The inhabitants of the open country retain their freedom, where they form a numerous, stubborn, and obstinate people; yet they admit some *Spanish* missionaries, who have opened a trade, and rendered them more sociable and tractable than formerly. *Rio de la Hacha*, the capital, which gives name to the province, and takes its own from the river, at the mouth of which it is situated, was formerly called *Nuestra Senora de los Remedios*. It stands in eleven degrees six minutes of north latitude, about

about a hundred and twenty miles from the city *Santa Martha*, and contains about a hundred houses. Formerly the town was rich and strong, but it was so often attacked and taken by the buccaneers, that in 1682, the *Spaniards* abandoned it, but were afterwards induced to return, and fortify it in such a manner as not to be any longer apprehensive about the visits of those pillagers.

Next on the north lies the province of *Venezuela*, within the limits of which we include the district of *Caracas*, though, from the confusion of names and geographical descriptions, we cannot pretend to ascertain the exact boundaries. Some writers affirm that it extends four hundred miles along the coast of the *North Sea*, and near three hundred into the interior country, while others greatly retrench these limits; but it is on all hands allowed that the province is large, the climate moderately temperate, and the soil so rich and fertile as to produce two harvests, and feed great flocks of sheep and black cattle. In some books we find this country called *Corana*, from the city *Cora* which stands upon the lake; but the bulk of the *Spanish* writers, and indeed the most accurate travellers, style it *Venezuela*. The inhabitants are said to exceed an hundred thousand, exclusive of *Spaniards*, mulattoes, and negroes; the country produces fine plantations of cocoa, sugar, and tobacco, from which, and its fertility in grain and fruits, we may judge of its value. The famous lake of *Maracaibo*, eighty leagues in compass, adds equally to the beauty and convenience of the province. In one particular, however, the natives labour under an insurmountable difficulty; namely, the want of fresh water, for, though the waters of the lake, and the rivulets flowing from it, be potable, they are nevertheless brackish and unwholesome. This inconvenience the *Spaniards* have laboured in vain to remove. The capital of the province called *Venezuela*, or *Cora*, is situated on the *North Sea*, on the north-east part of the peninsula, and lies in ten degrees and about forty minutes of north latitude. It is the residence of the governor, the seat of the courts of judicature, and the see of a bishop; but remarkable neither for its commerce, opulence, or buildings; the situation alone, in the middle of the waters, engages attention, and from hence it hath been called *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*. The town of *Maracaibo*, though inferior in dignity, is more wealthy, elegant, and pleasant. It fronts the lake of the same name, and has a great number of splendid buildings, adorned with balconies, that command the prospect of the lake at a great distance. The inhabitants are reckoned to exceed four thousand, out of which more than eight hundred

Venezuela.

men are fit to be agents. Small vessels are continually sailing to this place, with the merchandize and manufactures from all the towns contiguous to the great lake; particularly mace, indigo, sugar, tobacco, and green hides. *Maracaibo* is not only a celebrated port for ship-building, but the staple for the commodities of *Merida*, and the other towns situated on the frontiers of *New Grenada*.

WITH respect to the country of the *Caraccas*, it extends as far as *Cape Blanco*. The coast is rocky and mountainous, interspersed with small fertile valleys, subjected at certain seasons of the year to dry north-west winds, but blessed in general with a clear air and wholesome climate. A prodigious extensive illicit trade is pushed with this coast by the *English* and *Dutch*, in spite of all the vigilance of the *Spaniards*, who have scouts perpetually employed, and breast-works raised in all the valleys. *Caraccas*, the chief town in the district, is situated in ten degrees and nearly ten minutes of north latitude. *Dampier* says it stands at a considerable distance from the sea, is large, wealthy, and populous, and extremely difficult of access, by reason of the steep and craggy hills, over which an enemy must take his route. *Porto Cavallo* is a sea-port town on the *Caraccas* coast, which was unsuccessfully attacked in the last war by admiral *Knowles*; though the place is so inconsiderable that neither detriment to *Spain*, nor advantage to *Great Britain*, could arise from the conquest: possibly the admiral's sole design was to adorn his unshaded temples with laurel.

New Andalusia.

BEYOND the province of *Venezuela*, lies that of *New Andalusia*, the boundaries of which are very indefinite; the *Spaniards* pretending a right to countries in which they never established any settlements. Including the districts of *Camana* and *Paria*, it extends, according to the most reasonable limits, for the space of five hundred miles from north to south, and about two hundred and seventy from east to west. The interior country is woody and mountainous, variegated with fine valleys, that yield corn and pasturage. The produce of this country consists chiefly in dying drugs, gums, medicinal roots, brazil wood, sugar, tobacco, and some valuable timber. To these commodities we may add pearls, for which the *Spaniards* fished along this coast to *Carthagena*. Five of these fisheries particularly belonged to this province; but as that elegant natural production is now, by the tyranny of fashion, greatly diminished in its value, a minute account of the manner of collecting them will hardly be expected in so general a history as we propose. *Camana*, *Cumana*, or, as some writers call it, *New Corduba*, is the capital of *New Andalusia*, situated in

in what degree fifty-five minutes of north latitude, about nine miles from the *Algar Sea*. Here the *Spaniards* laid the foundation of a town in the year 1520, the place being strong by nature, and fortified by a castle, capable of making a vigorous defence, as appeared in the year 1670, when it was assaulted by the buccaneers, who were repulsed with great slaughter. Most writers include the town of *St. Thomas* within the limits of *New Andalusia*, though it is certainly situated in the jurisdiction of *Surinam*, near the mouth of the great river, *Oronoko*; a place celebrated only for having been fatal to our illustrious countryman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who took the town with the forces intended to plant a colony in *Guiana*, lost his son in the enterprize, and was afterwards sacrificed by the pusillanimous king *James*, to appease the court of *Madrid*, and the jealousy of a faction.

NEW GRANADA, an island country, is the next New which we are led to describe by its situation. It is sometimes *Granada*, called *Santa Fe*, and *Castella del Oro*, and is bounded by *Popayan* on the west, by *Peru* on the south, on the east by the district of *Venezuela*, and by *Santa Martha*, *Rio de la Hacha*, and the same province of *Venezuela*, on the north. Part of the eastern side is likewise skirted by *Guiana*, and on the south, it has part of the country of the *Amazons*. The whole is supposed to include a space of three hundred and thirty-six miles in length, and near as much in breadth. *New Granada* is beautifully variegated with hills covered with verdure, and fruitful valleys. The mountains contain gold, silver, and emeralds, and the valleys are enriched with all the necessities of life, corn, cattle, roots, and fruits; producing likewise great quantities of guaiacum, balms, gums, drugs of various kinds, with other rich articles of commerce. Though placed so near the line, it lying between the first and ninth degrees of north latitude, the climate is temperate; insomuch, that many writers affirm, there is an equality of day and night, undisturbed by any variety of seasons; which, however, upon a rigid examination appears not to be strictly fact, there being in reality two summers and two winters, without any intermission of spring and autumn. The capital of the kingdom, as it is called, and indeed of all *Terra Firma*, is the city of *Santa Fe de Bogota*, situated on the banks of the lake *Gatavita*, the residence of the royal audience, and of an archbishopric, having for suffragans the dioceses of *Carthagena*, *Santa Martha*, and *Popayan*; the city is large, populous, opulent, well-built, and adorned with fine houses, and magnificent palaces: but we can meet with no particular description drawn for a century past, during which time it is

probably much changed. There are, besides the capital, *Tunis*, *Trinidad*, *Truxillo*, *Merida*, and a variety of other populous towns, the names of which we shall omit, because strangers have no intercourse with the inhabitants.

Popayan. THE last province in this audience is called *Popayan*, a district of very large extent. It is bounded on the south by *Peru*; by *Carthagena* on the north; by the kingdom of *New Granada* on the east; and on the west by the *South Sea* and part of *Terra Firma*. In *Popayan* the *Spaniards* possess a number of large, well-built, and strongly fortified towns; but the open country is greatly exposed to the ravages of the *Indians*, who affect independency, and bear an implacable hatred to their invaders. For this reason the *Spaniards* dare scarce venture beyond their walls, except in parties, without running the hazard of being massacred; yet they find means to draw to themselves all the wealth of the province, which consists in gold mines, precious stones, gums, balsam, rosins, and cotton. Some of the *Indians* are converted to christianity; and, by their means, the *Spaniards* carry on a traffic with the natives, exchanging wine, cinnamon of *los Quixos*, iron, copper, silks, woollen stuffs, and gold and silver lace, for the productions of the country. *Popayan* is the capital of the province, and stands within two degrees of the line, on the north side, at the foot of the mountains, and on the banks of a river, that falls into the *Magdalena*. It is the see of a bishop, and the residence of the governor, a large populous city, but chiefly inhabited by creoles, mulattoes, *Indians*, and negroes.

Quito. WE come now to the first division of the great empire of *Peru*, namely, the audience of *Quito*, reckoned by most writers, within the limits of the empire, and certainly under the dominion of the incas at the time of the *Spanish* invasion. It was included within the jurisdiction of the viceroys of *Peru*, until the year 1718, when the court of *Madrid* thought proper to dismember it from the ancient limits, and annex it to the kingdom of *New Granada*. The audience was, at this time, suppressed with a view of encreasing the revenues for the support of the new-erected viceroyalty at *Santa Fe*, by annexing to it the salaries of all the great officers of the audience; but many inconveniencies resulting from this regulation, things were placed again on their ancient footing in 1722. The motives, however, for erecting a viceroyalty at *Santa Fe*, being confessedly of the greatest importance, its restitution was again schemed by the *Spanish* ministry, but in such a manner as should prove no detriment either to the publick, or the audiences of *Quito* or *Panama*; and this difficulty being

being summoned, the dignity of viceroy was again erected in the year 1739. Don *Eusebio de Esleba*, lieutenant general, was appointed to that high office; all *Terra Firma*, and the province of *Quito*, being included in his jurisdiction. We are now therefore to consider *Quito* as unconnected with the viceroyalty of *Peru*, though all the modern writers, and especially the *English*, place it within that division, appearing to be entirely ignorant of the late regulations we have mentioned upon the authority of *Antonio de Ulloa*, one of the most sensible and intelligent writers that *Spain* ever produced^m.

THE province of *Quito* is bounded on the north by the last province described, and limited on the south by *Peru* and *Chucupayas*; eastward it extends to the river of *Amazons* and the meridian of demarkation, which divides the *Spanish* from the *Portuguese* dominions. To the westward it is hemmed in by the sea, from the gulph of *Puera* to the bay of *Gorgona*, which will exactly shew its dimensions with the least attention to an accurate map. *Ulloa* reckons it six hundred leagues in length from east to west, and two hundred in breadth; but this is considerably more than is allowed by the best geographers. Indeed all that is possessed of this vast country by the *Spaniards* is very inconsiderable, in proportion to the whole. According to most writers, the climate here is immoderately hot; an error founded upon speculation, that has since been corrected by experience. In so extensive a country, lying in the very center of the torrid zone, it is impossible to suppose but the sun has great power; yet *Ulloa* affirms, that not only the heat is very tolerable, but that in some parts the cold is painful; while other places in this province enjoy all the advantage of perpetual spring, the fields being constantly covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the most lively colours. Nature has here, especially round the capital, been so profuse of her blessings, that *Quito*, lying almost under the vertical sun, surpasses the countries in the temperate zones, where the vicissitudes of winter and summer, and the transition from heat to cold, occasions both to be more sensibly felt. Provident nature hath assembled a variety of circumstances to moderate the effects of the sun's beams, and give *Quito* all the advantages, without the inconveniencies, of that glorious luminary. The country stands extremely high, by which elevation the winds are more subtle, the atmosphere more rare, congelation more natural, and the heat less vehement. The mornings are cool, the middle of the day hot, the nights of an agreeable temperature, and the seasons so equal, that through

^m ULLOA, L. vi. c. 1.

the whole course of the year, the difference is scarce perceptible. Yet we find all the gradations of temperature in this province, according to the disposition of the country. In one part the mountains are covered with snow and ice, while the valleys are parched up with the sun's intense rays, clouded over with thick suffocating fogs, or deluged with rain. What reason authors could have for calling this province sandy, barren, and unhealthy, we cannot conceive; as some of the best writers celebrate it as the garden and *Montpelier of America* in fertility, beauty, and salutary air. *Ulloa* applauds in particular the country round the capital, and says, that the curious *European* observes with pleasure a perpetual spring and verdure, some flowers continually blowing, to supply the place of those which were faded, and fill up all the chasms in the beautifully enamelled prospect. The same incessant fertility is conspicuous in the corn, both reaping and sowing going on together; that corn which has been recently sown springing up, that which has been longer sown in blade, and some mellowed with ripeness, and ready to receive the sickle; so that the declivities of the hills, exhibit at one view all the beauties of the four seasons. Thus an article so essential to life is in such abundance, that the poorest persons are never in want of bread, and horned cattle too are in so great plenty, that beef is sold in the markets of the capital, at sixteen ryals the hundred weight. Fruits, herbage, and vegetables of every kind are in the utmost perfection; the sea coast is well provided with fish; but the extraordinary plenty and the beautiful scenes described are chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of the capital, many other parts of *Quito* being desert, unwholesome, and scarce habitable.

QUITO is divided into five governments and nine jurisdictions, which it would be unnecessary to specify, as we do not propose a minute description. The capital, also called *Quito*, is a noble, large, and populous city, situated almost under the equinoctial, in thirty minutes thirty-three seconds of north-latitude, according to the most accurate observations. Its distance from the coast of the *South Sea* being about thirty-five leagues west. It stands on the declivity of the high mountain *Pichinca*, among other eminences of a moderate height, and a number of breaches or clefts, which occasion great part of the city to be founded upon arches, and the streets to be extremely uneven and irregular. With regard to magnitude, *Quito* may be compared to a city of the second order in *Europe*; but its unequal situation is a great disadvantage to its appearance. It may seem extraordinary that so inconvenient a spot should be chosen, when there are two of the most beautiful

beautiful place to the great immediately contiguous; but the first intention seems to be to pay more regard to preserving the memory of their conquest, by building on the situation of the ancient capital of the *Indians*, than either to beauty or convenience. Formerly it was in much greater repute than at present; the inhabitants now decrease daily, and whole streets of *Indian* huts are entirely forsaken and in ruins. The principal square is spacious, well built, and furnished with some very magnificent public buildings, especially the great cathedral, episcopal palace, and a beautiful fountain in the middle. The palace of the audience indeed rather disfigures than adorns the square, because, instead of being kept in repair, according to the dignity of the government, all, except a few offices, is suffered to fall into ruins. The inequality of the streets prevents the use of coaches, so that persons of the first rank are attended only by a servant carrying an umbrella, and the ladies are conveyed in sedans. Besides the great square, there are two others very spacious, and a great variety of smaller squares, in which many opulent citizens take up their residence. In these the greatest part of the convents are situated, and make a handsome appearance, the fronts and portals being adorned with all the embellishments of architecture, particularly the convent of the *Franciscans*, which is an exquisite building entirely of fine free stone, equally elegant in the contrivance and execution. In general the materials used in building are *adobes*, or unburned bricks or clay, cemented together by a certain substance called *sangagua*, a species of mortar of uncommon hardness used by the ancient *Indians*.

AMONG the courts held at *Quito*, the principal is the royal audience, first established there in the year 1563, and composed of a president, who is also civil governor of the province, four auditors, who are likewise civil and criminal judges, and a royal fiscal, who, besides the causes brought before the audience, takes cognizance also of every thing relative to the revenue. There is another fiscal besides, called *Protector des los Indios*, who solicits for the *Indians*, and, when injured, pleads in their defence. The jurisdiction of this court extends to the utmost limits of the province, with no other appeal than to the council of the *Indies*, and this only in case of a rejection of petition, or flagrant injustice. This at least is the allegation of *Ulloa*, although we have reason to believe there is an appeal to the viceroy and his council. Here likewise is an exchequer or chamber of finances, the chief officers of which are an accomptant, a treasurer, and a royal fiscal. The revenues paid into the receipt of this court are the tributes of the *Indians*, the taxes, and the cus-

toms;

four, which sums are annually distributed for paying the salaries of the officers of this province, and also of *Guatuzuma* and *Santa Martha*. There is likewise a treasury to receive the effects of persons deceased, whose heirs were in *Spain*; an institution of ancient establishment all over the *Indies*, at first excellent and beneficial, but now productive only of misconduct, villany, and oppression.

THE cathedral church consists of the bishop, dean, arch-deacon, chanter, treasurer, a doctoral, a penitentiary, a magistral, three canons by presentation, four prebends, and two demi-prebends, with the following stipends, which sufficiently shew the wealth of the clergy. The bishop has 24,000 dollars *per annum*, and the dean, canons, and prebends, in the same proportion; besides the sums levied on the ignorance and credulity of the people. The procession of the host is made with infinite pomp and magnificence at *Quito*. Every house of the streets through which it passes is adorned with rich hangings, and superb triumphal arches are erected with altars, at stated distances, higher than the houses, in which, as on the arches, may be seen with admiration immense quantities of the richest wrought plate and jewels, disposed in such an elegant manner as to exhibit the grandest prospect of opulence. This splendour, together with the magnificent dresses of the persons who assist at the procession, render the whole extremely solemn, and the pomp and decorum are both continued to the end of the ceremony.

IT is customary at *Quito*, that the priest, a month before the celebration of the feast, selects a number of *Indians*, who are to be the dancers; and the persons appointed immediately begin those dances which were used before their conversion to Christianity, to the music of a pipe and tabor. This dancing consists entirely in a kind of awkward capering and ridiculous distortion, very little to the taste of an *European*. A few days before the solemnity they dress themselves in a doublet, a shirt, and a woman's petticoat, adorned in the handsomest manner; and over their stockings they wear a kind of pinked buskins, to which are fastened a number of bells that keep ringing at every motion. Their heads and faces they keep covered with masks formed of ribbands of various colours, in which fantastical garb they proudly call themselves angels, unite in companies of eight or ten, and spend the whole day in roving about the streets, highly delighted with the gingling of the bells, and frequently stopping to entertain strangers with a dance, and gain the applause of the spectators. This they perform without any pay or view to interest, regarding it as a religious duty, continuing it a

formed at before and continued after the grand festival, without minding either their labour to families, without fatigue or disgust, though the number of their admirers daily decreases, and the applause is turned into ridicule. Notwithstanding the astonishment which the *Spanish* writers express at the absurdity of this religious institution, from which they draw reflections to the disadvantage of the natural understanding of the people, we cannot upon the whole think it more ridiculous than the popish solemnity above described, and many other ceremonies of the church of *Rome*, which cannot very well be reconciled to sound sense and clear reason. It is therefore unfair to estimate the natural understanding of any nation from a few religious ceremonies, which have seldom failed to run into extravagance in every country.

WE may judge of the extent and populousness of *Quito* from the computation given by *Ulloa* of the number of inhabitants, which, including all degrees, he reckons to amount to sixty thousand, nine tenths of whom are *Indians*, mulattoes, and their descendants. They are divided into four classes, the principal of which are the *Spaniards* in dignity, but by no means in wealth, as they refuse to apply themselves to any mechanic business, considering it as a disgrace to that quality on which they so highly value themselves, and resting perfectly satisfied with being more proud and more wretched than the *Mestizos*, whose pride is regulated by prudence. They readily apply themselves to the arts, and arrive at great perfection in the more polite; such as sculpture and painting. A *Mestizo*, called *Miguel de Santiago*, acquired so much reputation, that his paintings were applauded and bought at a great price in *Rome*, the scene of the fine arts; and what renders many of the admirable pieces of painting and sculpture executed in *Quito* still more exquisite, is, that the artists are destitute of many of the tools and instruments requisite to bring their works to the highest perfection. Young persons of family are instructed in philosophy and divinity; some proceed to the study of the civil law, but follow that profession with reluctance. The belles lettres is entirely neglected and unknown; poetical and historical knowledge is in no repute; but from the vivacity and subtilty displayed in the old scholastic metaphysical jargon, we may venture to pronounce, that the *Mestizos* would become proficient in more useful and rational science, if it were once introduced, and the prejudice against innovation overcome.

THE sumptuous manner of performing the last offices of the dead demonstrates how far the power of habit may prevail over reason and the most feeling experience. The ostentation

tation of the inhabitants of *Quito* is so extraordinary in the particular, that many families of credit are moved by a preposterous emulation of excelling others in funeral pomp. The inhabitants may therefore be said, as *Ulloa* observes, to toil, scheme, and endure the greatest labour and fatigue, merely to enable their successors to lavish honours upon a carcase insensible to all pageantry.

Guiaquil. WITHOUT entering upon a description of the several governments contained in this audience, the principal of which are *Quito Proper*, *Los Quixos*, and *Los Pacamores*, we shall give a short account of the principal towns, especially those lying on the sea-coast. The principal of these is *Guiaquil*, the second city of *Spanish* origin in this province, or indeed in all *Peru*. The first situation was in the Bay of *Charapoto*, from whence it was removed to the present spot, on the west bank of the river *Guiaquil*, in two degrees, eleven minutes, twenty-one seconds, of south-latitude. It is of considerable extent, occupying the bank of the river from the lower part of the old town to the upper part of the new, the space of half a league; but the breadth is not proportionable, all flocking to the river side for the pleasure of the prospect, the diversion of fishing, or the refreshing coolness of those breezes which blow from the water. All the houses are built of wood, many are covered with tiles, tho' the greatest part are thatched; but, in order to prevent fires, by which the city hath been frequently damaged, builders are ordered to tile all their new houses. Most of these are large, convenient, and beautiful, adorned with handsome porticos, which, in the rainy season, are the only places for walking, the streets being utterly impassable. *Guiaquil* is defended by three forts, two on the river near the city, and one behind it, all fortified in the modern manner, and built of a variety of pieces of hard wood, forming a kind of strong palisadoes. In proportion to its dimensions, *Guiaquil* contains as many inhabitants as any city in all *America*, the great resort of strangers contributing to increase the number, generally computed at twenty thousand. The most eminent personages are *Europeans*, who have married and settled in the country; but there are likewise many opulent Creolians. The citizens capable of bearing arms are divided into companies of militia, according to their rank and cast; so that they can be ready on occasion to defend their country and property. One of these, composed entirely of *Europeans*, is the most esteemed, splendid, and numerous. The corregidor commands in chief, having under him a colonel, major, and subalterns, for disciplining the other companies.

The commerce of this city consists either of the product and manufactures of the country, or in goods imported from *Peru*, *Terre Firma*, and *Guatemala*; cacao, timber, salt, horned cattle, mules, hides, tobacco, wax, *Guinea* pepper, drugs, and *Loua de Ciebo*, being the product of a high tasted tree of that name, are very considerable articles of trade. The filaments are infinitely more soft and delicate to the touch than those of cotton, and so extremely fine, that no method of spinning it hath hitherto been invented, the only use to which it is applied being to fill bolsters and mattresses. The goods imported are oil, wine, brandy, dried fruits, bays, tucayas, flour, bacon, hams, cheese, iron, and cordage. The navigation of the river is chiefly carried on by small vessels, canoes, and *balzas*, or rafts, which the *Indians* steer and manage with surprising dexterity, venturing even upon voyages at sea as far as *Paita*. The mouth of the river *Guiaquil* is about two miles over, and navigable more than four leagues above the city, whence it is greatly exposed to the depredations of a naval enemy. In 1687 it was forced and plundered by the *French*, who took the governor and 700 men prisoners, ransoming them afterwards at the price of 460,000 pieces of eight. In 1709 it was taken by captain *Rogers*, and ransomed for 30,000 pieces of eight.

PAITA is a small sea-port, situated in four degrees five minutes south-latitude, consisting only of one street, and about 200 houses, built of cane, and covered with leaves. In the center of the town is a square, on one side of which is a fort mounted with eight pieces of cannon; whence we may judge how easy a prey it fell to commodore, late lord *Anson*, in 1741, who, with the loss of one man only, obtained a booty which the *Spaniards* estimated at a million and a half of dollars. The soil round *Paita* is sandy and barren; for, besides the total want of rain, it has not a single rivulet; so that the inhabitants are supplied with great fatigue with that necessary fluid from *Colan*, a town on the same bay, at the distance of four leagues, from whence likewise *Paita* is supplied with the greatest part of the provisions. To conclude, the province of *Quito* is of the greatest consequence to the *Spaniards*, not only as a barrier to *Peru*, but as it contains several mines of gold and silver, and furnishes many of the most valuable articles of commerce.

THE next division, and what we may now reckon the first audiencé of *Peru*, is that of *Lima*, or *Los Reyes*, bounded on the north by *Quito*, on the east by the *Cordellera* mountains, on the south by the audience of *Los Charcas*, and on the west by the *Pacific Ocean*, being about 770 miles in length from south

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south to north, but of unequal breadth. Nothing more various or uncertain can be imagined than the climate and soil of this country, which in some places is exceeding hot, in others insupportably cold, and at *Lima* always equal and temperate, because it never rains in this city. The seasons vary within the compass of a few miles, and in certain parts of the audience, all the vicissitudes of weather are experienced in twenty-four hours. However, what is most singular, is, that no rains fall, or rivers flow on the sea coast, though they are supplied by thick fogs and dark clouds, that never however condense into showers. This phenomenon hath exercised the wits of many naturalists; some ascribe it to the constancy of the south winds, which propel the vapours exhaled from the sea insensibly to the same point. Others, unsatisfied with this explication, attribute it to the coldness of the south wind; but this is more liable to exception than the former, even admitting that it was established upon fact; the contrary of which is true. The most rational account of the phenomenon is, that in summer, when the atmosphere is most rarified, the influence of the sun's rays proportionally elevates the vapours, and gives them a greater degree of rarefaction. The vapours then touching the lower part of the atmosphere, when the winds blow with the greatest force, are carried away before they can rise to the height required for melting into drops, and consequently no rain can be formed. All vapours, issuing from the earth, are washed along the lower region of the atmosphere, without any impediment; and the winds blowing always from the south, and the vapours being rarified in proportion to the heat of the sun, its great activity hinders them from combining. Hence, during the whole summer, the air is clear, and quite free of all exhalations. With respect to the winter, if it may be so called, the rays of the sun being less perpendicular to the surface of the earth, the atmosphere becomes considerably more condensed; but the south winds still more so, as being loaded with the cold particles from the frozen zone, which particles it communicates to the vapours as they issue from the earth, and consequently renders them more condensed than in the summer; hence they are hindered from rising with the same celerity as before. Yet this mist or fog is incapable of being converted into rain, hail, or snow, because all the adventitious particles are congealed, and thus cannot unite with the effluvia from the earth, so as to overcome the resistance of the air that supports them; for the quantity of those which have ascended to a sufficient height for combining, is too inconsiderable to withstand the continual dissipation occasioned by the sun's

~~business.~~ This is the hypothesis of the ingenious ~~author~~
~~de Lillo~~ which we have given for the satisfaction of the
curious reader, though we think it liable to objection, and by
no means adequate to the difficulty.

THUNDER and lightning are as much unknown at *Lima*,
as rain, hail, or snow; but it is very remarkable, that these
explosions should be so common at the distance of thirty
leagues from the capital. Earthquakes, however, are so fre-
quent and dreadful, that the inhabitants live in continual ap-
prehension. Several deplorable instances of this kind have
happened in this unfortunate city; and, not many years since,
proved the total destruction of all its buildings. The first con-
cussion, since the establishment of the *Spaniards*, happened
in 1582; but the damage was much less considerable than in
some of the succeeding. Six years afterwards, the city of
Lima was again visited by another earthquake, so dreadful
that to this time it is solemnly commemorated every year. In
1609, another violent shock happened which overturned ma-
ny houses. On the twenty-seventh of *November*, 1630, such
prodigious damage was done in the city by an earthquake,
that, in acknowledgement of its not having been intirely de-
molished, a festival is annually celebrated on that day. Twen-
ty-four years afterwards, a shock happened on the third of
November, which destroyed the most stately edifices in the
city, and great numbers of houses; but few of the inhabi-
tants perished, as they took refuge on the mountains, and re-
mained there for several days, during the continuance of the
concussion, or danger of its return. On the seventeenth of
June, 1678, another earthquake happened, by which several
houses were laid in ruins, and the churches greatly damaged.
But one of the most terrible, of which we have any account,
was that of the twentieth of *October*, 1687. It began at four
in the morning with the destruction of many of the finest pub-
lick buildings and houses, in which great numbers of the in-
habitants perished; but this was little more than a preface of
what followed, and a warning to the people to remove from
the impending danger. The shock returned two hours after
with such impetuous concussions, that all was laid in ruins,
and the inhabitants thought themselves happy in being only
spectators of the general devastation, and the loss of all their
property. During this second shock, the sea retired consi-
derably from its bounds, and returned with such violence in
mountainous waves, as totally overwhelmed *Callao*, and the
adjacent country, together with the miserable inhabitants.
To omit those earthquakes which happened in 1697, 1699,
1716, 1725, 1732, and 1734, we shall close this account of

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the misfortunes of *Lima*, with an account of that dreadful shock, which, on the twenty-eighth of *October*, 1746, destroyed all the buildings great and small in the space of three minutes, burying in the ruins those inhabitants, who, endeavouring to save their most precious moveables, had not made sufficient haste into the streets and squares. At the very same hour, the fort of *Callao* sunk into ruins; but what it suffered by the earthquake in its buildings was inconsiderable, when compared to the terrible catastrophe which followed. The sea, receding to a considerable distance, returned with such violence, that *Callao* and all the neighbouring country was laid under water; men, women, houses, and cattle, being swept away with the torrent. Nineteen vessels out of twenty-three were sunk; and the frigate called *St. Fermín* was carried by the force of the waves to a great distance up the country. For the space of four months the concussions continued with short intervals, and many of them were as violent as the first; so that before the twenty-fourth of the following year, no less than four hundred and fifty shocks had been felt, many of them as dreadful as if all nature had been convulsed. What horrible devastation must that have been, where above 12000 lives perished in the ruins of their own effects and property. Whether the city has hitherto recovered its former splendor, we cannot determine; but as it still remains the emporium of this part of *America*, and the capital of all *Peru*, being honoured with the residence of the viceroy, we shall give the reader a short account of its former magnificence and opulence, before it suffered from this fatal accident, the recollection of which cannot fail to excite sentiments of humanity and sorrow for the sufferings of our fellow-creatures.

Lima.

THE city of *Rimac*, by corruption styled *Lima*, and frequently called *Ciudad los Reyes*, or *The City of Kings*, stands in the latitude of twelve degrees, two minutes, thirty-one seconds of south latitude. Its situation is pleasant and beautiful, lying in the center of the great valley of *Lima*, an intire view of which it commands. A river of the same name washes the walls of *Lima*, and, when not encreased by the torrents from the mountains is easily fordable; however, as it sometimes happens, that it is equally rapid and deep, an elegant and spacious stone bridge is thrown over, the architecture of which hath been much admired. A gate, beautifully constructed, stands at one end, forms the entrance to the city, and leads to the grand square; in the middle of which a fountain plays, remarkable for its capaciousness and magnificence. The water is ejected through the trumpet of the statue, and the mouths of eight lions, which surround it,

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and greatly add to the grandeur, if not to the propriety, of the workmanship. The cathedral and episcopal palace, which occupy the east side of the square, are fine buildings. On the north side is the viceroy's palace, a building once of great magnificence, which never recovered the damage it sustained by the earthquake in the year 1687.

THE form of *Lima* is triangular, its base or longest side extending along the bank of the river, its length being precisely two miles. A brick wall, which answers the original intention, but is devoid of all beauty or regularity, surrounds the whole. It is flanked with thirty-four bastions; but without platforms or embrasures, the intention of it being merely to defend the city against any sudden attack of the *Indians*. The suburb called *St. Lazaro*, on the opposite side of the river, has greatly encreased of late, and now forms a noble city, the streets being wide, parallel, or at right angles, forming squares of houses, each a hundred and fifty yards in front. The houses of *Lima*, though low, are extremely commodious. They are slight with all the appearance of solidity; and that they may the better support themselves under the shocks of earthquakes, of which the city has had such frequent fatal experience, the principal parts are composed of wood, joined to the rafters of the roof, and those which serve for walls are lined both within and without, with wild canes and osiers plaistered over with clay, and white-washed, all the fronts being in imitation of free-stone. Cornices and porticos are added, which are also painted of a stone colour: thus the whole front imposes on the sight, and strangers suppose them composed of materials which they only imitate.

TOWARDS the east and west parts of the city, within the walls, are many fruit and kitchen gardens; and most of the people of fashion have gardens to their houses, continually refreshed with water by means of canals. In the suburbs especially the gardens are so spacious, that the jurisdiction of *St. Lazaro* alone extends for the space of fifteen leagues, being full of large plantations, cut out in walks shaded with groves of odoriferous plants and fruit trees. The convents in *Lima* are numerous, some of them are stately; and the Jesuits have six colleges within the precincts of the city. Three charitable foundations do honour to the piety and humanity of the inhabitants. They are intended for the relief of those who are sick or indigent through infirmity; and one in particular is appropriated to sick and infirm *Indians*, all being under the direction of the clergy, but subjected to the visitation of the civil magistrates. Besides these three great publick institutions, this opulent city hath also nine hospitals, supported by

the contributions of the people, each of them appropriated to some peculiar charitable purpose. All the churches, both conventual and parochial are large, constructed partly of stone, and adorned with fine paintings, and other decorations of great value. The cathedral churches of the different orders are so splendid as to exceed all imagination, and surpass the powers of description. The altars, from the very basis to the borders of the paintings, are covered with massive silver, wrought into various kinds of ornaments. All the walls are hung with velvet, or tapestry of equal value, fringed with gold and silver, all which bear an incredible price in this country, into which they are imported from *Old Spain*. On these hangings are suspended rich pieces of plate, in various figures, and if the eye be directed from the pillars, walls, and ceiling, to the lower part of the church, it is equally dazzled with glittering objects, presenting themselves on every side to view; particularly the candlesticks of pure silver, seven feet in height, placed in two rows along the nave of the church, embossed tables of the same metal, supporting candlesticks of a lesser size; and, in the intervals, silver pedestals supporting angels of the same metal. In a word, every part of the churches is covered with plate, or some ornaments of equal value; so that on public occasions divine service is performed with inconceivable magnificence; and the ornaments, even upon common occasions, exceed those which most cities in *Europe* put forth upon the most solemn and pompous festivals. Yet all this forms but a small portion of the wealth of these houses of religious worship; the sacred vessels, the chalices, the ostensoriums, and other implements, are of unspeakable value, the gold and silver being covered over with diamonds and rubies, so as to dazzle the eye of the spectator.

In the city of *Lima*, the viceroy takes up his usual residence. His government is triennial, though, at the expiration of that term, the sovereign may renew his commission. He enjoys all the pomp and prerogatives of royalty. Absolute in all affairs, whether military, civil, criminal, or relating to the revenue; he has under him officers and tribunals for executing the several departments of government. All officers are appointed and places filled up by him; so that the grandeur of this employment actually exceeds the dignity of the title. For the security of his person, he has two corps of guards; one of horse, consisting of a hundred and sixty soldiers, under the command of a captain and lieutenant, the uniform being blue, richly laced with silver. A body of fifty halbardiers do duty in rooms, leading to the royal audience-chamber, whose uniform is composed of crimson velvet waist-coats,

coats, deeply laced with gold ; and, besides these, there is another guard within the palace, of a hundred men ; being a detachment from the garrison at *Callao*. All are occasionally employed in executing the orders of the vice-roy, and enforcing the decrees of the tribunals, after they have received the royal assent ; for such the concurrence of the viceroy is esteemed. Besides assisting at the courts of justice, and the councils relating to the finances and war, the viceroy gives daily audience to all degrees of persons ; for which purpose, the palace is furnished with three very grand and spacious rooms, in the first of which, adorned with the portraits of all the preceding viceroys, he receives deputations from the *Indians*, and other casts. In the second he gives audience to the *Spaniards* ; and, in the third, in which are placed the pictures of the reigning king and queen, he receives all those ladies, who desire a private audience.

NOTHING can be more regular than the forms of government, which are kept up with the strictest appearance of business, and the most scrupulous justice ; although, in fact, every thing flows from the pleasure of the court, and the viceroy. All affairs immediately relative to the cabinet are dispatched by a secretary of state, with an assistant properly qualified for so important a charge. From this office orders are issued for passports, which must be obtained from every corregidor within his jurisdiction. The secretary has the power of filling all juridical employments for the term of two years ; but he must have the viceroy's approbation, and, in fact, does nothing but by his authority. Causes relating to equity are tried in the court called *Audiencia*, from the decrees of which there is no appeal to the council of the *Indies* ; unless in cases of the most notorious injustice, and a second trial. This tribunal, the supreme court at *Lima*, is composed of eight auditors and a fiscal for civil affairs ; and is held in the viceroy's palace in three different saloons, appropriated to those sittings, the deliberations being held in one, and the causes tried, either publicly or privately, in the other two.

NEXT comes the chamber of accounts, consisting of a commissioner, five chief accountants, and two directors, with inferior officers belonging to each class. Here corregidores, intrusted with the publick revenue, pass their accounts, and here also the distributions and management of the royal revenue are regulated. Lastly, within the palace is the royal treasury, under the direction of a treasurer, accountant, and agent, who superintend his majesty's revenue, from whatever it may arise, within the jurisdiction of the audience of *Lima*.

WITH respect to the corporation of *Lima*, it differs little from other royal charters to the same purpose. The magistracy consists of *Regidores*, or aldermen; *Alfarez real*, or sheriffs; two *Alcades*, or royal judges; all being noblemen of the first distinction in the city. These have the direction of the police, and the ordinary administration of justice. The alcades preside alternately every month; for, by a particular privilege of the city of *Lima*, the jurisdiction of the corregidor extends only to the *Indians*.

One of the most useful institutions, if duly administered, is the court for the effects of deceased persons. This takes charge of all the goods of persons dying intestate, and without lawful heirs; and likewise inspects the conduct of those intrusted with the effects of other persons. It consists of a judge, who is one of the auditors; a counsellor; and an accomptant; and at present serves no other purpose, than to prevent private rapine by a kind of legal oppression, there being scarce any possibility of ever profiting by estates once thrown into the charge of this tribunal.

THE next tribunal is the consulado, or board of trade and commerce, composed of a president and two consuls, who preside over every thing relative to traffic, decide all commercial disputes and processes, and are governed by the same rules as the consulados at *Cadiz* and *Bilboa*. The tribunal of inquisition is composed of two inquisitors and a fiscal, who, like the subordinate officers, are nominated by the inquisitor general; and, in case of a vacancy, filled by the supreme council of the inquisition. Every one, acquainted with the severity of these tribunals in *Spain* and *Portugal*, may judge of the effects it produces at *Lima*, which is that of inspiring horror, and gaining universal detestation.

IN *Lima*, there is an university, where the genius of the natives is cultivated in that species of divine and human knowledge in repute in *Old Spain*. The *Aristotelian* and old school philosophy still maintain their ground; so that the inhabitants of *Lima* are much more indebted to the kind gifts of nature for any extraordinary exertions of genius, than to culture and education. Their little progress in useful learning appears to be owing rather to the want of proper instruction, than of talents; for, by their ready comprehension of whatever is taught them, we may judge of their abilities for real improvements. The university of *St. Mark* has chairs for each of the sciences, filled by suffrage, a method extremely favourable to merit; and, indeed, some of the professors of this seminary have approved themselves worthy of their promotion, by publishing works which have gained the applause of the
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Europe; but such productions are rare, and to be classed among the wonders of the new world. Besides this university, are the subordinate colleges of *St. Toribio*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Philip*; each of them endowed with particular privileges, and professors, who teach the different languages and sciences. Upon the whole, there are only wanting a few new regulations and reformati^ons to render this seminary equally useful and respectable; an observation no less applicable to the most ancient and celebrated seats of learning in *Europe*, and especially in *Great Britain*, where science and the arts have notwithstanding flourished with more vigour, than in any other country recorded in ancient or modern story.

THE inhabitants of this opulent and populous city are composed of *Spaniards*, *Mestizos*, *Indians*, and *Negroes*, together with other casts, the descendants of a common mixture. The *Spanish* families are very numerous; there being no fewer, at a moderate computation, than eighteen thousand whites in this capital, among whom are reckoned a third or fourth part of the most distinguished nobility in *Peru*. Many of these are honoured with the dignitary titles of ancient or modern *Castilians*; and there are reckoned no less than forty-five counts and marquisses, who take up their general residence in the city. The number of knights also belonging to the several military orders, is very considerable, which adds greatly to the brilliancy of the court; besides which, there are many other ancient families living in the greatest splendor, particularly twenty-four gentlemen of large estates with ancient country seats, but without titles. One of these traces, with undeniable certainty, his pedigree from the incas; and his family has, for this reason, been loaded with favours and distinguishing honours by the *Catholic* kings, as a kind of atonement for the injuries done to his predecessors. The great keep coaches, and calashes or chaises are so common, that no family of any degree of rank is without one; these carriages being extremely necessary here, because the streets are eternally crowded with droves of mules, which cover the ground with their dung, and are themselves extremely troublesome to passengers. The number of these is computed at eight thousand, if we include camels, which may take up about a third part. From this circumstance we may judge of the populousness of the city, and the opulence of the inhabitants, who are reckoned to amount to seventy thousand, including all degrees; and to expend in rich silks, laces, pearls, and jewels, to the amount of one million, two hundred thousand pounds annually. Possibly this expence may be

diminished, since the *French* have found means to introduce *European* commodities into *Lima*, at a cheaper rate than before. To this may be added, that the trade carried on at *Arica*, *Ilo*, and *Pisco*, has diverted the people who came to *Lima*, and considerably lessened the wealth that was daily pouring into the capital.

THE viceroy of *Peru*'s allowed yearly salary amounts to seven thousand one hundred and sixty-seven pounds sterling, besides lawful perquisites to three times that value. It is reputed he can raise an hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot within his jurisdiction ; but it is acknowledged on all hands, that he cannot arm a fifth part of this number. The garrison of *Lima* is composed of militia, fourteen companies of which intirely consist of *Spanish* infantry, seven companies of the corporation of commerce, eight companies of *Indians*, and six companies of mulattoes, with ten troops of *Spanish* horse ; all making up a corps of four thousand able bodied, but ill-disciplined, soldiers.

IT is more than probable, that, notwithstanding the devastations occasioned by frequent earthquakes, *Lima* would be one of the most populous cities of the new world, or perhaps any part of the universe, but for the crowds swept off by endemial distempers ; such as malignant, intermittent, and catarrhus fevers, pleurifies, constipations, convulsions, and other diseases, among which we may reckon the small-pox and venereal taint. The former of these is indeed not annual ; but rages with peculiar violence when it appears, and sweeps off the people like a pestilence. Convulsions, which are divided into two kinds, the common or partial, and the malignant or *arched*, are extremely common, and the most dreadful of all disorders. Both come on when Nature is struggling in the crisis of some acute distemper ; but with this remarkable difference, that those attacked with the partial convulsions often recover, though the greater part die within the fourth day ; whereas the patients seized with the arched convulsions sink under them in two or three days, it being very extraordinary ever to see an instance of recovery ; whence they are termed malignant. Even the first stage of the arched spasm is so violent, as to cause a contraction of the nerves of the *vertebræ*, from the brain downwards, which, with all the muscles, become more and more constricted all over the body, until the body is drawn backwards in the form of an arch, and all the joints dislocated. To promote a profuse *diaphoresis* is found by experience to be the only cure ; if, indeed, there can be said to be a cure for a symptom almost always fatal.

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Not to insist upon a subject so shocking to humanity, and mortifying to human pride, let us turn our eyes to one which will afford a happier prospect; namely, the commerce of *Lima*, which has contributed more than its being the residence of the court, to raise it to its present state of opulence and grandeur. It is the general emporium of commerce of every kind, the center of the products and manufactures of other provinces, together with those of *Europe*, imported by the galleons, and the staple of the whole kingdom. It supplies, as the common mother, the wants of all the other towns and cities in this vast empire. All the wealth of the southern provinces pours into this capital, and is discharged into the fleet, which sails with the galleons from *Callao* to *Panama*. At the head of this commerce is the tribunal *del Consulado*, already described, which appoints commissaries to reside in the other cities of its dependence, all over *Peru*. When commodities arrive at *Lima*, the merchants remit to their correspondents such goods as are commissioned, reserving the rest in warehouses to dispose of, on their own account, to traders who at this time resort to *Lima*. Thus the cargo of a flotilla lasts a considerable time; there not being purchasers sufficient to take the whole off immediately. The produce of the sales in the interior country is sent to *Lima* in bars of silver, and a kind of amalgama of mercury and dust, taken out of the mines, called *Rigna*, which are coined in the mint of their city. The remittances sent to *Lima*, during the interval between the flotillas, are expended in purchasing the manufactures of the country; great quantities of which come from the province of *Quito*, and the consumption is large, being worn by all the lower class of the people. *Lima* has also its particular trade with the kingdoms both of *North* and *South America*; from the former the most considerable commodity imported is snuff, brought from the *Havannah* to *Mexico*, and from thence transported to *Lima*, and diffused by the merchants of this city all over the province of *Peru*. Those who deal in this merchandize, never interpose in any other branch of commerce, except in the sale of pestumes, porcelain, ambergrease, and musk. From *New Spain*, *Lima* receives tar, iron, indigo, and naptha; from *Terra Firma*, it imports leaf tobacco, greatly used here by ladies, gentlemen, and especially by the vulgar; pearls, and a few other articles of traffic. The timber used in building houses, ships, boats, is brought from *Guiaquil*, together with cacao, for which there is no great demand. Wine, brandy, raisins, olives and oil, are sent from *Nasca*; and *Pisco* and *Chili* supplies *Lima* with flour, wheat, lead, leather, cordage, wines, dried fruits, and some gold. Copper and tin are brought from *Coquimbo*,
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the mountains of *Caxamarca*, and *Chachapoya*; canvas made of cotton for sails, and other stuffs of a similar nature, come from *Pita*. From the southern provinces is imported *Vicuna* wool for making hats; and lastly from *Paraguay* are brought all the commodities of that country, which are not likewise the product of the jurisdiction of *Lima*. Thus it is the emporium to which people resort from all quarters; and trade being always in a constant circulation, the families of rank are enabled to support that splendor with which they are so much delighted. From a commerce so extensive and important, it might be imagined many prodigious fortunes are raised; but the case is otherwise: trade is so equally diffused, that no man is allowed to engross too great a share, or monopolize any valuable article; from whence follows, what is extremely desirous in every country, an equality of wealth, which prevents any one from acquiring too large a portion of the goods of fortune, while others are left destitute. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of *Lima* have such an aptitude for trade, that the city may be considered as an academy to which great numbers repair to perfect themselves in the various arts of commerce. They penetrate into the designs of the seller, and artfully draw the purchaser into their own views. They are blessed with a remarkable talent of persuasion, and the means of eluding all objections; however, with all their precaution and evasion, no men are more punctual in executing their contracts.

Callao.

CALLAO is the port of *Lima*, at an inconsiderable distance, extending along the sea-coast, on a low flat point of land. The *Spaniards* have no harbour to compare with this in the *South Sea* for beauty, convenience, and security. The largest vessels may lie with perfect safety in the road of *Callao*, the water being extremely deep, and the port shaded from the winds by the island of *Saint Lawrence*, which also breaks the surges rolling from the south-west. From the sea, the town makes a tolerable figure, having several publick edifices, churches, and particularly five monasteries, though the inhabitants are not reckoned to exceed four or five hundred. The government has expended large sums of money in giving this important harbour all the advantages of strength, that art could bestow; and the town is actually considered in *Spain*, as little less than impregnable, though, in fact, both the garrison and fortifications are very inconsiderable. The latter consisted of an inclosure flanked by ten bastions on the land side, and several redans and plain bastions on the edge of the sea, together with four strong batteries to command the port and road; but these being demolished in the last great earthquake,

earthquake, have never since been thoroughly repaired, the money appropriated by the government having been expended in other purposes, more agreeable to the designs of the viceroy of *Peru*. Besides, it is reported, that his Catholic majesty is charged annually with large sums for the garrison, fortifications, and squadrons of men of war, which are supposed to lie in the harbour; yet such is the vigilance and integrity of the royal officers, that the soldiers at *Callao* are hardly sufficient to mount guard; that the walls are, in many places in ruins; and that the ships could not be repaired in such a manner as to be fit for sea, in the space of several months. We may judge of the importance of this harbour, from what we have said of the commerce of *Lima* chiefly driven by this channel. Two flotas annually sail from hence, one for *Arica*, the other for *Panama*, the former about the close of *February*, which, having received the silver sent from *Potosi*, returns in the month of *March*. In the beginning of *May*, the flota sails from *Panama* with all the treasures of *Potosi*; the wealth of *Chili*, brought by the *Valperaiso* fleet; and the royal revenues and merchandize, brought from the most distant parts of *Peru* and *los Charcas*. Besides these fleets, there sail annually two ships for *Acapulco*, freighted with gold and silver; and the commodities they bring back are lodged in the magazines here, and retailed to all the southern provinces of *America*.

In this province are some other sea-ports, but neither comparable to *Callao* in security or importance. The little harbour of *Guanchao* to the northward serves for the traffic carried on by the *Indians* of *Ttuzillo*; but it cannot be recommended either as safe or commodious. *Sargallo* is another sea port, about twenty-six leagues to the southward of *Lima*, which carries on some trade; but the port that comes nearest to *Callao* in point of excellency is *Arequiba*, in the valley of *Quilca*, a hundred leagues south of *Lima*. The entrance of this harbour is indeed narrow, and rather shallow for ships of very great burthen; but, when once they are entered, they can anchor securely in eighteen fathom water. The town is one of the most beautiful and pleasant in all *Peru*, delightfully situated in a fine plain, and the houses built with stone, and vaulted. It was founded in 1539, by order of *Don Francisco Pizarro*, in a place known by the same name; but this situation being found disadvantageous, the inhabitants obtained leave to remove the town to the valley of *Quilca*, where it stands at present, about twenty leagues from the sea, with which it has a free communication by means of a fine river. The temperature of the air is remarkably good, and though sometimes

Arequiba.

sometimes a slight frost is perceived, the cold is never excessive, nor the heat troublesome; so that the surrounding fields are clothed with perpetual verdure. The buildings here, contrary to the usual manner in warm countries, are lofty, neatly furnished within, and finely decorated on the outside; but what chiefly gives the inhabitants an exemption from many diseases common in other parts of *Peru* is greatly owing to their keeping the streets clean, by means of canals, which extend to a river running near the city. However, these advantages are considerably allayed by the dreadful shocks of earthquakes, to which it is so subject, that it has been five times laid in ruins by these convulsions of Nature. Nevertheless, it is populous, and reckons among its inhabitants many of the noblest families in *America*; this being the place to which *Spaniards*, who have raised their fortunes by trade, or disengaged themselves from business, retire to enjoy the pleasure of life, and the blessings of a temperate wholesome climate. Considering its importance, this place is badly fortified; for the greatest part of the silver from *Potosi* and *los Charcas* is brought here to be sent to *Callao*; and from thence to *Panama*.

Cusco.

BUT of all the cities in *Peru*, *Cusco*, or *Cuzco*, is the most antient, being of the same date with the eastern empire of the incas, and founded by *Manco Capac* I. as the seat and capital, and indeed the origin of his empire. From small beginnings this city enlarged to so great an extent, that the *Spaniards* were astonished at its grandeur and magnificence, especially of the famous temple dedicated to the sun, and of the inca's palace. *Cusco* stands in a very unequal situation on the sides of a mountain, on the north part of which are still to be seen the ruins of that celebrated fortress erected by the incas for their defence, the design of which was to enclose the whole mountain with a prodigious wall of such construction as to render the ascent absolutely impracticable to an enemy. This wall was entirely of free stone, remarkable for its extraordinary dimensions, and the size and magnitude of the stones, which are of different figures. At present the city is nearly equal to *Lima*. The north and west sides are surrounded by the mountains of the citadel; on the south it borders on a plain, on which are several very beautiful walks. The houses are entirely in the *Spanish* fashion, built with stone, well contrived, and covered with tiles, whose lively red gives them an elegant appearance. All the apartments are spacious and finely decorated, the inhabitants of *Cusco* being celebrated for their elegant taste, their love of show, and skill in architecture. The mouldings of the doors are gilt, the ornaments and furniture

furniture correspondent, and the houses of private persons equal in splendour to palaces. The magistracy consists of a corregidor and two alcaldes, chosen out of the body of the nobility, who are served by a number of inferior officers, agreeable to the policy established by the *Spaniards* over all *America*. Formerly the city was well peopled with *Spaniards*, and adorned with the residence of many noble families; but the capital and the court being removed to *Lima*, *Cusco* is at present much declined, and indeed but the second city in the empire. The inhabitants are not computed at more than sixteen thousand, besides the strangers who come thither to trade; for some manufactures of bays and cotton cloth have been erected here, to the prejudice of the exports from *Europe*. The mines of *Lumpu* and *Cordellera de Cusco* yield considerable quantities of the precious metal; but there are others beyond comparison richer towards *Maxos*, where even the *Indians* glitter in gold, chiefly because the *Spaniards* have not established their dominion over those fierce nations dwelling beyond the mountains.

ABOVE forty leagues north-east of *Lima* stands the city *Guanuco*, formerly one of the most considerable places in *Peru*, and the settlement of some of the first conquerors. At present it is in so ruinous a condition that scarce the vestiges of its former opulence remain, notwithstanding it is mentioned by modern compilers as a populous and wealthy inland city.

GUAMANGA is a city of much greater consequence, founded by *Pizarro*, and usually called by the *Spaniards* *St. Juan de la Vittoria*, in memory of the precipitate retreat of the inca from the *Spaniards*, who offered him battle. The original design of building this city was to serve for the convenience of trade, and the medium of intercourse between *Lima* and *Cusco*. At first it stood upon a spot which rendered supplying the inhabitants with provisions extremely difficult; but at the close of the war, the city was removed to its present situation on the declivities of some mountains, which extending southward enclose a spacious plain to the eastward of the town, watered by a small stream descending from the adjacent eminences. The inhabitants who pay tribute within the jurisdiction of this city are computed at thirty thousand; among whom are reckoned twenty noble families, who live in the centre of the town, in fine houses of considerable height, built partly of stone, and covered with tiles. All are provided with spacious handsome gardens, which are kept in order at a great expence, on account of the difficulty of procuring water; besides, the large *Indian* suburbs round the city greatly encrease its dimensions and add to its beauty, as the houses

houses are built of stone, and raised entirely in the *Spanish* manner. The cathedral is a magnificent building, well endowed, and the see of a bishop; the churches are rich and handsome, and many of the seminaries of learning and religion such as reflect honour on the piety and munificence of the founders. Here is an university, with professors of philosophy, divinity, and law, endowed with the same privileges as the university of *Lima*, both being royal foundations. In a word, the climate is so fine and serene, and the soil so fertile in the surrounding country, that the inhabitants are abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life; but the principal trade of *Guamanga* consists in gilt leather, a species of pavillions for beds, confectionary pastes, marmalades, jellies, preserved quinces, and other articles of luxury, which serve to evince the disposition of the people to industry and elegance of diet.

As it would oblige us to unnecessary minuteness to descend to a particular account of all the towns and cities within the jurisdiction of *Lima*, we shall content ourselves with describing *Truxillo* as the last, but one of the most important places in this audience. This city stands, according to the observation of Don *Antonio de Ulloa*, in eight degrees, six minutes, and three seconds, of south-latitude, which is something less than the latitude assigned by all former writers. It was founded by *Pizarro* in the valley of *Chinca*, and is now justly reputed one of the principal cities in the empire of *Peru*. The situation is pleasant, notwithstanding the sandy soil, which is the universal inconvenience of all the towns in the *Valles*. It is surrounded by a brick-wall, stands about half a league from the sea, and two leagues from *Guenchaco*, the channel of its maritime commerce. The tributary inhabitants within the jurisdiction of *Truxillo* are computed at fifty thousand, but the houses within the walls do not exceed five hundred. They make a handsome appearance, being built of brick, and decorated with stately balconies and superb porticos; but they are all low, on account of the frequent earthquakes with which all the sea-coast is visited. Among the *Spaniards* residing at *Truxillo* are many families of rank, opulence, and distinction; all are friendly, hospitable, and regular in their conduct, beyond what is observable in any other city in this quarter of the world, where the mixture of nations serves only to beget vices of a peculiar nature, arising from the depravity of the whole body. The inhabitants carry on a prodigious trade in wine, brandy, sugar, flax, and marmalade, of which they export three or four ship loads to *Panama*.

BEFORE we quit this audience, let us observe, that within its limits mines of every kind are to be found; and of gold there are several, with rich lavaderos. Those especially in the district of *Guarrano* will be for ever celebrated on account of two petiscos, or lumps of fine gold, which they yielded, the largest ever found in that state; one weighing five hundred and twelve ounces, and the other about three hundred and sixty, containing gold of different degrees of fineness and purity. There are likewise silver-mines in the audience of *Lima*; and those in the neighbourhood of *Cusco* were celebrated before the discovery of the mines of *Potosi*, which are much richer, and wrought with far less expence. In 1713 the rich mine of *St. Antony* was opened just by *Cusco*; but we cannot give the reader any account whether the great expectations entertained from it were in any degree answered. Near the town of *Guano Bellia* there is a mine, which, without yielding gold or silver, may be considered as of greater value than all the rest of the district. This mine is quicksilver, of which it is supposed to contain an inexhaustible resource. The town was founded intirely on account of the quicksilver, to the working of which the inhabitants owe their whole subsistence, the coldness of the air checking the growth of grain, and every other kind of vegetables. From hence all the silver mines in *Peru* are supplied with mercury, the use of which, for aggregating the particles of silver, began in the year 1571, under the direction of *Pedro Fernandez Velasco*. As the value of the gold and silver mines depend upon the right management of the quicksilver, the mines of *Guaria Belica*, or, as some call them, *Velica*, are under the immediate direction of the viceroy of *Peru*, and never opened nor shut but by his expresse command. In the reign of *Philip V.* a particular governor, or superintendant, thoroughly acquainted with the nature of extracting the mineral, was appointed; and by his œconomy the mines are worked at less expence to the public, and will not be so soon exhausted. Formerly the ore was dug and purified at the expence of private persons, who were obliged to bring it to the king's warehouses under pain of perpetual slavery; but even the severity of this punishment could not prevent fraud and embezzlement.

THE audience of *los Charcas*, or *la Plata*, also frequently called *Chuquisuya* by the old writers, is equal in the extent of its jurisdiction to that of *Lima*; but as many parts of it are very ill inhabited, and others over-run with forests and vast deserts, it cannot be considered as of equal value with respect to its soil and fertility. It is bounded by the audience of *Lima* on the north, by *Paraguay* on the east, by *Chili* and *Tucuman* on

The audience of Charcas.

on the south, and by the *Pacific Ocean* on the west, extending itself in a strait line about five hundred and seventy miles from east to west at its greatest breadth. The climate is various, the coasts being unsufferably hot, while the inland parts are on the contrary extreme. However the soil is in many places exceedingly fruitful, being rendered so by art in the vallies, while nature doth all that is required in the mountains. Within this division were formerly included many powerful nations and *Indian* provinces subjected by the incas *Yupanqui* and his son inca *Roca*. The principal commodities of the country are silver, gold, and piments, commonly called *Jamaica Pepper*, which produces to the inhabitants a neat return of six hundred thousand pieces of eight annually. Throughout the whole extent of the audience there are exceeding rich mines, some near the coast, several at greater distance, some lately discovered, and others which have been wrought from the time the *Spaniards* first settled in the country; but before we enter upon an account of these, we shall give a short sketch of the principal cities.

La Plata.

LA PLATA, or, as the *Indians* call it, *Chuquifuya*, is considered as the capital, receiving its *Spanish* name from the mines in its neighbourhood, which were the first wrought by the conquerors. It stands in a small plain environed with eminences, which defend it from the winds. The temperature of the air in summer is very mild; nor is there any considerable difference throughout the whole year, except that in the winter, which begins here in *September*, and continues till *March*, tempests of lightning and thunder are frequent, and the rains of long duration. The houses are rather large and commodious, than elegant; but all are rendered extremely pleasant by beautiful gardens. The scarcity of water is, however, an insurmountable difficulty; for this element, so essential to life, the inhabitants are obliged to procure with great labour and fatigue. The city is extremely populous, the inhabitants, including *Indians*, exceeding fourteen thousand. Several of the public buildings are magnificent, and the architecture and decorations of the cathedral are particularly admired. There also is an university dedicated to *St. Francis Xavier*, the choirs of which are filled indiscriminately by the laity and clergy. Here is also a tribunal of croisade, with a commissary, subdelegate, and other officers; likewise a court of inquisition subordinate to that of *Lima*, an office for taking charge of the effects of persons deceased intestate, or whose heirs are at a great distance.

THE jurisdiction of *Plata* is of so great extent as to include the famous mountain of *Potosi*, that inexhaustible source of wealth

wealth to the Spaniards, at the foot of which stands the *Mine* of the same name. Naturally the mountain is cold, *Potosi* dry, barren, bare, and uncouth, producing neither fruit, grass, nor plants, except some useless shrubs. It was in the year 1545, that the treasures contained in its bowels were discovered by an incident seemingly fortuitous. An *Indian*, called *Hualpa*, pursuing some wild goats up this mountain, and, coming to a steep place, laid hold of a shrub to assist his ascent, which, yielding to his weight, came up by the roots, and discovered a mass of silver. At the same time, he observed large lumps of the metal in the earth, which adhered to the roots of the plant. With these first fruits of his discovery, the *Indian*, who lived at *Porco*, hastened home, washed the silver, and made use of it, repairing, when his stock was exhausted, to his perpetual treasury. In course of time, an intimate friend of his observing the extraordinary change in his circumstances, was desirous of knowing the cause; and, urging him closely upon this head, obtained an ample discovery of the whole secret. For some time, they maintained a kind of partnership; but *Hualpa*, refusing to disclose his method of purifying the metal, so offended his comrade, that he immediately revealed the whole to his master *Villareal*, a *Spaniard*, who lived at *Porco*. The *Spaniard* immediately went to view this fortunate breach in the mountain, and the mine was without delay worked with immense advantage. The first register of the mines of *Potosi* was in the month of *April*, 1545, and *Hualpa's* mine was called *The Discoverer*, it having marked out the channel to other sources of riches in this mountain. In a few days, another, equally rich, was found, and called *The Tin-Mine*. Since that time, a third has been discovered, and called *Rica*, to distinguish its superior excellency, and this was succeeded by the discovery of the mine called *Mindieta*. From these four mines chiefly is extracted the immense wealth imported into *Europe*; but there are likewise other smaller mines, crossing the mountain in all directions, but especially north and south, which are allowed to be the richest veins. On the report of these important discoveries, people flocked from all quarters to *Potosi*, especially from the city of *Plata*, which is situated about twenty-five leagues from the mountain. At present, the town of *Potosi* is remarkable, not only for its riches, but the number of noble families, who reside here on account of their concern in the mines; inasmuch that the compass of the place is now extended to above two leagues. Notwithstanding the barrenness of the country, the town is well provided with every necessary, and the

traffic for the supplies of life is greater here, than in any other part of *Péru*, *Lima* alone excepted. Some provinces send the best of their grain and fruit; others their cattle; and a few their manufactures. Those who trade in *European* commodities resort to *Potosí*, as to a market, where they are sure of procuring an exchange of silver for merchandize. Another species of commerce is likewise carried on here by a set of people called *Aviadores*. It consists in exchanging coin, towards paying the necessary expences of the workmen, for ingots and *Pinnos*. Nor is the article of trade for quicksilver of less consequence; but this branch the crown wholly engrosses. Before longer experience had instructed the *Spaniards* in the use of this mineral, a mark of quicksilver was consumed in extracting an equal quantity of silver; and, at present, they are reported to be inexpert in metallurgy, notwithstanding this art is of the last consequence to the revenue.

THAT the reader may be able to form a pretty accurate judgment of the immense wealth arising from the discovery of the mines of *Potosí*, we shall subjoin the following accounts from two authors, who had examined the subject with the greatest accuracy. *Alonso Barba*, who was parish priest in the imperial town of *Potosí*, affirms in his learned treatise on metals, that, from the year 1574, when mercury was first used here in extracting the silver, the royal office of *Potosí* consumed annually three thousand two hundred and forty-nine quintals of mercury. *Gaspar de Epalona*, another writer of credit and good information, alledges that the silver annually extracted amounted in his time to forty-one millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand and forty-three dollarsⁿ. Most writers indeed agree that the king's fifth greatly exceeds a million sterling (U).

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ⁿ GAZOPHILACIO PLERUEICO, p. 193.

(U) We shall beg leave to subjoin a few particulars, merely to gratify the more inquisitive and curious reader. The mine, called *Rica*, was opened on a small eminence, resembling the comb of a cock, about three hundred feet in length, and thirteen in thickness; the vein of which was so extremely rich, that it yielded nearly a moiety of pure silver; but having

sunk to fifty fathom, it altered for the worse. All the mines are now decreased in value, and it appears, upon undoubted authority, that the mint doth not coin a fourth of the usual sum. There were once a hundred and twenty refining mills, now it is confidently affirmed, there are not forty kept in constant employment: yet from the wealth of the galleons, and the great

WE hear very little of the gold of this country; yet 'tis certain, it is by no means destitute of the precious metal. On the frontiers, towards *Lima*, there is one of the richest mines in *America*, which the *Indians*, from that circumstance, call *Chuquigao*, or the *Golden Grange*. Near *la Paz*, is a mountain of remarkable height, called *Illimani*, which beyond all doubt contains immense treasures. In the year 1680, a rock from the side of this mountain was struck down by a flash of lightning, which yielded such a quantity of gold, in the fragments, that, for some time, this metal was sold at *Paz* for eight pieces of eight *per ounce*. At the other extremity of the audience towards *Chili*, the country abounds with mines of gold and silver; and there is one gold mine particularly rich in the neighbourhood of *Tarija*, in the territory of *Chocayas*.

THE city *La Paz* is considerable in extent, surrounded with mountains, and commands a fine prospect of the river. When this stream is swelled by the rains, or melting of the snow on the mountains, its current forces along huge masses of earth, and fragments of rocks, in which are found grains of gold, after the flood has subsided, that sufficiently indicate the wealth contained in the bowels of the earth in this district. In the year 1730, an *Indian*, bathing in the river, discovered a piece of pure gold, so large, that the *marquis de Castel Fuerte* purchased it at twelve thousand pieces of eight, and sent it to *Spain*, as a present worthy the curiosity of the sovereign^o. The adjacent country is beautifully watered with springs, and adorned with groves of fruit-trees, and fields of maize, which add equally to the pleasure and convenience of the inhabitants.

SCARCE any of the other towns or cities of this audience deserve notice; but the *English* reader may expect we should give some account of the sea ports, as in these he is chiefly interested. *Atacama* is the first place to the northward which merits the name of a port, because it communicates with the sea, by the village of *Cobija*, which stands upon the coast, and has a harbour pretty much frequented by the *Spanish* shipping. The *French* too have endeavoured to profit by the vicinity of this port to the mines of *Lipes*, and its remoteness from the king's officers, carrying on a clandestine traffic for

^o ULLOA, L. I. c. 14.

number of wedges, and bars of silver, on board, we may conceive that the treasures extracted are to this day very considerable, and would be infinitely more so, were the *Spaniards* as skilful in metallurgy, as some other nations.

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plate,

plate, and other commodities with the *Spanish* merchants. As to the town *Atacoma*, it is of little consideration, being neither large, populous, nor commercial.

ARICA is, by some writers, numbered among the sea-coast towns of this audience. It is one of the ports to *Potosi*, although it stands little less than three hundred miles from the mines. Formerly, it was strong and populous; and, in 1680, the buccaneers were repulsed here by the inhabitants, as we learn from *Dampier*, who served in the expedition. About thirty years after it was destroyed by an earthquake, and now the town consists of a hundred and fifty families, including blacks, mulattoes, natives, and *Spaniards*. The immense booty taken here by Sir *Francis Drake* chiefly contributed to the decline of the opulence and trade of *Arica*. At that time, most of the silver of *Potosi* was shipped in this port for *Lima*; but since, the *Spaniards* have chiefly sent it by land, as the safest, though most difficult, conveyance.

YLO is another small port, situated in the eighteenth degree of south latitude. This town flourished towards the close of the last century; but it was so frequently attacked and plundered by the buccaneers, that it is now almost entirely deserted by the *Spaniards*, though a tolerably good and convenient harbour. Here the *French* made a settlement, in the reign of the fourteenth *Lewis*, and carried on a vast illicit commerce, which they have been since forced to relinquish. From this general view it appears, that the audience of *Los Charcas* is valuable, chiefly on account of those mines which send such immense wealth annually to *Europe*.

CONTRARY to the division made by all former writers, the intelligent *Ulloa* places *Paraguay* and *Buenos Ayres* within the jurisdiction of this audience; in which we shall follow him, as the most recent and authentic traveller. He calls *Paraguay* a government of *Los Charcas*, and the fourth bishoprick of the audience, lying south of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, and east of *Tucuman*, formerly regarded as a separate kingdom; but now reckoned a province of *Peru*, ever since it was first conquered by *Nunez de Prado* (W).

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(W) Although the *Spaniards* possess only a few cities in the extensive province of *Tucuman*, they nevertheless claim the dominion of the whole. *Ulloa* expressly calls it a government within the jurisdiction of *Los Charcas*; but neither he, nor any other writer, ascertain its exact limits, or describe the country, with any degree of accuracy. It stands to the westward of *Paraguay*, and south of the river of *Plata*; but where it begins, we cannot precisely determine. According to the most recent geographers, it does

THE country, called *Paraguay*, was first discovered by *Se. Paraguay*. *Juan Gabaso*, who passed from *Rio de la Plata* in 1526 to the river *Parana*, in small barks, and thence entered the river called *Paraguay*. *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, the first governor of *Buenos Ayres*, had given *Juan de Ayolas* a commission and a body of forces to complete the reduction of this country; but, after all, the *Jesuits* were the first who brought it into actual obedience. Nothing can exceed this country in beauty and fertility. The climate is moderate; the soil fertile, delightfully watered with springs, rivulets, and rivers, abounding with timber and fruit-trees, and producing abundance of cotton, sugar, indigo, pimento, *ipecacuanha*, and a variety of other drugs of great value. The plains are covered with cows, sheep, horses, mules, and the most useful quadrupeds; the woods resound with the melodious notes of the most beautiful of the feathered creation; while the mountains contain vast treasures of gold and silver, from which, however, the *Jesuits* prudently abstain, well knowing the check which such a measure would immediately give to every kind of industry.

SOON after *Juan de Sobras* had founded the city called *Nuestra Senora de la Assumption*, a few *Jesuits* went to *Paraguay*, and converted about fifty *Indian* families, who soon induced a great many others to follow their example, on account of the peace and tranquillity they enjoyed under the direction of the fathers. They had long disdained to submit

does not extend beyond the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude. *Ulloa* says, that it reaches from north to south above a hundred leagues. The cities possessed by the *Spaniards* are *St. Jago del Eslero*, so called from a river, on which it is situated, whose inundations greatly contribute to fertilize the adjacent lands; *St. Miguel del Tucuman*; *Nuestra Sennora de Talavera*; *Cordova de la Nueva Andalucia*; *Rioja*; and the large village of *San Salvador*. The two first of these are the most considerable; but they too are small, and built without order or symmetry. In fact, the *Spaniards* support themselves in this

country, solely from the influence gained by the *Jesuits* over the minds of the natives; and the chief design of the court of *Madrid* in maintaining settlements here, is to secure a communication between the colonies on the South and North *S. a.* The commodities of the country are of themselves too inconsiderable to deserve the expence of maintaining garrisons; they consist chiefly in honey, wax, sugar, cotton, woollen stuffs, manufactured by the natives; and mules much admired for their strength and agility, great droves of which are annually exported to the other provinces of *South America* (1).

(1) *Ulloa*, C. 5. L. 1.

to the arms of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*; but they became willing converts to the religious tenets proposed by the Jesuits, who learned their language, conformed to their manners, and underwent the greatest hardships till they had an opportunity of cultivating the minds of their savage flock, improving them in the knowledge of social virtues, gaining an intire ascendancy over their affections, and establishing the most solid and real authority; a dominion over the mind. Nothing could equal the address of the fathers upon this occasion, or exceed their perseverance. They began with assembling those untutored barbarians in towns, and forming them into societies, regulated by a system of civil policy, not to be paralleled in the annals of mankind, if we may credit the account of their missions lately published by the learned and ingenious *Muratori*. They engaged to protect them against the insolence of the *Spanish* soldiers, and the tyranny of the governors; and they actually kept their word with respect to the *Portuguese*, against whom they obtained leave from the court of *Spain* to arm the natives. They set about disciplining the *Paraguans*, taught them the use of fire-arms; and soon rendered them able to cope with the enemy, and to drive them out of the country. The mildness of the christian yoke, the exemption from taxes and all marks of servitude, rendered them extremely attached to the fathers, and made numerous converts. At present above 340000 families are subject to the fathers, living in an obedience and awe bordering upon adoration, yet procured without any violence or restraint. There are about threescore parishes on the banks of the rivers *Paraguay* and *Panama*, not exceeding the distance of thirty miles from each other. In each of these there is a jesuit, supreme in all causes, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; who may be regarded as a petty prince, and governs not only with the sway of a sovereign, but with the influence and reputation of an oracle. He nominates the chiefs in all the different departments. The cazique holds of him; the general receives his commission and instructions from this dictatorial jesuit; and all his decisions are without appeal. The regulations established are indeed admirable; industry is universal, but riches no where to be found in this country. Every family hath its proportion of land and labour, of plenty and of rest. The general produce arising from agriculture and manufactures is carried to the magazines of the society, from whence it is distributed to individuals as occasion requires, the surplus, amounting as is thought to four millions of pieces of eight annually, being exported to *Buenos Ayres*, and exchanged for merchandize which

which the country does not produce, or converted into money, and remitted to *Europe*; the chief design of which institution is, that the *Indians* may have no occasion to leave their country to be furnished with necessaries, which are now supplied by the order. By this means they are kept from the contagion of those vices, which they would naturally contract by an intercourse with strangers less pure in their manners, and perhaps be taught to fall off in their adoration of the *Jesuits*; a point of the utmost consequence to these politic ecclesiastics.

If the civil government of *Paraguay* be admirably calculated to produce happiness, the ecclesiastical is still more wisely contrived to promote the same design. Every town and village hath its particular priest, assisted by two of the same order, and six boys, who chant in the churches, and form a kind of collegiate, where the hours are regulated in the same manner, and the exercises precede each other with the same formalities, as in the great colleges of cities. This priest, who, we have already observed, presides also over the civil œconomy, visits personally the *Indian* plantations, in which he is remarkably sedulous in order to prevent the indulgence of that slothful disposition natural to the natives. He likewise attends at the slaughter-houses, where cattle are daily killed, large herds of which are kept for the publick use, and their flesh distributed by the fathers in lots, proportioned to the number of persons in each family. This reverend director also visits the sick, to see that they are duly attended, and provided with every thing necessary to their recovery. He catechizes the *Indians* in his district, or rather deals them out portions of the scripture, which he explains, obliging them punctually to frequent divine service on *Sunday*. The children, says *Muratori*, repair every morning by break of day to the churches, where they take their places on opposite sides, according to their sex. There they recite alternately the morning prayer, and christian doctrine until sun-rise; then mass is celebrated, at which all the inhabitants are obliged to attend, unless a sufficient reason can be given for their absence. After mass all go to work; and, in the evening, the children assemble to be catechized, and the adults to pray, by the toll of bell. Business multiplies on the *Sunday*, when the espousals and marriages are celebrated for the greater solemnity; high mass is sung, and an exhortation to the married pairs is pronounced from the pulpit; after which a list is called over to see who is absent, and penances are imposed on all trespasses committed within the parish, or *Reduction*, since the preceding *Sunday*. The effect which

this regularity produces on the minds and morals of the *Indians*, is astonishing. They are punctual in their religious duties, faithful in their dealings, charitable to the distressed, humble, obedient, and industrious, beyond what could reasonably be expected from a people naturally so indolent and slothful. The excess to which they carry their contrition and delicacy of conscience, appears especially at the tribunal of penance, where they shed a torrent of tears, accusing themselves of such trivial defects, that it is sometimes a question with the fathers, whether there be sufficient matter for absolution. The church resounds with sobbings and wailings; and the proselytes, full of detestation of themselves, endeavour to expiate their failings (for crimes are scarce ever heard of) with austerities and macerations, which their zeal and superstition would carry to a pitch of extravagance, if they were not restrained. These are strong instances, says the ingenious *Italian*, of the piety, devotion, and docility of the natives; we regard them, likewise, as irrefragable proofs of the policy and address of the reverend fathers.

IMAGINATION cannot paint any thing in the *Indies* more regular, neat, and decent, than the parochial churches in *Paraguay*. They are capacious, rich, elegant, and splendidly furnished for that country; gilding and painting attract the eye, and strike the imagination on every side. All the sacred utensils are of gold and silver, many of them studded with precious stones, and curiously embossed. Magnificent galleries are erected for the civil magistrates on one side the altar, while the military officers occupy the opposite; and all the vulgar are seated with the greatest order and decorum on seats placed round the area. The palace of the spiritual prince, who may be considered as a kind of pontiff within his jurisdiction, is grand, spacious, and constructed in the manner of a church, in order to strike his simple subjects with religious awe and reverence. It consists of different apartments, suited to the various functions of the father, as a civil and ecclesiastical magistrate. Every morning after prayers is devoted to hearing the complaints, and redressing the grievances of such as demand audience. At noon, he hears confessions, and grants absolutions, in which he is extremely rigid and exact, that being the basis of his power, and the main pillar of his authority. In the afternoon, he walks abroad, inspects the publick and private affairs of the *Reduction*, and superintends the labour of his parishioners; while the evening is devoted to catechising, discoursing on moral and religious subjects, and instructing by conversation all around him. Such at least is the idea conveyed of the
behaviour

behaviour of those fathers, by their own writings, and the celebrated *Muratori*, on which we must implicitly rely, for want of better documents. Fame, indeed, has treated their characters with more severity, and they may not unjustly be accused of ambition ; but surely this passion was never directed to more noble and useful purposes, than in taming the savage, instructing the ignorant, enlightening the pagan, promoting industry, and inspiring a love of order, society, temperance, frugality, and every other virtue, which can humanize the mind, and conduce to temporal and eternal happiness. We cannot be surprized that such an excessive reverence as is here shewn for the fathers, should excite certain sparks of pride and haughtiness, so natural to an elevated station ; policy even dictates that they should maintain a certain loftiness and distance of carriage ; yet their manner of living is simple, their diet coarse, their sleep moderate, and their vigilance indefatigable, almost without relaxation, continually instructing either by precept or example. It is affirmed, however, that they carry their authority to an excess, causing even the magistrates to be corrected before them with stripes, and suffering persons of the highest distinction, within their jurisdictions, to kiss the hems of their garments, as the greatest honour to which they can possibly arrive. To this might be added the utter abolition of all ideas of property, which, indeed, is rendered useless by the general magazines and store-houses ; yet it reflects on the character of the fraternity, that they possess large property themselves, and claim the absolute disposal of the meanest effects in *Paraguay*. All manufactures are theirs ; every natural commodity is brought to them ; and the treasures, remitted yearly to the superior of the order, sufficiently evince that zeal for religion is not the only motive of those persevering missions, so highly extolled, and deservedly, if we refer to the effect rather than the design.

BUT, besides those provincial governments, there is a kind of supreme council, composed of an annual meeting of all the fathers, who adjust the methods necessary to be executed for promoting the common concerns of the mission ; framing new laws, correcting or abolishing old ones, and adapting every thing else to circumstances. Over this council, it is reported, that neither the Catholic king, nor the pope himself, exert any controul or authority ; and indeed, since the erection of *Paraguay* into a spiritual monarchy, there is great probability that the jesuits claim independency : but we can advance nothing positively upon this head, as we are destitute of authentic documents, all the stories related of king

Nicholas

Nicholas being founded merely on conjecture, or formed by the malice of the enemies of the fraternity. From the armaments fitted out a few years since by *Spain* and *Portugal*, we may reasonably conjecture that those courts dreaded the growing power of the jesuits, who were suspected of designs against *Buenos Ayres* and *Brazil*; and it is confidently affirmed that one maxim is strongly inculcated by the fathers, namely the danger it is to the salvation of an *Indian* to maintain any intercourse with a subject of *Spain* or *Portugal*. The natives are restrained from learning the *Spanish* tongue, or applying themselves to any studies but such as are immediately subservient to the good of the society; and it is one of the great objects of the annual councils, to take such measures as shall effectually deprive strangers of all intelligence concerning the state of the mission ^p (X). Accordingly the *Indians* are confined to just as much knowledge as answers the purposes of the jesuits, and chiefly restrained to mechanical arts, architecture, painting, and musick; for which they seem to have a natural genius.

ANOTHER precaution taken by the fathers for their security is the establishment of a very considerable military power. They have trained up the natives to the exercise of arms; so that the militia of *Paraguay* is at this day such a formidable body, as may probably foil all the attempts of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* to reduce them to obedience. Every pa-

^p MURAT. Relations des Missions de Parag. Edit 8vo. 1760.

(X) The vigilance and jealousy which the fathers express in this particular, hath given birth to many unfavourable reports. If a stranger, in despite of all their precaution, should find his way into the country, he is immediately secured by the superior of the parish, a house assigned and every satisfaction allowed him, except his liberty. If the father should permit him to see the town, it is always in his own company, and after notice has been given to the inhabitants to keep close in their houses, where they barricade themselves, as if they dreaded the assault of a powerful enemy. As soon as the op-

portunity offers for his embarking at *Buenos Ayres*, where the jesuits keep their spies, the stranger is sent thither under a guard of *Indians*, who are entire strangers to every *European* language; whence it is absolutely impossible for them to communicate any thing with respect to the state of the country. Besides, they have inculcated it as a point of religion, that the *Indians* answer no interrogatories either by signs or tokens, under pain of eternal punishments, which those ignorant barbarians are fully persuaded the jesuits have the power to inflict.

with or reduction hath its corps of horse and foot, who are only exercised every *Sunday*, in the manual exercise and evolutions, in the same manner as the *Swiss* militia. This force is divided into regiments, each of which is composed of six companies, with fifty men to a company. The officers hold their commissions of the fathers, and are selected out of the body of the people for their activity, valour, and obedience. The cavalry is much on the same footing as the infantry, only the regiments are said to be less numerous. It is affirmed the Jesuits can raise a body of seventy or eighty thousand well disciplined troops, amazingly expert in the use of firelocks and bayonets; and also in slings, with which they throw stones of four or five pounds weight, with astonishing force and wonderful dexterity. It is affirmed, they will hit the smallest mark at any proposed distance within the compass of their strength, and discharge their slings with such expedition, as terrifies the *Portuguese* more than the musquetry. Sorry we are that we cannot enlarge upon this subject; but the authentic accounts are so general, and the particular ones so suspicious, that we cannot possibly admit them into a history which we would endeavour to render valuable, at least, for its veracity; and the judicious reader will, we doubt not, prefer a superficial, but true, relation to a more minute detail, that tends only to amuse and mislead. To conclude this sketch of a country, for a more accurate knowledge of which the curious have sought in vain; we must observe that the city of *Assumption*, the capital, situated in twenty-five degrees, eleven minutes, according to the latest observations, at the conflux of the rivers *Parana* and *Paraguay*, is large, well-built, and populous.

BUENOS AYRES is also included within the jurisdiction of *Los Charcas* by *Ulloa*, and called the fifth bishoprick of that audience. This name, given from the pleasantness of the climate, is extended to all that country from the eastern and southern coast of that part of *America*, quite to *Tucuman* on the eastward, on the north to *Paraguay*, and on the south to the *Terra Magellanica*, or the vertex of that triangular point of land, which composes *South America*. The country is watered by the great river *La Plata*, first discovered, in 1515, by *Juan Diaz de Solis*; who, with his two attendants, was massacred by the natives; and partly subdued by *Sebastian Gaboto*, who gave the great river the appellation of *La Plata*, from the abundance of the precious metals he procured from the adjacent inhabitants, imagining it was the produce of the country; though, in fact, they brought it from *Peru*. The capital of the government, called *Nuestra Señora*

Sancti de Buenos Ayres, was founded in the year 1535, under the direction of don *Pedro de Mendoza*, at that time governor. It stands on a point, called cape *Blanco*, on the fifth side of the *Plata*, fronting a small river, in thirty-four degrees thirty-four minutes thirty-eight seconds of south latitude, according to the observation of father *Feville*, a writer of extensive knowledge, and great integrity. The situation is in a fine plain, rising by a gentle ascent from the river, and truly paradisaical, whether we regard the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, or that beautiful verdure which overspreads the whole face of the country, of which the inhabitants of the city have an uninterrupted prospect as far as the eye can reach. The city of *Buenos Ayres* is very considerable in extent, containing no less than three thousand houses, inhabited by *Spaniards*, and different casts of the natives. The streets are straight, broad, and pretty equal in the height and dimensions of the buildings; one very handsome square adorns it, the front, corresponding to this residence of the principal citizens, being a castle, in which the governor holds his court, and presides over a garrison of three thousand able bodied soldiers. Most of the buildings are of chalk or brick, except the cathedral, a magnificent structure, chiefly composed of stone.

No country in the world abounds more in horned cattle and horses, than *Buenos Ayres*, where the greatest expence of a horse or cow is in the catching it, and frequently at the small price of two, three, or four ryals. In such abundance are those useful animals, that the hide alone is deemed of any value, as this constitutes a main article in the trade of the country. All rove wild in the fields, and, at present, they are more difficult of access, the terrible havock made among them obliging the cautious brutes to keep at a greater distance, and avoid their cruellest enemy. All kinds of fish are in the same abundance, and the fish called *Rexereys* is very remarkable, some exceeding half a yard in length. The fruits of every quarter of the globe grow up in the utmost perfection; and for the enjoyments of life, and the salubrity of the air, a finer country cannot be imagined.

WITHIN the government of *Buenos Ayres*, are three other cities, called *Monte Video*, *Corrientes*, and *Santa Fè*. The last stands about ninety leagues to the westward of *Buenos Ayres*, between the *Plata* and the *Salado*, which, after a long course through the province of *Tucuman*, joins the former. The city is small and meanly built; the neighbouring *Indians*, who have not yet received the doctrines of christianity, or submitted to the *Spanish* yoke, taking every opportunity of

plundering

plundering the houses, and massacring the inhabitants. *La Orientes*, situated on the eastern banks of the river *Plata*, is inferior, both in size and distinction, to *Santa Fé*; and, indeed, bears no other tokens of a city, beside the name and privileges granted to the inhabitants. The same may be alledged of *Monte Video*; yet all these cities have their corregidores, inferior magistrates, and a regular militia, who assemble on the first appearance of danger, and have frequently displayed great resolution and courage in repelling the attacks of the savage *Indians*.

THE last audience of the *Spanish* dominions in *South America*, is that of *Chili*; the conquest of which powerful and rich kingdom by *Valdivia*, we have already related; if the establishment of *Spanish* colonies, and defeat of the unsubdued warlike inhabitants, may be called a conquest. The limits of *Chili* are not exactly ascertained; some confine it within the *Spanish* jurisdiction, others extend it from the twenty-sixth to the forty-seventh degree of south latitude, and a few include within its limits the *Terra del Fuego* and the very extremity of cape *Horn*¹. We shall, however, upon the best authority, confine the name of *Chili* to that tract of land contained within the twenty-sixth and forty-fifth degrees of south latitude, and forty-seventh and fifty-fourth degrees of west longitude. Agreeable to these limits, it is skirted by *Peru* on the north; by the *South Sea* on the west; by *Patagonia* and the *Terra Magellanica* on the south; and by the province of *La Plata* on the east: containing a space of between twelve and thirteen hundred miles in length, and about half as much in breadth, if we include the vast plains of *Chicuito*, which lie on the opposite side of the lofty ridge of the *Andes*. The country, indeed, properly called *Chili*, lies between this chain of mountains and the sea, including only a space of about ninety miles in breadth. The length of this ridge of mountains is very extraordinary, it beginning at the *Terra Magellanica*, traversing the kingdom of *Chili*, the province of *Buenos Ayres*, the empire of *Peru*, the audience of *Quito*, the vast district of *Terra Firma*; and then contracting itself, as if it were for a passage through the isthmus of *Darien*, it widens again, and passes through the provinces and kingdoms of *Nicaragua*, *Guatemala*, *Costa Rica*, *Mexico*, and others more to the northward. In *Chili*, the mountains are so high, that we are told by a variety of writers, the *Alps* are no more than hillocks to them; and that, in passing over them, the air is so extremely light and rarefied as to occasion the utmost diffi-

Kingdom
of Chili.

culty in respiration, and sometimes an hæmorrhage of the pulmonary blood-vessels.

CHILI lying south of the equator, the seasons here are almost opposite to those in the northern hemisphere; but the face of the country is beautiful, and the climate wholesome, notwithstanding the extremity of heat and cold in the different seasons. On the east, the country is screened by the *Andes*, while from the west, the air is cooled by the most refreshing sea-breezes. In some parts, indeed, the piercing winds, which blow in the winter from the mountains, are intolerably sharp; but, in general, we may deem this one of the most comfortable climates in *South America*, being the medium between the intense heat of the torrid zone, and freezing colds of those countries removed at a greater distance from the equator, and more towards the vertex of that triangle, which composes this part of the *American* continent. In the winter, a light coat of snow falls upon the vallies; but the mountains are covered with such quantities, as, in the summer, supply the country with innumerable rivulets, which produce the most extraordinary fertility, observable in any part of the world. Here *Indian* and *European* corn, wine, fruits, and all the necessaries of life, grow in the utmost abundance and perfection; and we learn, from the latest travellers, that in the gardens of the cities, near the seacoast, orange trees are kept in bloom and fruit all the year. With pleasure could we dwell on the description of *Chili*, were we allowed to indulge our vein as naturalists; but as brevity is essentially necessary to a work of so universal extent as our undertaking, we must confine ourselves to a few of the most essential particulars.

THE productions of this country, most valuable in the opinion of the *Europeans*, are those contained in the bowels of the earth. These constitute it, beyond comparison, the richest territory on the face of the globe in gold, silver, mercury, lead, sulphur, and saltpetre, 'if we may credit the relation of *Spaniards*; who, at the same time, confess their little acquaintance with the interior and wealthiest part of the country, which is still in the hands of the natives. Extraordinary specimens of the richness of these ores have indeed been sent into *Europe*; but with respect to the number of the mines, and the continuance of the metallic vein, all must be conjectural, as the *Chilefians* express the utmost jealousy, lest the *Spaniards* should make discoveries, that might one day subject the inhabitants to the most cruel servitude. It is reported to be an invariable maxim with the *Indians* of *Chili*, to punish with immediate death the discoverer of any treasure;

and their power is so great, and disposition so warlike, that it would be impossible for the *Spaniards* to protect the criminals who had thus roused the indignation of his countrymen. As matters now stand, the governor and colonists reap almost all the advantages of the *Spanish* settlements. All the precious metals procured by fraud or force from the *Chileans*, become the perquisite of the governor, who makes no scruple of cheating the king, notwithstanding the vast charges of the government in salaries, and the maintainance of troops to support the *Spanish* interest against the attempts of the natives.

THE number of inhabitants in this vast country are by no means proportioned to its extent. All the *Spaniards* in *Chili* are not computed at more than twenty thousand, and these dispersed in such a manner as gave the free *Indians* the greatest advantages in all their wars with the strangers. This was the greatest oversight in the conduct of *Valdivia*, the first invader of *Chili*, who, upon discovering gold, attempted to make so many establishments as furnished the *Indians*, whom he had treated so harshly, with an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and expelling the *Spaniards* out of the mountains. The free *Indians* are much more numerous, and all the inhabitants of *Chili*, including *Europeans*, *Mestizos*, *Mulattoes*, and *Negroes*, are reputed at a hundred and fifty thousand only. Even the free *Indians* are said to acknowledge the dominion of the king of *Spain*, and to pay tribute to his governors; but the subjected *Indians* belong entirely to the *Spaniards*, live among them, and serve them in the same manner as the natives of *Peru* and *Mexico*. For the better establishing of good order, and a regular police, they are divided, according to their habitations, into little lordships of a certain number of families, stiled *Commandaries*, the disposal of which is in the king, to any of the servants of the crown, whom he thinks proper to gratify. The greater part of *Chili* is possessed by the free *Indians*, who, in their last treaty, acknowledged the king for their lawful sovereign; upon condition they were suffered to continue under the protection of their own laws and government; an engagement, which it will be hazardous for the *Spaniards* to break, however it may restrict their great design of gaining entire possession of the countries, and thereby repairing the constant decline of wealth and decay of the precious metals in their other settlements. In fact, the free *Chileans* are rather the allies than the subjects of *Spain*. They are governed by their own chiefs, who claim no authority besides that of administering justice, and leading the armies; having neither

courts,

courts, regal pomp, guards, or any other of the badges of sovereign authority. They preside, indeed, at all national meetings, and here only, and in the field, their power or distinction is known; but the question is determined by a plurality of voices. He can also sound the alarm, and oblige the people to arm on sound of trumpet, to repair to a place appointed, and to form themselves under the national banners.

THE *Chilefians* are tall, robust, active, and courageous. No other *Indian* people have cost the *Spaniards* so much trouble. They are dexterous in the use of pikes, bows, arrows, and swords. Their discipline is more regular and rational than that of the other *Indians*. The *Chilefians* fight in squadrons, retire when broke and rally, fortify themselves with great address, and choose their ground either to engage, attack, or defend themselves with admirable judgment; of which the reader hath already seen abundance of instances in our relation of the long war which they supported against the *Spaniards*. At present they admit *Spanish* missionaries among them, and shew an inclination to embrace the gospel doctrine, to which their greatest objection is, lest it should bring them to slavery. They enter easily into the *Spanish* manners, which gives great pleasure to the colonists, in hopes it may be possible thereby to effect by example, what has foiled their arms; though, in our opinion, the conjecture is but ill-founded. The *Chilefians*, by gaining the knowledge of fire arms, and *European* discipline, may one day be enabled intirely to expel the *Spaniards*; and this event is rendered the more probable by past experience. During the long wars between the allied powers and *France*, for the succession to the crown of *Spain*, great inconveniencies arose in this quarter of the world, because the *Spanish* ministry was too much employed at home to bestow any attention on the conduct of the governors in *America*; who, by dint of cruelty and oppression, drove the *Chilefians* of the plain into open rebellion, which might have proved fatal to all the *Spanish* colonies, had the free *Indians* joined in the insurrection.

St. Jago
city.

St. JAGO is the capital of all *Chili*, and stands in thirty-three degrees forty minutes south latitude. It was founded by *Valdivia*, in the valley of *Mapocho*, in the year 1541; and still remains on the identical spot on which it was first erected. The situation is commodious and delightful, the surrounding plain extending for the space of twenty-four leagues, watered by the meandering stream of the river *Mapocho*, from which the city is supplied with water by conduits. St. Jago is reckoned a thousand toises in length, by six hundred

hundred or more, and the large suburb called *Chimay* on the opposite side of the river. In the center of the city stands the grand piazza, which, like that of *Lima*, is square, with a very beautiful fountain in the middle. Here are the apartments of the presidents, the palace of the royal audience, the town-house, the publick prison, the cathedral, and a variety of other handsome publick and private buildings. The other parts of the city are divided into insulated squares, regular, well-built, and commodious. Every house is provided with a court before, and a garden behind, which are abundantly supplied with water, leading by conduits and canals from the river. By this means, the streets may be overflowed and cleaned at pleasure, with very little trouble, which keeps the place sweet and healthy. The *Spaniards* in *St. Jago* are reckoned to amount to eight thousand, and the other inhabitants to about thirty thousand, which sufficiently indicates the grandeur of this capital, that wants nothing besides stone buildings to render it among the finest cities in the *Spanish American* dominions. The citizens are rich, fond of pleasure, and good-humoured. Those who have acquired fortunes at *Baldivia*, *Valparaiso*, and *Conception*, repair hither to spend the remainder of their days in ease and enjoyment. Many have amassed fortunes by their concerns in the gold mines of *Tilti*, and the *Lavaderos*, in the neighbourhood of the city, in which pieces of gold an ounce weight are sometimes found. A few have found the secret of trading clandestinely with the *Indians* for gold, and they soon acquire immense wealth; but this traffic is laid under such restrictions by the jealous *Chileans*, that it requires a very intimate acquaintance with the country, and considerable address to carry it on with any degree of safety or advantage. The royal audience residing in *St. Jago*, since its removal from *Conception*, is composed of a president, four auditors, and a fiscal; together with an officer who bears the title of protector of the *Indians*. Though subordinate, in some respects, to the viceroy of *Peru*, the determinations of this court are without appeal, except to the council of the *Indies*. The president is also governor and captain-general of the whole kingdom of *Chili*, in which quality he resides half the year in the capital, and the other half at *Conception*. The corregidor supplies his absence, represents his person, and governs not only the city but the whole audience of *St. Jago*.

CONCEPTION, situated in thirty-six degrees, forty-three minutes, and fifteen seconds, is the oldest *European* establishment in *Chili*; and the second city in point of dignity. On their first settling in the country, the *Spaniards* had

been repeatedly driven hence by the *Indians*, which obliged them to take up their residence at *St. Jago*; and since the city of *Conception* hath been destroyed by earthquakes, in the year 1730, both this city and *St. Jago* were laid in ruins by a dreadful shock, the first concussions of which were accompanied with an unusual swelling of the sea, that overturned the few houses which had escaped the ravages of the earthquake. The harbour of this city is good, and pretty much frequented; for which reason the *Spaniards* regard it as a place of consequence, as appears by the king's allowing three hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight *per annum*, for the support of a garrison of three thousand five hundred men; a corps that is seldom complete. None of the fortifications are considerable; but those towards the land are wretched, the *Spaniards* now living in tolerable security with respect to the natives, and not conceiving the city can well be attacked on the land-side by a foreign enemy. Indeed, if we may credit the most positive asseverations of travellers, all the *Spanish* settlements, both here and in *Peru*, would fall an easy conquest, the fortifications being in ruins, and the garrisons scarce half the number required by the king; owing to the avarice, negligence, and supine security of the governors, who study nothing more than to enrich themselves. This city is the see of a bishop, which was transferred hither at the time the city *Imperial* was destroyed by the *Indians*, and here likewise resided the royal chancery, until fear of the *Indians* occasioned its being removed to *St. Jago*. The inhabitants are numerous, the fertility of the soil, and the excellency of the climate, having induced a great number of *Spaniards* and *Mestizos* to settle here, notwithstanding the danger to which they are exposed from the *Indians*. The peasants in the neighbourhood of *Conception* are remarkable for their address in the use of the noose and lance, which indeed are their principal arms. The stories related by *Ulloa* of their dexterity are really astonishing. With these weapons, they will not only combat the fiercest bull, but render it impossible for the most cautious and active man to escape their noose, which they throw so artfully as to lay certain hold of some part of the body. In private quarrels, they fight with the noose and lance, all attacks from which they are taught to parry with such dexterity, that after a combat of an hour, it is no uncommon case to see the parties separate untouched, notwithstanding both have exerted the greatest alertness. When a bull is haltered, they draw the knot, at the same time they give spurs to their horses, and hamstring him with their lances; so that the animal is taken and disabled.

disabled in the time labour. This dexterity in throwing the hook, and hamstringing the animal in an instant, while they ride full speed, cannot fail of surprising the *Europeans*, and conveying a formidable idea of those alert natives, had they once acquired a juster notion of the art of war.

HAVING now compared the two principal cities of *Peru*, Cuzco and Copiapo, we shall proceed with the rest, in the order in which they are situated. The first port on this coast is Copiapo, standing in the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude. The harbour, indeed, is properly called *Caldera*, but commonly known by the former name on account of its contiguity. This may justly be reckoned the richest town in the world, in point of natural situation, if we consider that its foundation is laid on a gold mine; which, however, is not wrought by the inhabitants, because a still richer mine has been discovered at the distance of six miles. We may judge of the produce of these mines from the following account, extracted from a *Flemish* writer of good intelligence and credit. The inhabitants of the town are about seven hundred; the labourers in the mine amount to a thousand. There are twelve mills constantly employed, which extract at the rate of an hundred and fifty ounces one day with another. Besides the precious metal, another valuable article of commerce is in greater abundance here than in any quarter of the world. Saltpetre lies upon the ground two feet deep in many places; and, under any other government than the *Spanish*, would attract a very considerable trade. To the southward of the town are the rich lead mines of Copiapo, which lie neglected; yet it is the opinion of divers intelligent writers they might be turned to more advantage than the gold, on account of the great quantities of *lapis lazuli* found on the surface.

NEXT comes the town of Coquimbo, properly stiled *la Coquimbo-Serena*, standing in twenty-nine degrees, and fifty-three minutes, of south latitude, in one of the most beautiful situations in the universe. The town is neat and elegant, well watered, and rendered a perfect paradise by the enchanting groves and gardens filled with the most refreshing and delightful fruits; the perpetual verdure, which covers the face of the country, and that blessed serenity of climate, and happy temperature of the air, which dispenses good health, the most valuable gift of providence. The surrounding valleys are filled with cattle, and the fleecy kind; and so numerous is the breed of horses, that one, which would cost thirty or forty pounds in the cheapest country in *Europe*, may be here purchased for a twentieth part of the sum. Yet, after all,

the place is wretchedly poor, merely for want of that circulation of commodities, which supplies the deficiencies of one country with the superfluities of another. The whole trade of *Cochimbo* consists in sending three or four vessels annually to *Lima*, laden with flour, wine, and provisions; in exchange for which they receive all kinds of *European* commodities, transported from hence to all the other towns in *Chili*.

Valparaiso.
fo.

VALPARAISO, situated in thirty-two degrees, fifteen minutes, south latitude, is the next port of any consequence. It is, indeed, the most considerable haven in these seas, being constantly filled with ships from *Callao* and *Panama*; unfortunately the mouth of the harbour is greatly exposed in the winter to the north winds, which then blow with great violence. Considerable sums have been expended in attempts to render this a place of strength, and the *Castello Blanco* makes a formidable appearance; but the orders of the government are so much neglected, that the ramparts are scarce ever mounted with half a dozen pieces of artillery fit for service; and as to the port of *Quintero*, about five leagues to the northward, though much frequented, it is left entirely without defence: at least, such was the state of these sea ports, during the last war with *Spain*, although only one feeble attempt was made to annoy the enemy in that quarter.

THE celebrated port of *Baldivia* comes next in order. It is situated at the bottom of a fine bay, in thirty-nine degrees, thirty-six minutes of south latitude, and takes its name from the first conqueror of this country. We may judge of the value, which the *Spaniards* put on this port, by the sum of money granted annually by the king for maintaining a garrison, and keeping the fortifications in repair, which is no less than three hundred thousand pieces of eight. It is defended by four strong castles, mounting above a hundred pieces of fine brass cannon; for which, however, there never is a sufficient number of gunners, and carriages, nor store of ammunition. Besides, what dependance can be placed on a garrison composed of transported criminals, who are sent hither, instead of being lashed to the oar on board the galleys. The governor, indeed, is always a person of quality; but, as he is promoted merely to repair his fortune, it is always expected that he should profit by the opportunity. The attack made on this place by the *Dutch*, in 1643, evinces the facility with which it might be seized by a maritime power; especially as the very same negligence still prevails with respect to the garrison and fortifications. They soon became masters of the town, and would probably have maintained their

their conquest against all the viceroy's power, if they had not been forced to relinquish it by sickness and famine. The inhabitants of *Baldivia* amount to about two thousand; trade is less considerable than formerly, because the g mines in the neighbourhood are shut up, yet ten large st are employed in the trade between this port and *Lima*, wh chiefly consists in gold, corn, hides, and salt-provision, changed for slaves, sugar, chocolate, and *European* commodities and manufactures. This is the last settlement of l consideration, which the *Spaniards* have in *Chili*, unless except *Aranca*, where they maintain a garrison of five or hundred men, and the beautiful little island of *Chiloa*, at most southern extremity of the province.

UPON the whole it appears, that the possessions of crown of *Spain* on the continent of *America* are sufficient raise that monarchy to the highest pitch of grandeur, w the true interest both of the mother country and color rightly understood. The wealth yearly brought into *Sp* is immense; but that treasure is soon dissipated among other more industrious and ingenious nations of *Europe*, exchange for those manufactures and necessaries of l which the *Spaniards* have either too much pride or too li policy to work up at home, in quantities sufficient for th colonies. Thus they may properly be called the miners; labourers of the other states, whose ingenuity is more tl a compensation for the want of those stores of the preci metals, reserved for the *Spaniards* in the bowels of the ear. By supplying her colonies with those articles now purcha from other countries with the gold and silver of *Peru*; *Mexico*, *Spain* would not only have acquired great inter strength, but have become the most formidable manu power in the universe, by so active a commerce. Instea these infallible maxims, so obvious to common sense, h ply for her neighbours, this monarchy has b d recove a more refined policy, which consisted in fixing her comm by constraint, and establishing her power by the tw Grasping at universal monarchy, and monopolizing wealth of the *Indies*, were causes alone sufficient to h brought the *Spaniards* to their present languishing conditi For a series of years, a war was maintained in *Germany*, *Netherlands*, and *Italy*, almost against the combined pov of *Europe*, by mere dint of the *American* treasure, wh were soon exhausted without any care taken to establ commerce of a more durable nature with the colonies. I infatuation in the *Spanish* councils produced the nar

effects; the rest of *Europe* was enriched, and enabled to push a trade both to the *East* and *West India*, while *Spain* was impoverished. Had not *Philip* oppressed the *Hollanders*, and disturbed the *English*, both might have still remained considerable by sea. To this, the former owe their liberty, and the latter their plantations, with the vast consequent extension of their manufactures. Hence it is, that, under the appearance of the wealthiest people in *Europe*, the *Spaniards* are nothing more than factors; the common people want bread, the rich are tantalized with just the sight of money, the publick is distressed, and equally destitute of cash and credit. On the accession of his present Catholic majesty, the court of *Madrid* seemed to be roused from that lethargy, in which it had been lulled for the space of two centuries, and awakened into a sense of the benefits deducible from an active commerce; but this was no more than a dream, which vanished before the enchanting arts of the court of *Versailles*. Several excellent commercial regulations were instituted; but before the effects became visible, the *Spaniards* are again plunged in a war with *Great-Britain*, the issue of which does not promise them any great advantage; since, however fortunate, it cannot possibly compensate the suspension of those salutary measures projected at the accession of the present king (Y).

(Y) There is one remark of a more abstract nature, which, nevertheless, irrefragably demonstrates that the comparative wealth of *Spain*, while she relies on the riches of *America*, must daily diminish. The specie of *Europe* was more than doubled by the conquest of *Mexico* and *Peru*, as appears by the doubled price of commodities. Thus the *Spaniards*, who purchased the merchandise of other nations, became nothing the richer for *America*; and, admitting they have every year the same quantity of silver imported, it becomes proportionably of lesser value; by which progression, their power will, in time, be annihilated. The value of specie is now thirty-two to one of what it was at the discovery of *America*: so that the decline of *Spain* in wealth must be nearly in the same proportion.

S E C T. XV.

Containing a description of the Terra Magellanica, Brasil, the country of the Amazons, and the European settlements in Guiana, which is all that remains undescribed of the southern coast of the peninsula.

TO complete the history of *South America*, we shall annex Patagonia, a short account of *Patagonia*, or the *Terra Magellanica*; *Brazil*; the country of the *Amazons*; and *Guiana*; which is all that remains to be described of the vast peninsula contained between *Cape Horn*, the extremity and the isthmus of *Darien*, either towards the northern or southern coast. So little, indeed, is known of that vast tract contained between *Chili* and *Cape Horn*, that we shall be able to relate all that is authentic in a very short compass. All the country extending from *Chili* and *Paraguay* to the utmost extremity of *South America*, is either denominated the *Land of Magellan*; or *Patagonia*; that is from the thirty-fifth almost to the fifty-fourth degree of south latitude, it being surrounded by the countries just mentioned, the *South* and *North Seas*, and the *Straits of Magellan*, that separate it from the island called *Terra del Fuego*, which forms the very point of the peninsula. It was discovered in the year 1519 by *Ferdinand Magellan*, a resolute experienced *Portuguese* officer in the service of the catholic king; who is reported to have sailed through those straits, which bear his name, from the *North Sea* to the *Pacific Ocean*. For a series of years, the passage from south to north was deemed impracticable, on account of a strong current to the southward; but the experience of divers buccaneers, and especially of a *French* mariner, who returned to *Europe* through the straits of *la Maire*, as late as the year 1747, has removed this error. The observations made by *Magellan* and future adventurers, with respect to this country and its inhabitants, are extremely imperfect and defective. The people are reported to be of a gigantic stature, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the climate, to go naked. That they are barbarous is evinced by their treatment of the few unfortunate *Europeans*, who fell into their hands. They differ indeed in manners, as they are divided into a great variety of nations; towards the straits they are said to be perfectly savage; on the frontiers of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* settlements, they greatly resemble the *Chilistians*.

SEPARATED in the middle by the vast mountains of the *Andes*, the country differs as widely as the inhabitants. The whole country to the northward of *La Plata* is covered with wood, and stored with an inexhaustible fund of large timber; whereas to the southward of that river, the eye cannot discover a single tree or shrub fit for any mechanical purpose. Yet even this seemingly barren country produces good pasture; and numerous herds of wild horned cattle and horses, may be seen in every district. They were first brought hither by the *Spaniards*, and the incredible numbers which now cover the face of the country demonstrates how congenial the soil and climate are to their nature. Perhaps the scarcity of fresh water may be an insupportable obstruction to the planting colonies in *Patagonia*, should that measure ever be thought advisable; yet, admitting the truth of the assertion, we cannot see how the present inhabitants, and the prodigious flocks of cattle described, could exist under this inconvenience, and destitute of an element so essential to the being of most land animals. Nothing is related concerning the productions of the earth, and the reader who has consulted all that has been written by voyagers will find little to gratify his curiosity, or instruct his understanding. Nor is there any thing more satisfactory written concerning the large island, called *Terra del Fuego* or *Fogo*, separated from the continent by the straits. We are even not certainly informed whether it be inhabited, though some writers assert that it is, and probability favours the allegation. The appellation of *Fuego* or *Fogo* it acquired from the first discoverers on account of some volcanos, which disgorged great quantities of fire and smoke, at the time it was first beheld by those adventurers. The country extends from fifty two degrees and an half to fifty six degrees, lengthways from east to west, and is near half as much in breadth from north to south. The land is rough and mountainous; but frequently divided into beautiful fertile valleys, and pastures watered with a variety of fine springs, which come tumbling down the mountains. It is reported, that the inhabitants are naturally as fair as the *Europeans*, but that they go naked, and paint their bodies with the most gorgeous colours. Those on the south side are said to be uncivilized, treacherous, and barbarous; while those on the opposite side are simple, affable, and perfectly harmless. The skins of wild animals are sometimes used to cover their bodies, upon occasions of extraordinary pomp; and their tents are made of poles disposed in a conical form, covered with skins, or the bark or leaves of trees. Round the point of the peninsula, and in the *Straits of Magellan* and

and *la Moira*, are a great variety of islands, of which scarce any thing more is known than the names imposed by the early navigators and first discoverers.

WE now quit the *Spanish* dominions, to give some account of the settlements of the other *European* powers in *South America*; and first of the *Portuguese* colonies in *Brasil*, one of the most extensive and opulent countries in the universe, upon which depends the very existence of the *Portuguese* monarchy. This subject is the more interesting to an *English* reader, on account of the large sums of *American* gold drawn into this kingdom by means of the valuable commerce carried on with our near allies the *Portuguese*; who are no less sensible of the benefits they derive from the countenance and assistance of *Great Britain*, as appears by their late spirited conduct at the instance of the *British* ministry. All that tract of country stretching along the sea-coast from the mouth of the river *La Plata*, in the thirty-fifth degree of south latitude, to the great river of *Amazons* under the Equator, is denominated *Brasil*, and subject to the crown of *Portugal*. It is reported to extend in breadth from east to west about nine hundred miles, though the *Portuguese* have not established settlements in the interior country. *Pedro Alvarez Capralis*, a *Portuguese* admiral bound for the *East-Indies*, was the accidental discoverer, in the year 1501, though the *Spaniards* dispute this claim, as hath already been mentioned. In the year 1549, the *Portuguese* built the city of *St. Salvador*, which was the first settlement made in *Brasil*. The *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*, have successively endeavoured to render themselves masters of a country, the source of inexhaustible wealth to the crown of *Portugal*; but without success. The latter, indeed, stood fair for the intire reduction of *Brasil*, when the good fortune of the *Portuguese* at length prevailed, and left them in the unmolested possession of their valuable colonies. This subject the reader hath already seen explicitly handled in our *History of the United Provinces*.

THE first aspect of the country from the sea is rather unfavourable, as it appears high, rough, and unequal; but on a more narrow inspection, nothing can be more delightful, the eminencies being covered with woods, and the valleys and savannahs with the most refreshing verdure. Within land, indeed, the *Brasils* are separated from the *Spanish* province of *La Plata*, which we have called *Buenos Ayres*, by lofty mountains (Z). In so vast a tract of land, it will not be imagined that

(Z) In calling *La Plata* by the appellation of *Buenos Ayres*, we have dissented from most writers: but as the *Spanish* settlements are confined to the country strictly called by the latter

that the climate is equal, or the seasons uniform; they must necessarily differ under the Equator, and above thirty degrees beyond the Line. Thus the northern provinces are subject to heavy rains and variable winds, like other countries under the same parallels. Tornadoes, storms, and the utmost fury of the elements, wreak their vengeance here; while the southerly regions are blessed with all the comforts which a fine fertile soil and temperate climate can afford. In some of the provinces, the heat of the climate is thought to prove favourable to the generation of a great variety of noxious poisonous insects and reptiles: certain it is, that no country produces a greater variety of snakes of immense size; some of which, as the *Liboya* or *Roebuck* snake, extend to the incredible length of thirty feet, measuring two or three yards in circumference. The rattle-snake, and other reptiles of the same species, grow likewise to an enormous size; and the serpent called *Ibibaboka* is affirmed to be seven yards long, and half a yard in circumference, possessed too of a poison instantaneously fatal to the human kind. These are inconveniences with which Providence hath thought fit to alloy the manifold advantages of this invaluable country, in order to dispense her blessings more equally among the inhabitants of the earth in general. Here are scorpions, ant-bears, tigers, or madilloes, porcupines, janonveras, and an animal called *Tapirasson*, which is the production of a bull and ass, having a great resemblance to both.

No country on earth affords a greater number of beautiful birds, nor variety of the most exquisite fruits; but the chief commodities are *Brasil* wood, ebony, dying woods, amber-grease, rosin, balsams, indigo, sweetmeats, sugar, tobacco, gold, diamonds, beautiful pebbles, crystal, emeralds, jasper, and other precious stones; in all which the *Portuguese* carry on such an amazing trade, as may justly be reputed the support, and indeed the vital fountain of the mother country (A).

The

ter appellation, we chose to avoid minute divisions, which serve no other purpose than burthening the memory. It is, in fact, a lesser contained in a greater district.

(A) The court of *Portugal* hath found it necessary to restrain the importation of diamonds, to prevent a diminution of their value; but with respect to every other article of commerce, it is improved with the utmost industry. The crown-revenue arising

from this colony amounts to two millions sterling in gold, if we may credit some late writers, besides the duties and customs on merchandize imported from that quarter. This, indeed, is more than a fifth of the precious metal produced by the mines; but every other consequent advantage considered, it probably does not much exceed the truth. The excessive confluence of people to the *Brasil* colonies, as well from other coun-

The mines of gold and diamonds are but a recent discovery; they were first opened in the year 1681, and have since yielded above five millions sterling annually, of which sum a fifth belongs to the crown. The diamond mines are farmed at about thirty thousand pounds yearly, which is thought to be scarce a fifth of what they actually produce; from which and the other articles imported we may justly infer, that the annual *Brazil* fleet is certainly the richest which comes into *Europe* from any quarter of the world; unless we except the trade of

countries as from *Portugal*, not only enlarges the imports of gold, but what is of infinitely more importance to *Europe* in general, the exportation of the manufactures of this hemisphere, of which the principal are the following. *Great Britain* sends woollen manufactures; such as fine broad *Medley* cloths, fine *Spanish* cloths, scarlet and black cloths; serges, duros, druggets, sagathies, shalloons, camblets, and *Norwich* stuffs; black *Colchester* bays; seys and perpetuanas, called long ells; hats, stockings, and gloves *Holland*, *Germany*, and *France*, chiefly export fine hollands, bone lace, and fine thread; silk manufactures, pepper, lead, block tin, and other articles are also sent from different countries. Besides the particulars specified, *England* likewise trades with *Portugal* for the use of the *Brazils* in copper and brass, wrought and unwrought, pewter, and all kinds of hardware; all which articles have so enlarged the *Portuguese* trade, that instead of twelve ships, usually employed in the *Brazil* commerce, there are now never fewer than a hundred sail of large vessels constantly going and returning to those colonies. To all this may be added, the vast slave-trade carried on with the coast of *Africa* for the

use of the *Brazil* colonies, which we may believe employs a great number of shipping, from the multitude of slaves, which are annually transported. Indeed, the commerce of *Brazil* alone is sufficient to raise *Portugal* to a considerable height of naval power, as it maintains a constant nursery of seamen; yet a certain insatiation in the policy of the country has prevented that effect, even amidst all these extraordinary advantages. All the ships employed in this trade being under the direction of the government, have their appointed seasons of going and returning, under convoy of a certain number of men of war; nor can a single ship clear out or go, except with the fleet, but by a special licence from the king, which is seldom granted; though it is easily determined, that such restrictions can prove no way beneficial to the general commerce, though possibly the crown revenue may be better guarded thereby. The fleets sail in the following order, and at the following stated periods: That to *Rio de Janeiro* sets sail in *January*; the fleet to *Babia*, or the *Bay of All Saints*, in *February*; and the third fleet to *Fernambuco*, in the month of *March*. *Hist. Gen. Commer. par M. Savary, sub verb. Bras.*

diffe-

different nations to the *East and West Indies*. Such, indeed, is the growth of industry and trade in *Brasil*, that it is confidently reported they send above forty thousand negroes annually to that country, from their extensive settlements on the coast of *Africa*; a source for slaves which, in time, must be exhausted by the continual drain made by all the maritime powers, and that renders it expedient to suggest some scheme of population in the colonies, whereby commerce may be carried on without this inhuman resource. Indeed we may safely affirm, by the policy of the *Portuguese* court in winking at the exportation of *Brasil* gold, notwithstanding the general prohibition, that kingdom deduces greater advantage from this single colony, than *Spain* does from all her vast possessions in *South America*.

To give the reader a more distinct idea of the state of the country, it will be necessary to enter upon the particular divisions of *Brasil*, by which the strength, wealth, policy, and utility of the colony will appear more obviously. For the better regulation of government, the *Portuguese* have parcelled out the *Brasils* into fifteen smaller provinces, which they call *capitanias*, or captainries; the whole being a principality, which gives title to the presumptive heir to the crown of *Portugal*. Of these eight only are annexed to the crown, the rest being fiefs made over to some of the nobility, in reward of their extraordinary services, who do little more than acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of *Portugal*, and his representative the viceroy of *Peru*. This minister, who acts both in a civil and military capacity, maintains the state and court of a sovereign prince, in the city of *St. Salvador* in the captainry of *Bahia de Todos los Santos*. To proceed regularly with these captainries, we shall begin with *Paria*, the most northerly, and describe them southerly, according to their situation and contiguity. This province derives its name from the river *Para*, which runs through it from south to north, and discharges itself into the mouth of the river of *Amazons*, which bounds the province towards the north. The capital is *Belém*, frequently called *Para*, situated about the first degree of south latitude, in the mouth of the river of *Amazons*, not far from the confluence of the two rivers. The place is tolerably well built, and fortified. It contains about three hundred white families, besides a multitude of slaves, whose principal occupation is the planting and preparing sugar and tobacco. In this captainship are other settlements of some consideration; but we must confine ourselves to a general view of the country.

THE next division is the captainry of *Maragnano*, so called Marag- from an island of that name contiguous to *Para*. This, like nap. all the other provinces, is watered by fine rivers, and a variety of gurgling rivulets, which serve to beautify and fertilize the country. The island *Maragnano* lies at the mouths of the three great rivers *Maraca*, *Mony*, and *Topocora*, is near one hundred and thirty-five miles in circuit, fertile, rich, and populous; which induced the *French* to attack it, in the year 1612, to render themselves masters of it, and to endeavour establishing themselves in their conquest by erecting the city and fortification of *St. Lewis de Maragnan*; of which, however, they were soon deprived by the *Portuguese*, who have ever since remained in the undisturbed possession. This town is small but strong, being defended not only by walls and bastions, but by a castle situated upon a rock almost inaccessible; and so highly is it prized by the *Portuguese*, that a constant large garrison is maintained here, and the fortifications kept in the best repair; yet certain it is, these would be no great difficulty in the reduction, as the works are badly constructed, after the method of fortifying which prevailed before the celebrated *Vauban* and *Coehorn* had led the way to improvements in that art. The town of *Cuma*, situated on the continent opposite to *Maragnano*, carries on a very considerable trade, and is considered as of great importance.

ADVANCING farther southward, we meet with the captainry of *Siara*, taking its name from a river which has its source far in the interior country. Here the *Portuguese* are limited to a very small territory, the bulk of the province being in the hands of the natives. The town of *Siara* and fort of *St. Luke* are the principal *European* settlements; the former of which stands at the mouth of the river, in two degrees thirty-five minutes of south latitude. This place is populous, but of less consideration than the capital of the preceding province.

THE fourth division as we proceed to the southward is *Rio Rio Grande*, situated indeed directly to the east of *Siara*, but Grande. winding itself along the sea-coast to the south, where it is skirted by *Paraiba*. The *Great River*, whence the captainship takes its name, discharges itself in five degrees and a half of south latitude; but notwithstanding its pompous appellation, is only navigable by large vessels at the entrance. This district is poorly inhabited, and thought of so little consideration by the *Portuguese*, that they have only the settlement of *Figueiras*, some few plantations, and two forts for the protection of their possessions.

Paraíba.

Very different is the province of *Paraíba*, divided into two equal parts by a river of the same appellation, which falls into the ocean in six degrees twenty-four minutes south latitude. Here the *Portuguese* possess numerous settlements, and a fine capital of the name of the captainry, well built, populous, surrounded with ramparts, defended by several strong forts, and provided with so excellent a port, that large vessels can ascend the river quite to the fortifications. Besides, the port of *Lucena*, which is deemed an excellent harbour, is distant only about two leagues. We may justly reckon this among the most valuable provinces in *Brazil*, as it produces all the precious articles of commerce, and abounds in the conveniencies of life, cotton, corn, and the most exquisite fruits.

Tamarica.

NEXT follows the captainry of *Tamarica*, taking its name from a fine island on the coast, situated in the mouth of the river *Tamaric*, which is likewise extremely valuable to the *Portuguese*, though less populous and cultivated than the former. The capital is called *Tamora*, or *Tamarica*, by the natives, but generally distinguished by the *Spaniards* by the name of *Neustra Senora da Conceicao*. It is situated at the entrance of the river, and is defended by a small castle, with a redoubt to command the avenues. Sugar is the principal commodity in *Tamarica*; and this valuable article is so happily cultivated, that the *Portuguese* have not less than thirty mills continually employed in this single province.

Fernambuco.

ONE of the most considerable captainries in *Brazil* is the province of *Pernambuco*, *Fernambuco*, or *Fernambucca*, which is divided into eleven smaller districts, each of which takes its name from the capital town. This province abounds with variety of fruits, pastures, and cattle, and produces a prodigious quantity of sugar, an astonishing multitude of slaves being employed in that service. The capital of the whole province is *Olinda*, situated near the harbour of *Arrarise*, in eight degrees ten minutes of south latitude. Hither the greatest part of the produce of *North Brazil* used formerly to be conveyed, in order to be transported to *Portugal*; but its unfortunate situation among hills, which so intirely surround the city as to render it incapable of defence, occasioned it to be neglected. It became an easy prey to the *Dutch*, who ruined the fortification; since which time it has never recovered its former splendor, notwithstanding it continues to be inhabited by persons of the best fashion, and is still regarded as the first city, in point of dignity, in the province. All the commercial advantages are, however, transferred to *Fernambuco*; which likewise enjoys the privileges of a

city, and is, in fact, the capital both in wealth and the number of inhabitants. It was built originally by the *Dutch* in the island of *St. Antonio de Vax*, and then bore the name of *Maurice*, in compliment to that celebrated captain of the *United Provinces*, who had so near established the dominion of the states-general in *Brasil*. *Fernambuco* is likewise called *Rerief*, or *Arrarife*, from a neighbouring harbour of that name, composed of a peninsula and several small islands, at the entrance, which render the port secure, but somewhat difficult of access. The *Dutch* had this point strongly fortified, and joined to the town by a bridge. It is now the strongest harbour in all *Brasil*, a variety of forts being erected around, and the situation itself being extremely formidable, on account of the concealed rocks at the entrance; to avoid which requires a skilful pilot. For this reason it is frequently called *Inferno-Boco*, or, The mouth of hell.

THE next most contiguous province derives its name from *Seregippe* the river *Seregippe*, which separates it almost in the middle, and disembogues itself in the ocean. The *Portuguese* plantations of sugar and tobacco are numerous. The captainry is laid out in a variety of smaller districts; but the capital of the whole is *Del Rey*, or *Villa de bon Sucesso*, also called *St. Christophers* by some *English* writers. As this city is now on the decline, it will be sufficient to mention, that it is situated on the north side of the river *Vazabaris*, in eleven degrees fifteen minutes of south latitude.

NEXT in order comes *Bahia de Todos los Santos*, the richest *Bahia* and most important province in *Brasil*; the capital of which is the residence of the viceroy, and the see of an archbishop. Unhappily, the air and climate do not correspond with the other natural advantages; yet so fertile is the province in sugar and other commercial articles, that all the *Portuguese* flock hither, as the seat not only of pleasure and grandeur, but the scene for acquiring affluence. *St. Salvador*, called *Ciudad de Bahia*, the capital, is populous, magnificent, and beyond comparison the most gay and opulent city in all *Brasil*. It stands on a bay in twelve degrees eleven minutes of south latitude, is strong by nature, well fortified, and always defended by a numerous garrison. The trade carried on here is prodigious, and the manners of the gentry polished; but the vulgar who have acquired wealth are, as in all other countries, intolerably insolent and brutal. In *Bahia* are no less than twelve or fourteen thousand *Portuguese*, with three times that number of negroes, besides nations who chuse to reside in the city: from this circumstance we may judge of the wealth and populousness of the province, which abounds with opulent

lent coffee, and some plantations of sugar, tobacco, and indigo.

Porto Seguro.

PORTO SEGURO is the province immediately nearest to the southward. It has a capital of the same name, and the remains of two cities, *Santa Cruz* and *St. Amaro*, which were formerly very considerable. The capital stands on a high rock, at the entrance of a small river, contains above six hundred families, and is deemed rather a place of strength than of consequence.

Espirito Santo.

KEEPING on our course, we arrive at the captainship of *Espirito Santo*, the capital of which bears the same name; and is situated on a bay, three leagues from the sea, in twenty degrees and a half of south latitude. The town, though the only one in the province, is not considerable; and yet this district is reported to be fertile in the necessaries of life, and abundant in a variety of commercial articles.

Rio de Janeiro.

RIO DE JANEIRO, the next captainship, takes its name from a river of that appellation. The capital city bears the same name, but is sometimes called *St. Sebastian*, and is deemed rich and populous. It stands in the bay of *St. Salvador*, two leagues from the sea, and has an admirable port, which receives an annual fleet from *Europe*. In this province are the diamond mines, together with such rich plantations of indigo, sugar-canes, tobacco, and other valuable articles of trade, that it vies with *Bahia* in opulence and importance.

Angra.

VERY different from the preceding is the captainship of *Angra de los Reyes*, the next province on the south, which, except the capital *St. Salvador*, is almost wholly inhabited by *Indians*, who indeed live in great subjection to the *Portuguese*, but neither cultivate the country, nor exert so commercial a spirit as the *Europeans*.

St. Vincent.

ONE of the most extensive provinces in the whole territory of *Brazil*, is that of *St. Vincent*; but its value is not proportionable. The capital bears the same name, and is a pretty town, situated in a fine bay of the *Atlantic*, at the confluence of three fine rivers. The gold mines, discovered in the mountains near this capital, are alone sufficient to render it of the last importance to the *Portuguese*; but with respect to beauty, merchandize, and the conveniencies of life, the province is no way comparable to many of the former.

Del Rey.

THE last province of *Brazil* is that called *Del Rey*, or the royal captainship, extending from the river *St. Francisco*, northward, quite to the *La Plata*, southward. This captainry merits its title of eminence, from the great abundance whch it yields of the precious metal. It has been laid down by a variety of geographers, as a province of *Paraguay*; but nothing

nothing can be more certain than that the *Portuguese* number it among their *Brasilian* settlements, and possess a great variety of strong forts along the *Rio de la Plata* for the security of a colony so important to the mother-country, and inviting to the enemies of *Portugal*.—Besides their settlements in the above-mentioned provinces of the continent, the *Portuguese* have established a regular colony on the island of *St. Catharine*, which now flourishes extremely; although it was originally peopled by the convicts and outlaws transported from *Brasil* and *Portugal*. The island is above twenty miles in length, six in breadth, stands in twenty-seven degrees thirty-five minutes south latitude, and is, in fact, one of the most beautiful, temperate, and fertile spots in the universe. Upon the whole, we may judge, from this short survey, of the importance of the *Brasilian* colonies, which would inevitably raise the mother-country to a great height of affluence and commercial power, were a few political errors remedied.

BEFORE we quit the subject, it will be necessary to touch *Peculiar* upon a few peculiarities in the inhabitants, by which *customs and* they are distinguished from the other *Americans*. On the first *opinions of* arrival of the *Portuguese* in the country, the natives were divided into contending states and factions, which enabled the invaders to render the whole an easy prey by balancing cautiously between the different interests. To justify these conquests, the *Brasilians* have been represented as a savage people, devoid of all principles of religion, cruel in war, and cannibals, or devourers of human flesh; yet the buccaneers, who penetrated into different parts of the country, deny this last circumstance, and affirm, that no such practice prevailed even among the *Caribbees*; the most barbarous of all the *American* nations. *Knivet* indeed alledges, that being left sick on shore by captain *Cavendish* in 1592, and, with twelve *Portuguese*, taken prisoner by the *Indians*, they broiled and eat the flesh of his companions, but saved his life, because they took him to be a *Frenchman*. In *Purchas* we meet with a minute relation of the ceremony previous to this bloody festival; but as it favours strongly of fiction, we shall think it sufficient to refer the curious reader to the passage^a. What credit can be given to a writer who affirms, that the inhabitants of *Tucuman* are pigmies; and that at the *Straits of Magellan*, he met with another nation of dwarfs, whose stature did not exceed five spans, whose mouths reached from ear to ear, and who had other marks of deformity scarce to be met with in individual, of the human species, much less characteristic of whole nations.

^a Vol. iv. p. 1217. v. v. p. 914.

THE same *Knivet*, whose monstrous falsties have been so carefully recorded by *Purchas*, acquaints us, that he knew divers *Brasilians* possessed by devils, and some who were killed by evil spirits. He once heard an *Indian* expostulating with the devil, and threatening to turn Christian if the spirit did not cease to torment him. But the *Portuguese* will not allow that those *Indians* are at all tinctured with the notion of any religion, and yet they confess they have priests, and admit of a state of rewards and punishments, as the deserts of cowardice or valour. The prevailing notion among them, that after death they shall visit their ancestors dwelling beyond the *Andes*, evidently proves, that they entertain sentiments of religion, however gross and absurd they may appear to us who are blessed with the light of the Gospel; and whatever the *Portuguese* may think, that without images there can be no religion, we must confess ourselves fully of opinion the *Brasilians* believed in certain invisible beings, the disposers of good and evil, the rewarders or punishers of vice and virtue, in which consists religious belief. As to their having no temples, it may arise from their profound reverence for the Deity; who is not to be circumscribed by time or place, or worshipped in the mean trifling houses erected by human labour, but under that glorious canopy of the heavens spread out by his own hands.

NOR is the other notion propagated by travellers, that the *Brasilians* live without any regard to government, more consonant to truth. Even those writers who deny they have any policy, speak of their kings, generals, and caziques: and they even admit that there is a scale of subordination among them, from the meanest slave to the greatest monarch; which can be nothing else than a social institution, though perhaps less refined than in *European* countries, where all proceeds according to explicit written laws. If one man injures another in *Brasil*, he is obliged to make him satisfaction in kind, the *lex talionis* being the fundamental principle of justice among the *Indians*. There are persons whose special business it is to administer justice to the people, in the name of the king or chief; and commonly the prince sits in person at the board of equity. No people on earth display more hospitality and civility to strangers, than the *Brasilians*; and this is acknowledged by the *Portuguese* writers themselves, while they are endeavouring to stigmatize those generous savages with the odious appellation of cannibals. The rites observed at funerals, is a farther proof of their belief of a future state. The friends and relations of the deceased set up a lamentable howl, and praise alternately the beauty, strength, talents, and vir-

ties of their departed relation, crying out, in the most melancholy voice, they shall never see him more until they dance with him beyond the mountains. When these wailings have lasted for the space of six hours, preparation is made for burying the corps in a sitting posture, with a dome erected over by way of vault, in which is deposited all manner of provision, to support the departed spirit on his tedious journey. As to the master of the family, he is usually honoured with a tomb in the middle of his own house, that he may be the better attended; and his monument is generally adorned with the most beautiful feathers and other ornaments.

WITH respect to the knowledge of the *Brasilians* in the art of war, it consisted wholly in the use of bows, arrows, wooden clubs or swords, and shields. Singly, they fought with great address and agility; but when they attacked in a body, all was confusion and tumult. The *Brasilians* had no idea of separating great bodies of men into smaller corps, or of charging or sustaining an assault in lines and ranks; they rushed on precipitately, and overthrew themselves with their eagerness. Their marches and retreats were rapid beyond measure, as they never encumbered themselves with baggage; and their principal security consisted in the exceeding velocity of their movements, which could not fail to disconcert a regular enemy. They would march day and night without halting, make their attack upon a quarter where they were least expected, disappear again in an instant, and by this means elude the vengeance which they could not withstand. They had no fortifications or walls to their towns, which exposed them extremely to the ravages and sudden incursions of a hostile neighbour; but as the advantage was mutual, until the arrival of the *Europeans*, the inconvenience arising from their open situation was not perceived.—Such were the ancient *Brasilians*, according to the most authentic relations; with respect to the modern race, they are nearly the same in the interior countries, where the manners of the *Portuguese* and multitudes of imported negroes have not yet mixed themselves with the original customs.

NORTH of the province of *St. Vincent*, and at the distance of thirty miles from the interior frontier, is the little republic of *St. Paul*, surrounded by inaccessible mountains and almost impervious forests. This state was composed of outlaws from all the colonies, *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *Creoles*, *Mestizoes*, *Mulattoes*, *Negroes*, who took refuge on this spot, and lived at first without order, society, faith, honour, or religion; preying upon each other, and subsisting by mutual rapine and the plunder of their neighbours. The inconveniencies of this

Republic
of St.
Paul.

kind of life, and the necessity of amity among themselves; in order to resist or attack with more vigour, soon drove them into confederacies, which gradually subsided in a regular democratical society, in which they preside alternately over public affairs. Were they more numerous, they would be formidable to the *Portuguese* colonies: but as they are not reputed above four thousand in number; as they are deprived of fire-arms, and are now less troublesome than formerly, they give no apprehension, and consequently no attempts are made to reduce the *Paulists* to the dominion of the crown of *Portugal*. At present, the little community claims intire independence, though they pay an annual sum to the king out of their gold mines, rather to preserve certain commercial benefits, than to acknowledge his sovereignty. The capital town is called *St. Paul*; it is reported to be neat, well built, and opulent, the mines of the republic being exceedingly rich: however, as the people express great jealousy of strangers, nothing certain hath transpired, all the accounts we have being taken from the relation of negro-slaves who found means to desert the service.

Country of
the Ama-
zons,

THE interior country towards the west is almost utterly unknown to the *Europeans*, except just along the banks of the river of *Amazons* and the western frontiers of the *Portuguese* colonies in *Brazil*. This vast tract of country, separated by the Equator from *Terra firma* on the north, skirted by *Brazil* and the *Atlantic Ocean* on the east, and hemmed in by the river *La Plata* towards the south, derives its name from a supposed nation of female warriors, reported by the first *European* adventurers to inhabit both banks of the river called *Amazon*. Voyages were made by divers *Spaniards* down this great river, which has its source in the province of *Quito*, and traverses in a winding course the whole continent of *South America*. The celebrated *M. Condamine* not many years since made a voyage down the river of *Amazons*, and has published a very judicious and entertaining journal of that adventure, to which we must refer the reader, as it would greatly exceed our limits to epitomize it in such a manner as to render the abstract useful or entertaining. In general it is agreed among travellers, that the temperature of the air is more moderate in this country, than could well be expected from its near situation to the Equator. This is ascribed to the heavy rains, which almost deluge the lands at certain seasons, and occasion the rivers to overflow their banks, cool the air, and fertilize the soil; and the brisk easterly gales which blow from the *Atlantic* across the country so strong, that vessels are enabled to perform the voyage up against the stream, as readily as down the river

river of *Amazon*. The face of the country is beautifully covered with herbage and fruit-trees, which display the bloom of spring and the ripeness of autumn at the same time. The commodities of the country are iron wood, so called from its weight and density, logwood, canela, or spurious cinnamon, and several drugs and dying woods. It also produces maize and cassavi root in great abundance, of which the natives make bread; tobacco, cotton, sugar, and all the articles of commerce specified in our description of *Brazil*. The natives are, like almost all the *Americans*, of good stature, have handsome features, long black hair, and copper complexions, differing wholly from the natives of *Africa* in the very same latitude, on the opposite side of the *Atlantic*. They are reported to have a taste for the imitative arts, especially sculpture and painting, and frequently excel in mechanical professions, considering the scanty opportunity they have for improvement. As to the *Amazonian* race, if ever such a people existed, except in the fruitful imagination of the relators, it is wholly extinct; and probably the notion arose from the activity and courage which the females of this country exerted, in the defence of their privileges, against the encroachments of foreigners. Both sides the river are inhabited by distinct nations, governed by their chiefs or caziques; for it is observable, that a monarchical state of government prevails universally among barbarians, as requiring a less refined policy than a republican system. As the Jesuits are reported to have found their way into this country, we may soon expect to hear of extraordinary alterations, and possibly of a similar policy with that established in *Paraguay*, to compensate the late decline of their power since the defeat of their army by the united forces of *Spain* and *Portugal*; an event of which no authentic account hath yet transpired.

THE last country which we have to describe in our course along the coast of this vast peninsula, is the province of *Guiana*, or *Caribæana*, properly a part of *Terra firma*, bounded by the river *Oronoko* and the Northern or *Atlantic Ocean* on the north and east, by the country of the *Amazons* on the south, and the provinces of *Grenada* and *New Andalusia* on the west. The extent of the province is above twelve hundred miles from east to west; that is, from the mouth of the river *Oronoko* under the Equator, to the mouth of the river of *Amazons*; and near six hundred miles from north to south, from the frontiers of *New Grenada* and *Andalusia* to the *Atlantic Ocean*. Most geographers divide this country into two parts, which have different names, although the same appellation has been given in a general view to the whole country. The

coast along the *Atlantic* is distinguished by the name of *Caribbeana Proper*, and the interior country called *Guiana Proper*, or *El Dorado*, by the *Spaniards*, on account of the immense quantity of gold supposed to be lodged in the bowels of the earth within this district. The *Portuguese*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have all settlements along the coast; and that part of the country south of *Cape North*, has of late years been wholly ceded to the *Portuguese*, and is included among the *Brazil* colonies; but the natives are possessed of the whole interior country. They are numerous, divided into a variety of different nations, and reported to be governed by a regular system of polity, with the same manners, customs, and religion established in *Peru*, and to possess a number of handsome, populous, and flourishing cities. Yet this is directly contradicted by some writers, who affirm, that nothing is to be met with in the interior parts besides a few straggling villages, composed of wretched huts, which the inhabitants frequently desert, leading a vagrant unsettled life, in the manner of the wild *Arabs* and *Tartars*. Their furniture consists of little more than the hammocks they sleep in, sometimes fastened to the ridge poles of their huts, and frequently to trees, under no other cover than the heavens; and a few earthen pots, gourds, and calabashes. To reconcile relations so exceedingly different, is more than we can presume; we cannot, however, avoid remarking, that it is very extraordinary there should be such imperfect accounts of a country so long frequented by the *Europeans*.

ALONG the coast the land is low, marshy, and subject to inundations from a multitude of rivers, which run precipitately in the rainy season from the inland mountains. Hence it is that the atmosphere is suffocating, hot, moist, and unhealthy; especially where the woods have not been cleared away. Indeed the *Europeans* are forced, on account of their commerce, to live in the most disagreeable situations, and fix their colonies at the mouths of rivers, amidst stinking marshes, and the putrid ooze of salt-morasses, for the conveniency of exportation and importation. In their persons, the natives resemble the inhabitants of the more northern parts of *Terra firma*. Their stature is nearly the same; but their complexions of a darker copper colour, arising probably from their dwelling under a vertical sun. There is nothing either gigantic or diminutive to be met with, as was affirmed by the first discoverers; but every thing analogous to the rest of the creation. The *Indians* in the neighbourhood of the *Europeans* have imitated some of their customs, and now cover their bodies with a kind of clothing, for the sake of decency, of which formerly they had

idea. In ornaments they differ but little from all the other Americans, who delight in strings of beads and shells suspended round their necks, plates of gold or silver in their noses, and large earrings of the same metal.

FROM the river of *Amazons* to *Cape d'Orange* is wholly possessed by the *Indians*; containing two hundred and forty miles of a coast extremely dangerous, on account of the high tides and vast furies which lash the shore. This likewise is one of the most unwholesome parts of the country, as is experienced by the *European* shipping, whenever their affairs oblige them to touch upon the coast; even the natives are subject to endemial distempers, arising partly from the foulness of the atmosphere, constantly loaded with putrid exhalations, and also from the nature of the soil, which is so marshy as scarce to afford a dry spot for building their mean huts and wretched villages. Hence it is, that they frequently build in the trees, more in the manner of the feathered kind than of human beings. The chief trade carried on here is for seals and other sea-animals, found in great abundance between *Cape d'Orange* and the river of *Amazons*. Some writers distinguish this tract of maritime country by the appellation of *Indian Guiana*, a name more properly given to the interior country behind the *European* settlements.

THE next district is called *French Guiana*, or *Old Cayenne*, which some choose to distinguish by the name of *Equinoctial France*, because it extends so near the equator from the eastern banks of the river *Marani* in six degrees twenty-five minutes of south, to four degrees ten minutes of north latitude; the whole containing a space of above two hundred miles stretching along the coast. The chief settlement of the *French* nation is on the island of *Cayenne*, situated at the entrance of a river of the same name, about an hundred miles north-west of *Cape d'Orange*. The island of *Cayenne* is not reckoned above sixteen or eighteen leagues in circumference; the greater part of the coast being washed by the sea, and the rest surrounded by the waters of two branches of the river. It is well wooded and watered, admirably cultivated, and extremely fertile in sugar, tobacco, maize, herbage, and the necessaries of life; but the *French* fort, at the bottom of the harbour, is wholly supplied with fresh water by rain, which is preserved in large cisterns. Close by the walls of the fort is secure anchorage for a great number of shipping in all seasons of the year, whence this place is of the greatest importance to that nation. Near fort *St. Lewis* is a very considerable town, containing above two hundred houses, occupied by mechanics and tradesmen. The

garrison is strong, and the fort well defended with cannon, and provided against any sudden attack. In the year 1635, the *French* first established themselves on this island, and on the opposite continent, under the conduct of *M. Bretigny*, who lost his life by the hands of the natives, which his accident reduced the colony to the utmost distress; but they bravely defended themselves against numerous armies of *Indians*, until the arrival of a reinforcement. They afterwards abandoned it, and the *English* took possession of the island only to make way for the *French*, who were expelled by the *Dutch* in 1646, under the command of admiral *Binks*. The *Dutch* held their conquest but a short time; they were driven out by the count *d'Estrees*, the *French* admiral, the same year, since which time it has been held by *France*; though the *Hollanders* have made repeated attempts to recover their loss.

IN *Cayenne* there are several populous villages, some of which are chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, who carry on a great trade, and add considerably to the wealth of the island, for which reason chiefly they are tolerated. As the colonists were desirous of extending their influence on the continent, they have built a redoubt on the side of the river to defend its entrance, and have taken other precautions to secure their establishment against the attacks and insults of the maritime powers. Within land they have the fort of *Sinararay*, which answers the purpose of an advanced post; there a hundred men are kept constantly in garrison under the command of two or three officers.

THE last division is *Dutch Guiana*, which extends along the coast from the entrance of the river *Marani*, in six degrees twenty minutes north latitude, to the ninth degree, on the mouth of the river *Oronooko*. The chief settlement is at *Surinam*, a town built within the river of the same name, in six degrees sixteen minutes of north latitude; and this name now extends to the adjacent country for above an hundred miles round. Of this district, the *Hollanders* regard themselves the sovereigns, and behave with the haughtiness peculiar to that nation wherever they have gained a superiority; a conduct by no means agreeable to the natural phlegm of the people, or the wisdom of the constitution, since by gaining the detestation of the natives, they furnish the easy means to any enterprising *European* power to supplant them here, as they have been in *Brazil* by the *Portuguese*, and *New York* by the *English*. The climate is rendered much more wholesome by the industry of the *Dutch*, who have cut avenues through the woods, and made passages

passages for currents of air, that carry off all the unwholesome exhalations which proved fatal to the first colonists. The planters and traders of this place take the name of the *Society of Surinam*, because the settlement is the joint property of the *Dutch West India* company, the city of *Amsterdam*, and the proprietary of *Samelsdyck*; but in what manner their different rights arose, or how they are formed, we cannot inform the reader. The colony is now in the most flourishing situation, and a prodigious trade is carried on not only with *Europe*, but the *West India* islands; especially the *British*. The river of *Surinam* facilitates commerce, being navigable for thirty leagues up the country; and the *Dutch* have been careful to improve the natural situation by all that art and industry could bestow. They have a fort called *Zelandia*, built with bricks, about two leagues from the entrance, and also a small town called *Paramairambo*, containing about four hundred houses, at a little distance from the fort. There are no less than seven or eight inland towns, all of which are rich, populous, and commercial; which evidently proves the flourishing state of the colony, and the assiduity with which this nation improves every advantage, which they have once obtained. The number of plantations belonging to *Dutch* traders are affirmed to exceed four hundred in number, and the families of this nation to amount to a thousand. The colony is governed by a board of ten directors at *Amsterdam*, five of whom are elected by the magistrates of the city, four by the *West-India* company, and one by the proprietary lord of *Samelsdyck*; but the governor must be approved by the states-general; and take an oath to them, as well as to the directors. The principal trade of the colony consists in sugar, tobacco, gums, dying drugs and woods, coffee, cotton, flax, and skins, which are sent to *Holland* in exchange for the commodities of *Europe*, or carried off by the *English*, *French*, and *Spanish* traders of the *West-Indies*. To promote commerce is the first care of the government; the interest of religion is but a secondary purpose. Accordingly there are but four places of worship in the whole district of *Surinam*, and no pains at all is taken to convert the natives; a neglect for which the *Hollanders* are severely treated by the more rigid and superstitious catholic writers. With respect to the government abroad, it is composed of a governor and political council, who charge themselves with all the business of the colony, and are answerable for their conduct to the board of directors, and even to the states-general. The whole district is parcelled out into eight parts, each division being obliged to maintain a company of soldiers, besides

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idea the garrisons, all of whom are under the command of the governor, who is also head of the council as well in quality of a military officer, as of a civil magistrate.

S E C T. XVI.

Containing a history of the first establishment and progress of the British settlements in North America.

HAVING fully discussed the subject of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* colonies on the continent of *America*, in the most natural historical, and geographical order; we now proceed to the *British* and *French* settlements north of the equator, which have been the source of manifold blessings and calamities to both nations, and contributed to raise the northern countries to a height of naval power, never before known in *Europe*, while they involved them in tedious bloody wars, attended with the consumption of immense treasures, and the loss of their bravest subjects. We begin with the *British* colonies, not only as they are immediately contiguous to the *Spanish* province of *Florida*, but the most important and extensive, more especially since the reduction of *Canada*; running in a direct line along the coast of the *Atlantic Ocean*, from the thirty-second almost to the fiftieth degree of north latitude. The great extent to which our labours have necessarily swelled obliges us to brevity; the reader must therefore only expect we should touch upon such particulars as are essential to our purpose of exhibiting a distinct historical, political, and geographical view of the northern continent of *America* (A).

First expeditions of the British nation to North America.
To *Sebastian Cabot*, son to a *Venetian* pilot, but a subject and native of *England*, we owe the discovery of the north-east part of the *American* continent. In the year 1497, he was employed by the seventh *Henry* to discover a north-west passage to *China*; an enterprize in which he failed, although it was attended with happier consequences than were foreseen when the expedition was projected. Thus, if priority of discovery without continued occupancy or possession can communicate right, the *English* have an indisputable claim to the whole country, extending along the coast from the gulph of *Florida* quite to *Labrador*. For the space of a century after the discovery, the *English* neither navigated the coast, nor attempted

(A) By the late peace, the province of *Florida* is ceded to the crown of *Great Britain*.

to establish colonies, which will appear the less extraordinary to the intelligent reader, who reflects on the circumstances of the reigns of the eighth *Henry*, the sixth *Edward*, and the bigotted *Mary*; reigns peculiarly averse to the extension of industry, trade, and navigation. It was late, even in the reign of *Elizabeth*, before that politick princess found leisure to cast her eyes on the colonization of *North America*, so deeply was she engaged in supporting the oppressed protestants of *France* and the *Netherlands*, and curbing the exorbitant pride and power of the house of *Austria*. The success of the *Spaniards* in *Mexico* and *Peru*, as well as their invasion of *Florida*, pointed out the way to other adventurers; yet did *Elizabeth* for many years confine her measures to distressing the commerce of the enemy, plundering the ships, and ravaging the colonies of *Philip*, without a thought of laying the basis of an empire on this continent. A singular advantage, however, arose from these enterprizes; the *English* seamen became acquainted with the navigation of *America*, and obtained several useful hints, not only relative to the *Spanish* colonies, but to countries hitherto unsubdued and uninvaded. Mr. *Raleigh*, afterwards Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Mr. *Ra-* gentleman of good family, a liberal education, enterprising leigh *pro-* genius, and fine talents, first schemed the project for disco- je's a co- vering lands and planting colonies in such parts of *North lony.* *America* as were not actually possessed by other christian powers. In the year 1584, he obtained a patent from the queen to discover, plant, enjoy, hold, and occupy, to him and his heirs for ever, such remote and heathen barbarous countries, on the continent of *America*, as were not possessed by any other *European* potentate, reserving to the crown a fifth of the gold and silver, which should be discovered. No sooner was he vested with this grant, than Mr. *Raleigh* formed an association of his friends, who contributed considerable sums towards the adventure, and enabled him to fit out two ships under the command of the captains *Philip Amidas*, and *Arthur Barlow*. From the tenor of this patent, it is perceivable that the main object of the adventurers was the discovery of gold and silver mines, their views not reaching so far as other commercial advantages, more precious than the richest mines (B).

1584

ALL

(B) In *Purchas's* collection, name of all the coast, afterwards we meet with an account of called *Virginia*, northward of voyages made in the reign of forty degrees north latitude. *Henry VIII.* by Mess. *Thorn* and They only went merely to trade *Elliot* to *Norembequa*, the antient with the natives; but it is as-
serted,

ALL things being in readiness for the voyage, the two captains set sail from *Plymouth* in the month of *April*, the same year; arrived at the *Canaries* on the tenth of the month following; and steered directly for the *Cabbee* islands, which at that time was the usual tedious rout to the continent of *America*, from a mistaken notion, that the current set so powerfully to the northward on the coast of *Florida*, and *Norumbega*, as to require this circuit of above a thousand leagues. Some writers speak as if Mr. *Raleigh* went in person on this expedition; but the most authentic and explicit documents only alledge that the captains *Amidas* and *Barlow* arrived at the island of *Roanoke*, near the mouth of the river *Albermarle* in *North Carolina*, of which they took formal possession in the queen's name; carried on an intercourse with the natives of the island and neighbouring continent; exchanged trinkets for furs, pearls, and coral; met with great civilities from the inhabitants; and then returned to *England*, with two of the natives, without having attempted to settle a colony. The cargo imported consisted chiefly of the articles just mentioned, of *sassafras*, cedar, and a little tobacco; and sold to so much advantage, that the society were encouraged to make fresh efforts. Accordingly, a fleet of seven vessels under the conduct of Sir *Richard Grenville* was equipped the following year by Mr. *Raleigh*, and his associates, who had now tasted the first fruits of their publick spirit.

1585.
Second ex-
pedition.

ON the ninth day of *April* *Grenville* sailed from *Plymouth*, and arrived at the island of *Wokokon*, where the admiral's ship was lost in attempting to enter the harbour. Hence he went, attended by a number of his officers, to the continent, and came to the town of *Scroton*, where he was hospitably received by the inhabitants; but some of them having pilfered a silver cup from the *English*, of which no restitution was made, the admiral gave loose to an imprudent revenge, plundered one of the *Indian* towns, and destroyed their corn fields, and was forced to avoid the rage of the natives by immediate embarkation. He steered for *Cape Hatteras*, was visited by the chief of the country, entered into a friendly intercourse with the natives, and then passed to the island of *Roanoke*, where he remained for the space of six weeks; during which time, he took a survey of the adjacent conti-

serted, that one Mr. *Horn* attempted a settlement, which proved extremely unfortunate, most of the adventurers having

been massacred by the natives. *Vid. Brit. Emp. in Amer. Vol. i. p. 2. Doug. Hist. of Amer. V. i. p. 112.*

nent,

ment, and made several experiments on the quality of the soil, by sowing different kinds of grain. Every thing corresponded so exactly to his wishes, that he left a colony upon the island of one hundred and eight men, under the command of captain *Lane*, and then returned to *England*. The captain, charged with the care of the colony, proved equally diligent and enterprising. Immediately on the departure of the admiral, he made preparation for discovering the continent; and, with this view, proceeded in his boats along the coast to *Cape Henry*, at the entrance of the bay of *Chesapeake*, without the least obstruction or molestation from the natives. His success encouraged him to make the same discoveries to the westward; but in this design he met with opposition. The inhabitants, seized with jealousy, left the intention of the strangers was to render themselves masters of the country, set fire to their corn fields and habitations, and retired with their families from the banks of the river *Morotock*. It was now apparent, that the design of the *English* to establish a footing in the country was suspected by the *Indians*; yet *Lane* was not discouraged. He relied on the advice and assistance of *Wingina*, a petty sovereign, who had professed the greatest friendship for him, in order to betray the colonists into such measures as he hoped would prove fatal to their projects. This artful barbarian persuaded the captain, that near the source of the river *Morotock*, he would meet with great quantities of gold, not above forty days journey to the westward; and find a passage, a short distance from the head of that river, to a great ocean, on the coast of which were astonishing quantities of pearls of immense value. Flattered with this fallacious hope, *Lane* pursued his course in boats up the *Morotock*, and imagining he should be supplied with provision by the natives on each bank, neglected taking any, in consequence of which he was reduced to extreme difficulties. After rowing four days against a strong current, he found the country wholly deserted and laid waste by the inhabitants; but, in hopes of better fortune, he pursued his course under the auspices of the guides furnished by the treacherous prince, until at length his crew had nothing to subsist on but the flesh of two large dogs; which wearied out his perseverance, and obliged him to return much chagrined to the island. The insidious *Wingina* pretended great sorrow for the captain's disappointment, and counterfeited so well that *Lane* again received him into his friendship, and thereby furnished him with the opportunity of setting on foot fresh machinations. The *Indian* entered into private confederacies with the other *Indian* nations, and clandestinely prohibited his own subjects

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subjects from supplying the *English* with provisions, which, he knew would oblige them to divide into small parties in search of subsistence, when they might be attacked with safety. Happily the conspiracy was discovered, and the prince taken prisoner; but the issue must nevertheless have proved fatal to the colonists, as they were now involved in open war with the natives, had not Sir *Francis Drake* seasonably arrived on the coast with a fleet of ships under his command. He had been directed to afford the new colony all manner of assistance which their situation might require, and to leave a ship and a sufficient number of seamen, to enable the adventurers to make fresh discoveries on the continent; but, finding them quite dispirited with losses, disappointments, and hardships, and to a man desirous of returning to their native country, he took the whole colony on board, and abandoned this settlement, which at first bore the most prosperous aspect.

SIR *Francis Drake* had quitted the island of *Roanoke* but a few days, when a vessel loaded with arms, ammunition, provision, and every other necessary arrived there for the use of the colonists; but, not finding the least vestige of an *European*, it was concluded that all the adventurers had been massacred by the natives. Some days after this last ship had quitted the island, Sir *Richard Grenville* arrived there in person with three ships; and notwithstanding he could form no conjecture what became of the former colony, he ventured to leave fifteen men to plant a new settlement on the island, and supplied them with provision, and every necessary to support them comfortably for two years. Early in the year 1587, *Raleigh* equipped three more ships, on board which he put an hundred and fifty adventurers, besides mariners; incorporating them by the name of the borough of *Raleigh*, in *Virginia*. Captain *White* was made governor of the colony, and was assisted by twelve persons, who formed a council, in which was vested the legislative power, and whole direction of the settlement and proposed conquests and acquisitions. This little Squadron, after escaping a variety of dangers and subduing considerable difficulties, arrived safe at the island of *Roanoke*, and governor *White* immediately debarked his people, in hopes of meeting with the small colony lately planted by *Grenville*; but not the least vestige remained, except the bones of one man, who, it was supposed, had been murdered, and perhaps devoured by the savage inhabitants. A house built by the first planters was found in tolerable order, which proved some inducement to winter on the island, contrary to *Raleigh's* instructions, which required them to advance northward to the bay of *Cheesapeake*, and there fix the colony.

They

Corporation
of
Raleigh.

They had been but a few days on the island, when *Mr. Howe*, a gentleman of the court of assistants, was attacked and barbarously murdered by the natives, as he happened to stroll about at a little distance from the fort which the new planters had erected.

A few days after, a party was sent under the command of captain *Stafford* to *Croaton*, accompanied with one of the *Indians* brought over to *England* in the first expedition. At first, the natives seemed determined to oppose the captain's debarkation; but the persuasions of their countryman, who had conceived the strongest friendship for the *English*, made them alter their resolution, lay down their arms, and enter into an alliance against the *Indians* of *Scroton* on the continent. Upon this occasion it was they were informed of the fate of the little colony left by *Grenville*. Seven were killed by the *Indians* of *Scroton*, who fell upon them by surprise, and set fire to their houses in the night; while the remaining eight escaped to the water-side, went over to a little island near cape *Hatteras*, and were never since heard of. In consequence of this intelligence, it was resolved to fall upon the *Scrotons*; upon which expedition the governor set out in person, attended by twenty-eight select soldiers, well-armed. Being informed of the situation of the principal town, he attacked it in the night, broke in with the greatest impetuosity, and was astonished to find that he had killed and wounded several of his allies, the *Croatons*, who had taken possession of the place, when it was evacuated by the enemy, upon suspicion of an attack from the *English* settlement to revenge the death of *Mr. Howe*, and the ruin of *Grenville's* little colony.

It was now found expedient to detach *Mr. White*, the governor, to solicit supplies from *England*, the extension of the colony's connections rendering a greater force necessary; accordingly, he quitted *Raanoke*, but met with the utmost difficulty in executing his commission. *Sir Walter Raleigh* was either too much engaged in other projects to attend to the views of his infant colony, or his interest with the court and influence upon his friends was on the decline. Two years elapsed before a step was taken for the relief of the new corporation, by which the adventurers were reduced to the necessity of evacuating the island; burying their effects, and removing, for their greater security and convenience, to the island of *Croaton*. At length, a slender reinforcement was procured, with which governor *White* set sail for *Raanoke*; but, meeting with a storm, the fleet put back to *England*, and left the colonists to shift for themselves. The result was,

and that the promising settlement was entirely ruined, all the adventurers having perished either by famine, or the sword of the Indians: not an individual ever returning to England.

Capt. Gilbert's expedition.
1602.

FROM this time to the year 1602, all expeditions to America were neglected, and schemes on which the most sanguine expectations were founded, seemed to be wholly abandoned. The first revival of the enterprize was under the captains Gilbert and Gesnold, who set sail from Plymouth, in the month of March, with thirty-two mariners and other adventurers; arrived at that part of Virginia, now called New England, in the forty-second degree of north latitude; sailed thence to the promontory, since distinguished by the name of Gilbert Point; and built a fort on a little uninhabited island, which they called Elizabeth, about four miles from the continent, in forty-one degrees, north latitude. For some time they corresponded in the most friendly manner with the inhabitants of the opposite coast, who came over to them in boats and canoes; but some little differences arising which threatened a war, the adventurers were discouraged from carrying their plan into execution, and returned to England with a cargo of sassafras, cedar, deer and beaver skins, with some other commodities of the country, which indemnified the charges of the expedition.

1603.
Pringe's expedition.

THE year following, a scheme was set on foot by the reverend Mr. Hacluit, prebendary of the cathedral of Bristol; for sending a small fleet on the same voyage; but, lest the project might interfere with the patent granted to Raleigh; application was made to that gentleman for leave to trade and plant a colony within his jurisdiction, which was readily obtained. Mr. Hacluit offered to embark in person on the enterprize, and, by his credit, formed a little association to trade to Virginia, and plant a colony, if circumstances favoured the design; however, it was thought advisable not to hazard a large capital at first, and only two small vessels were sent out under the command of captain Pringe, who made a successful voyage, but returned to England, without attempting to establish a settlement.

1605.
Weymouth's expedition.

TWO years after a ship was equipped by two enterprizing publick-spirited noblemen, the lords Southampton and Arundel; to prosecute discoveries, the conduct of which was entrusted to captain Weymouth. This adventurer set sail in the month of March, and arrived the following Whitsunday at the mouth of Hudson's river, on the continent of North America, to which for this reason, he gave the name of Pentecost harbour. At first his voyage was successful, he traded with the natives

...
...
... kidnapping some of the Indians; he was forced to quit
the coast abruptly, to avoid the effects of their resentment, and
take his departure for England.

Nor had hitherto had been successfully attempted to-
wards planting colonies on the continent of *North America*;
yet, the voyages, made with so much profit to that coast,
evinced all the mercantile part of the nation of the publick
utility of the measure. For a long time gold and silver were
the only objects deemed of importance; but now it was per-
ceived, that other commodities imported from *America* were
equal in value to the precious metals; and, when manu-
factured at home, would not fail of causing a perpetual
efflux of riches from the treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*, as
well as from every kingdom of *Europe*. A sense of this in-
duced a body of gentlemen and merchants to solicit his ma-
jesty to grant them a patent for raising a joint stock, in order
to plant colonies in *Virginia*, the grant made to Sir *Walter*
Raleigh being void by his attainder. Accordingly a patent
was issued on the tenth day of *April*, empowering Sir *Thomas*
Yates, Sir *George Summers*, the above-mentioned reverend
gentleman, and divers others, specified in the patent, to divide
themselves into two companies, consisting of the adventurers
of the city of *London*, who were desirous of settling between
the thirty-fourth and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude; and
the adventurers of *Bristol*, *Plymouth*, and *Exeter*, who solicited
to settle on the *Virginia* coast, between the thirty-eighth and for-
ty fifth degrees of the same latitude. They were further enabled
to establish settlements within any part of the above limits,
but in such a manner, that the colonies of each company
should be distant a hundred miles from those of the other;
to enjoy all lands, ports, rivers, fishing, and other property
and privilege, in the same manner granted to *Raleigh's* co-
lony; to establish a council, composed of thirteen persons, in
whom the government should reside, but limited by certain
articles under the privy-seal; to dig mines within and beyond
their respective limits to the westward, paying the crown a fifth
of the gold, and a fifteenth of the copper ore, they should discover
and work; to coin money, raise troops for their defence; and,
lastly, to seize upon all ships, vessels, and traders, who should
encroach on the terms of their patent (C). In consequence,
three vessels were immediately equipped, and put under the
command of captain *Newport*. An hundred and ten adven-
turers, besides the seamen, embarked, and all manner of imple-

1606.
Companies
of Lon-
don and
Bristol.

(C) At the head of the West *Popham*, chief justice; and *Ferdin-*
Country company, were Sir *J. nand Gorges*, governor of *Plymouth*.

1607. ments for building, agriculture, and defence, were shipped; but the orders for the government of the colony, and the names of the gentlemen, who were to compose the council, were sealed up, with directions not to be opened, until the whole were safely landed. On the twenty-ninth day of the month of *April*, the little squadron had the good fortune, after a very tedious voyage, to make the bay of *Cheesapeake*, into which they were driven by a storm; the troops landed on *Cape Henry*, in thirty-seven degrees, and soon came to action with the *Indians*, who lay for them in ambush; but dispersed themselves on the first discharge of the fire arms. Next day, they came with the tokens of peace and friendship, threw down their bows and arrows, invited the *English* to their town, and entertained them with the utmost hospitality.

THE first business of the new colony was to break open the seal of their instructions, upon which it appeared that the following gentlemen were appointed of the council; namely, *Bartholemew Geshold*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *John Smith*, *John Ratcliff*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*. *Wingfield* was elected president, and Mr. *Smith* intirely left out of the council by his colleagues, who appear to have been jealous of his superior talents, and the confidence reposed in his discretion and abilities by the managers in *England*; at least, this is the reason insinuated by *Purchas*, and it is rendered probable by the circumstance of his having been detained a prisoner, since the departure of the squadron from the *Downs*, and afterwards vested with the chief administration, when the affairs of the colony fell into disorder. One of the council was immediately appointed to treat with the chiefs of different *Indian* tribes, with whom he entered into alliance, having obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient spot, fifty miles from the entrance of the river *Powhatan*, by the *English* called *James* river. Here a slight fort, barricadoed with trunks of trees, and a number of little huts were erected, to which they gave the name of *James* town. The situation was on the point of a peninsula, secured on each side by navigable rivers, and, in the rainy season, formed into a perfect island, which was deemed a sufficient defence against the natives; yet it soon appeared that stronger fortifications were required, as all the friendly professions of the *Indians* were designed only to cover their treachery. In the night, their canoes surrounded the peninsula, but, finding the *English* on their guard, they retreated without making any attempt; and, by this shew of hostility, put the colonists on their guard. Accordingly the plan of the fort was amended and enlarged, and,

James-
Town
built.

and, by the strength of *James*, it was fortified of a triangular form, with three bastions, each mounted with five pieces of artillery. After sowing corn, and providing the colony with every necessary, captain *Newport* returned with the fleet to *England*, leaving an hundred and four effective men in *James-Town*, who soon felt all the inconveniencies of wanting vessels, and were reduced to live chiefly upon the fruits and roots of the country. Disease was the consequence; all were seized with fluxes and fevers, and many perished; among whom was *Gesfold*, one of the council, and several other gentlemen of consideration. More were cut off by the natives, as they wandered about in the woods in search of subsistence, and the poor remains of the colony were closely besieged in the fort. This wretched situation forced them to have recourse to captain *Smith*, whose abilities only promised any prospect of deliverance from their present misery. He took upon him the administration, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the *Indians* in the first skirmish, and doomed as a sacrifice to their vengeance, when his life was providentially saved by the interposition of a lady, daughter to one of the *Indian* chiefs. Soon after she obtained his liberty by the strongest intercession to her father, and continued to give the captain minute information of all the machinations and stratagems of her countrymen against the *English*; by which means he was enabled to defeat their designs, and gain many signal advantages, insomuch that he sustained the colony from sinking, until the arrival of captain *Newport* with supplies from *England*. Now again the colony rose to a flourishing pitch, but was scarce arrived at the summit of prosperity, when misconduct and discord again plunged them in the deepest adversity. A war broke out with the *Indians*, which reduced the adventurers to such difficulties, that they were frequently on the point of abandoning the settlement. Many were the vicissitudes of fortune in the course of a few years; *James Town* was destroyed by fire, and again rebuilt by captain *Smith*; the *Indians* had been repeatedly defeated by this gentlemen, but they were not subdued; and supplies were frequently sent from *England*, but they were embezzled by the villany of the agents, or destroyed by the machinations of the *Indians*; who, upon this occasion, seemed to have a great advantage over the *Europeans* in subtilty, address, and unanimity. Some blamed the company at home, others the managers abroad, for the miscarriage of the undertaking; at last, the company obtained a new patent, empowering them to appoint a governor with more ample authority than was allowed by the former grant, and prevailed

The History of America

Lord De- on the lord *Delaware* to accept of the government of the new
lawmade colony, who appointed *Sir Thomas Yates*, *Sir George Summers*,
governor. and captain *Newport* his deputies, to take into their hands
the administration until his arrival. With these forces, the
three deputy governors set sail for *James-Town*, in the year
1609, and were unfortunately shipwrecked on the islands of
Bermudas, from which accident they have since been called
the *Summer Islands*. The whole fleet consisted of nine ships,
eight of which got safe to *Virginia*, with a reinforcement
of near five hundred men; a force that might have retrieved
the affairs of the colony, had not discord blighted the most
promising hopes. Faction became so violent, that every
measure of defence and safety was forgot; sickness and fa-
mine prevailed, which, together with the sword, reduced the
whole number to about fourscore men able to carry arms.

IN this wretched situation was the colony on the arrival
of the deputy-governors, who had been cast away on the
Bermudas, where they made shift to build two vessels out of
the wreck and timber found on the islands. The state of
anarchy and confusion, in which they found the plantation,
left them little hopes of establishing order and restoring dis-
cipline; they therefore resolved to embark for *England*, and
were actually sailing out of the bay, when they were met by
the lord *Delaware*, their governor, who obliged them all to
return to *James-Town*, severely reprimanding them for their
idleness, dissoluteness, discord, and want of resolution and
publick spirit. He recommended a change of manners, and
alteration of behaviour, to prevent the necessity of exerting
the power with which he was vested, and drawing the sword
of justice to correct and punish the vices of those, whom he
had much rather protect with the last drop of his blood. To
encourage them, he said he had brought such abundance of
provision, as could not but be sufficient for their ample main-
tenance, if they were not wanting to themselves in cultivat-
ing the earth, and providing for their future subsistence.
Then he proceeded to appoint a council, composed of *Sir*
Thomas Yates, his lieutenant general; *Sir George Summers*, his
admiral; the honourable *George Percy*, one of his captains;
Sir Ferdinando Weinman, his master of the ordnance; and
Christopher Newport, his vice-admiral: to all of whom he
administred oaths of obedience and allegiance to the govern-
ment. Such was the vigour and activity of his lordship's
administration, that he soon restored the affairs of the co-
lony; and, by a few well-timed acts of resolution, made
himself feared by the neighbouring *Indians*, and respected by
his own people. He dispatched his lieutenant, *Sir Thoma*

Then, to England, to lay before the company an account of the state of the colony, and returned part of the fleet freighted with cedar, plank, walnut, and iron ore; commodities which were not thought equal to the expences of the undertaking. However, they were kept in good humour by Sir Thomas's report, that if persons skilful in extracting pitch and tar, and cultivating hemp, flax, and silk, were sent over, they might easily supply Great Britain with abundance of the most valuable articles of commerce. He affirmed the soil was exceeding fruitful, and produced the greatest plenty of grass, corn, fruits, and roots; that European cattle multiplied exceedingly, and that the abundance of fish, poultry and venison, with which the inland and coasts abounded, must always preserve the colony in the utmost plenty, as soon as they were properly supplied with the materials of hunting, fishing, and husbandry. Instead of being a charge to the company, he asserted the plantation would soon yield returns, far beyond their most sanguine expectations. Flattered with this prospect, they resolved to proceed with alacrity in improving the *Virginian* settlement; and they were confirmed, in these sentiments by lord *Delaware*, who returned this year to England for the recovery of his health, which had sustained a violent shock from the change of climate, and the diligence and activity which he exerted in promoting the interest of his constituents. His lordship acquainted the company that he had no intention to desert their service, but to recover his health, in order to promote their affairs with redoubled diligence. In his absence he appointed the honourable captain *Percy* his deputy, a person in whose abilities and integrity, they might place the utmost confidence. Three additional forts were erected for the further security of the colony; several fields were cultivated, and afforded a prospect of a plentiful harvest; most of the *Indian* tribes respected the *English*; and captain *Argel* established an advantageous traffic with several of the principal and leading personages in the country.

1610.

So favourable a report, founded upon undoubted authority, inspired the new company with high expectations; they resolved now not to suffer an ill-timed penury to obstruct the execution of so plausible a project, and accordingly dispatched captain *Dale* with three ships, and supplies of provisions, live cattle, arms, ammunition, and all the requisite implements of industry. In the month of August, Sir Thomas *Yates* arrived with six ships in *Virginia*, taking upon him the administration of affairs, in quality of deputy to lord *Delaware*. Immediately he entered upon the vigorous execution

1611.

of his duty; planted and fortified *Henric* county to the westward of the settlement; drew lines and secured them with palisadoes to prevent the irruptions of the *Indians*, who seized every opportunity of carrying off the *English* cattle. What contributed greatly to forward the affairs of the colony was the marriage of captain *Rolf* with the princess *Pacabunca*, daughter to the great chief *Powhatan*, who could never before this event be brought into a cordial amity with the *English*; but, softened by the kind treatment which his daughter met with at *James-Town*, he, at last, entered into a sincere alliance with the colony. The influence of this prince extended beyond his own dominions; other nations were induced to follow his example, and, for some time, a very profitable trade was driven with the *Indians*, and discoveries were made far beyond the limits of the charter. The tobacco plant was now cultivated with success, and the profits, arising from this commodity, soon afforded the happiest presages of the flourishing state of the settlement. In the year 1618, his lordship embarked a second time to resume the government, carrying with him a reinforcement of two hundred men, and supplies for the colony, but he unfortunately breathed his last in the passage, together with forty of his attendants. At this time, the administration was in the hands of Mr. *Argol*, who was indefatigable in making discoveries on the coast of *New England*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Acadia*; from whence he had driven some parties of *French* who had attempted to make settlements; claiming all this coast, as the right of the crown of *England*, and part of the country called by the general name of *Virginia*. It being represented that Mr. *Argol* bent his whole application to the discovery of new countries, without making the proper advantage of those already in possession, he was recalled, leaving the government in the hands of Mr. *Powel*, until the arrival of Sir *George Yardly*, lately knighted by king *James*, and appointed his successor in the government by the company. To this gentleman was owing the cultivation of tobacco, and the new modelling of the government, which he was desirous should resemble the *British* constitution composed of two houses of parliament, and a sovereign. The number of the council was increased, intending this body should represent the house of lords; while the house of commons was composed of burgesses, assembled from every plantation and settlement in the country. The first session of this assembly was in 1620, at *James-Town*; both sate in the same house, but they soon after separated, and composed two different departments with distinct privileges.

THIS was the origin of our first settlement on the continent of *North America*, from which numberless other branches shot forth along the coast; which, in a short time, raised the *British* colonies to a powerful empire. The success of *James-Town* plantation animated divers other adventurers to similar enterprizes. Some, from religious motives, desired a retreat, where they might freely exercise the dictates of conscience; others were impelled by avarice or ambition to the most daring attempts; many were driven by necessity to try their fortune; and thus, from different causes, and with different intentions, multitudes transported themselves annually to the continent of *America*, where they formed a balance to the *Spanish* power on the opposite side. We shall now enter upon the history and description of the several provinces subject to the crown of *Great Britain*, from the gulph of *Florida*, stretching along the coast quite to the fiftieth degree of north latitude; and that the account of the establishment of the plantations may agree as nearly as possible with chronological order, we shall begin with *Newfoundland*, the most northern colony, and proceed southward to *Georgia*, the latest *English* settlement on this coast; though contrary to the geographical disposition observed when we described the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* conquests and dominions. This, although an island, we shall venture to begin with, on account of its contiguity to the continent, and importance to the *British* colonies and marine, because of the cod-fishery on its coasts, and the opportunity it affords of carrying on to advantage that valuable branch of commerce.

NEW FOUNDLAND.

THIS island, discovered by *Sebastian Cabot* in the year 1497: *Account of* is of a triangular form, about three hundred leagues in the discovery circuit, divided by a narrow channel from *Nova Scotia* to the very of south, and *Canada* to the north, and situated between forty-Nine and fifty-one degrees of north latitude. The *French* Newfoundland pretend a prior discovery, alledging that the fishermen of *and the Biscay* frequented the banks of *Newfoundland* before the establishment of *Columbus*; but, this assertion being confirmed by no kind of authentic proof or testimony, they rest their claim to the country on a later discovery, made by *Verazzan*, a *colony on the island.* *Florentine* adventurer, in the service of *Francis I.* Admitting, however, the truth of this ideal adventure, it conveys no right to the *French* nation, as *Cabot* confessedly touched upon that coast several years before, and took formal possession of this island, and *Norumbegua*, from whence he carried off three

of the natives. But not to insist upon pretensions, now justly precluded by repeated subsequent treaties, we shall proceed to relate the first voyages made by the *English* to *Newfoundland*; either for the purposes of commerce, or with intention to settle a colony on the island.

In the reign of *Henry VIII.* Mr. *Elliot* and Mr. *Thorn*, two enterprising adventurers, traded thither with leave from the crown, and to such advantage that Mr. *Hare*, a gentleman of eminence in the mercantile way, proposed the scheme of making a settlement, and persuaded several of his friends to assist him in the execution. The expedition was extremely unfortunate; the adventurers were reduced to such wretchedness, through famine, that they are reported to have devoured each other, and to feed upon putrid human carcases. For some years all thoughts of prosecuting the discovery were relinquished by the *English*, by which means, the *French* and *Portuguese* contrived to gain a footing on the island, and to carry on a profitable trade in fish and furs. In 1579, Mr. *Cotton*, a merchant of *Southampton*, employed captain *Whitburn*, in a ship of three hundred tons to fish for cods on the great bank, but the excess of cold obliged him to put into *Trinity* harbour, where he employed himself so diligently that, with fish and other commodities, he cleared the expences of the voyage. The same officer was again employed by Mr. *Crook*, a merchant of *Southampton*, to repeat the voyage; and, during his residence in *Newfoundland*, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* arrived, with a small squadron of two ships and a pinnace, with a commission from queen *Elizabeth* to take possession of the island for the crown. In the year 1585, a voyage was made to *Newfoundland* by Sir *Bernard Drake*, another *Devonshire* knight, who seized upon several *Portuguese* vessels, laden with fish, oil, and furs.

THE war with *Spain* now gave interruption to trade and navigation. The spirit of discovery, and an active commerce, were rising fast, but the dread of the *Spanish Armada* for a time checked the ardor of the *British* nation; and, for the space of fourteen years, we meet with no account of any other voyage to this island. Mr. *Guy*, a merchant of *Bristol*, was the first, who again revived the spirit of conquest and trade, by several sensible treatises, which he wrote upon the subject of colonization and commerce. Animated by the exhortations, and convinced by the arguments, of this gentleman, Sir *Laurence Tanfield*, lord chief baron, Sir *John Doddridge*, king's serjeant, and Sir *Francis Bacon*, then solicitor general, afterwards high chancellor, and lord *Verulam*; with several other persons of distinction, applied to the king

for a grant of all that part of the island, contained between the capes *Banavista* and *St. Mary's*, which they readily obtained, with all the privileges required. They sent a colony thither, under the direction of Mr. *Guy*; who landing his men at *Conception Bay*, immediately raised huts, and established an intercourse with the natives, whose esteem he engaged by the most courteous and humane behaviour. After residing for two years on the island, with little advantage, he returned to *England*; leaving some of his people to lay the first foundation of a colony. The fishing, however, was the great object of the *English*. With this view, captain *Whitburn* and others made several voyages, that gentleman carrying with him, in 1614, a commission from the admiralty to impanel juries, and make enquiry upon oath of divers abuses and disorders committed amongst the fishermen on the coast. Hence it appears, that the trade was confined to the *English*, for the admiralty would hardly take upon themselves the cognizance of crimes and abuses committed by the subjects of another prince. Empowered by this commission, the captain held a court of admiralty immediately on his arrival, and received the complaints of an hundred and seventy masters of *English* vessels, of injuries committed in trade and navigation; from which circumstance we may sufficiently collect the flourishing state of the *English* cod-fishery, even at this early period.

1066.

NEXT year, doctor *Vaughan* purchased a grant from the patentees of part of the country included in their patent; settled a little colony at *Cambriol*, in the southermost part of the island, now called *Little Britain*; appointed *Whitburn* Calvert governor; but made no great progress in extending colonies, and clearing plantations. About the same time, Sir *George Vaughan*, a Roman catholic, petitioned the king for a grant of that part of island lying between the bay of *Bulls* to the eastward, and *Cape St. Mary* to the southward, in order that he might enjoy that freedom of conscience in this retreat, which was denied him in his own country; a request made at the same time by the *Puritans*, who were removing in crowds to *New England*. *James* granted the petition; but how this was managed so as to avoid invading the property of the company, is what we cannot pretend to determine. Before his departure from *England*, Sir *George* sent captain *Edward Wynne*, with a small colony to *Newfoundland*, to prepare every thing necessary for his reception; and, in the mean time, employed his whole fortune and interest in securing the success of his enterprize. *Wynne* bore the commission of governor, he seated himself at *Ferry-Land*, built

little
New-
found-
land.

1621,

the

the largest house ever yet seen on the island, erected granaries and storehouses, and accommodated his people in the best manner possible; while he likewise endeavoured to establish an intercourse and trade with the natives. The following year he was reinforced with a number of men, and supplied with stores and implements by captain *Powel*; and soon after the colony was in so flourishing a condition, that he writes to his superior Sir *George Calvert*, in the following terms: "We have wheat, barley, oats, and beans, eared and coddled; and though the late sowing of them, in *May* or the beginning of *June*, might occasion the contrary, yet they ripen so fast, that we have all the appearance of an approaching plentiful harvest." In the same strain he speaks of his garden, which flourished with all kinds of culinary vegetables. Captain *Powel* confirms this account by a similar letter, in which he acquaints Sir *George* of the excellency of the soil and pasture, the commodiousness of the governor's house, the quantity of pasture and arable ground, cleared since their arrival, and the numerous herds of cattle, which they had already reared and collected. A salt work was erected by Mr. *Wynne*, and brought to great perfection by Mr. *Kickson*, and so delighted was the proprietor, now created lord *Baltimore*, with the flourishing state of the colony, that he removed thither with his family, built a fine house and strong fort at *Ferryland*, and resided many years on the island.

MEAN time the plantations in *Newfoundland* received a considerable accession from *Ireland*, a colony being sent from that kingdom by the lord *Faulkland*, at that time lord lieutenant; but there they sustained more than an equivalent loss by the departure of lord *Baltimore*, who returned to *England*, to obtain a grant on the continent of that country, since called *Maryland*. Still, however, he retained the property of *Avaton*, and governed the little colony at *Ferryland* by his deputies. In the year 1654, Sir *David Kirk* obtained a kind of grant from the parliament of certain lands in *Newfoundland*, and immediately repaired thither in hopes of patching up his broken fortune. He treated with lord *Baltimore* for the purchase of his lands, but could never prevail on this family to dispose of their property. Whether it was before or after his arrival on the island, that he obtained lands in *Canada*, on the banks of the river *St. Laurence*, we cannot presume to ascertain, but that he did possess lands in that country is probable, as the *English* nation has founded its claim to the province upon the grant made to Sir *David*. In the space of a few years, settlements were made in fifteen different parts of the island, the chief of which were *St. John's-Town*,
Ferryland,

Ferryland, and *Kintagity*, the whole amounting to about three hundred families, notwithstanding the molestation given by the *French*, who settled a colony at *Placentia*, and once bid extremely fair for the whole possession of the fisheries. Now the *English* are sole masters of the whole island; though both *French* and *Spaniards* have long claimed the privilege of fishing upon the banks; a claim, the justice of which it belongs to political writers to discuss. It is beyond dispute, that the *French* were once possessed of the south and south-west parts of the island; but as these possessions were conquered in open war, and confirmed to the possessors by treaty, all pretensions founded upon such a right must be absurd and ridiculous.

As to the historical events of the island, since the above colonies were planted, they are of too trivial a nature to deserve place in our general labours. From the time the *French* established themselves at *Placentia*, constant bickerings happened between them and the *English*; and, after the revolution, the latter made a formal attack on the principal settlement of the enemy. The *English* commodore with three ships of war fell upon *Placentia*, and was repulsed. Some years after the *French* retaliated; entered the *Bay of Bulls*, attacked and destroyed an *English* frigate, commanded by captain *Cleasby*, who made a glorious defence; and demolished all the settlements except those at *St. John's*, *Bona-vista*, and *Carboner* harbour. Next year, a squadron under admiral *Nevil*, with a body of fifteen hundred land forces, commanded by Sir *John Gibson*, was sent to revenge and recover the late losses; but the ignorance of the one of these officers, and the cowardice of the other, rendered the expedition fruitless. *Nevil*, with a superior force, declined engaging *Ponti*, the *French* admiral. He pretended to have lost time in a fog, and returned to *England*, without either recovering any of the settlements that were seized, or securing those which remained. At last, the peace of *Ryswyk* interposed for the safety of the *Newfoundland* colonies; nevertheless, king *William* judged it necessary to send a squadron thither, under the command of captain, afterwards admiral, Sir *John Norris* to restore all things to order, and oblige the *French* to observe their stipulations, and for the better encouraging of this beneficial trade, an act passed in parliament, "That no alien, or stranger whatsoever, not residing within the kingdom of *England*, dominion of *Wales*, or town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, use any sort of trade or fishing whatsoever in *Newfoundland*, or any of the adjacent islands." This excluded the *French* from *Cape Breton* and the other smaller

smaller islands, until queen Anne was persuaded by the new ministry to surrender them at the treaty of Utrecht. We omit the siege of *St. John's*, and other hostile transactions previous to this treaty, because none of them proved decisive. What the fate of *Newfoundland* and *Cape Breton*, as well as of the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, may now be, since the late mutual conquests of *France* and *England* in that part of the world, time only can determine. Certain we are, that no terms of pacification, which will relinquish the advantages of the fisheries, or leave room for farther altercation, will be agreeable to the *British* nation, whatever equivalent the enemy may propose.

Description of the country.

HAVING finished this succinct historical detail, we proceed to describe the situation, climate, produce, inhabitants, and government of *Newfoundland*. The whole coast of this island is furnished with a variety of fine bays and harbours, of which the principal are *Bonaville*, *Trinity*, *Conception*, *Torbay*, *Capeelin*, *St. John's Harbour*, the bay of *Bulls*, *Fresh-water Bay*, and some others. The heads of these bays approach so near each other, that they form a very easy communication between the different parts of the country, and would prove the greatest convenience to trade, were the island capable of internal commerce. *Trinity Bay*, large enough to contain any number of shipping, is one of the most beautiful and secure harbours in *North America*; but we do not find that our fleet has ever yet thought it safe to winter there.

WITH respect to the climate of *Newfoundland*, it is intensely hot in summer, and insupportably cold in winter, from the very nature of the situation and a variety of natural causes. For four or five months in the winter, the ground is covered with snow frozen as hard as crystal; and so rigorous are the seasons, that the *English*, upon their first visiting the country, were driven to the woods for the more convenience of firing.

NOTWITHSTANDING the flattering accounts sent over by governor *Wynne* and others, of the excellency of the soil and climate of this island, it is certain the inhabitants would be in the utmost distress for bread, and half the necessaries of subsistence, but for the exports thither from *England*. Except fish, venison, and wild fowl, every thing else is procured from the mother-country, or the continent of *America*. The island is full of mountains and impenetrable forests; the meadows produce nothing besides a kind of moss instead of grass: and the soil is a barren mixture of stones, sand, and gravel. Yet *M. Deloet*, a writer of credit, and many of the first planters, declare *Newfoundland* to be a kind of paradise, with a view possibly of enhancing the value of a country sufficiently important, upon other accounts, without these advantages,

tages. Every species of timber grows here in the utmost perfection, and the fir is as fit for masts as those of *Norway*. Deer, hares, foxes, squirrels, bears, beavers, wolves, otters, and other quadrupeds, are found here in the greatest abundance for subsistence, pleasure, or traffic. The sea is plentifully stocked with different kinds of delicious fish, besides cod, the staple commodity of the country. Fowl for food and game is equally abundant, and proves the greatest convenience to the planters, as well as the mariners and fishermen; but these particulars alone would scarce merit regard, or answer the purposes of adventurers, though they are subservient to their convenience. The cod is the magnet which attracts, and constitutes one of the most beneficial articles of the *British* commerce; yet hath it been shamefully neglected, and the fairest opportunity given the *French* not only of pursuing the fishery to advantage, but of establishing themselves on the island, whence they were driven not without expence, hazard, and difficulty. We need not expatiate upon this subject, so generally understood at a period when the late successes of our enemies in that quarter, have at length awaked us to a sense of the importance of the island of *Newfoundland* to the trade and navigation of the mother-country, and when party-zeal too magnifies the loss, in order to promote the purposes of self-interest, prejudice, and faction (D).

WE shall close this account of the island with a short description of the natives, who have had a much more intimate intercourse with the *French* inhabitants of *Canada* than with the *English*; a proof of the superior policy of the former. All agree that the *Indians* of *Newfoundland* are a gentle, mild, tractable people, easily gained by civility and good usage. They paint their bodies, but are sometimes covered with skins and furs, especially round the waist, as if they entertained some notion of natural decency. Their stature is small, but muscular and robust, their chests full, and their faces broad to a degree of deformity. No inhabitant of this island is ever found with a beard, which is generally ascribed to a prevailing custom among the natives to pluck out the roots the moment a hair begins to appear; an operation in which they are very dexterous. A custom nearly similar was observed among the natives of *New England*, where the meaner were distinguished from their superiors by letting a small beard grow upon the point of the chin. Pilfering, cunning, duplicity, are the characteristics of these islanders; but they are never ashamed of detection, nor provoked to resent the necessity of restitu-

(D) Since the above paragraph was written, the *English* settlements here are happily recon-

quered; and by the late definitive treaty, the rights of fishing amply secured to *Great-Britain*.

tion.

tions. They are reported to be more rational in their religious opinions than the *Indians* on the continent; to have carried some arts, particularly the potter's, to great perfection; and to distinguish the seeds of genius capable of great improvement by due cultivation. This is all we chuse to advance upon a subject where scarce two writers perfectly agree, as if their intention was only to confound and mislead the reader.

'NOVA SCOTIA, or NEW SCOTLAND.

Nova
Scotia.

PROCEEDING to the southward, the next *British* province we meet with is *Nova Scotia*, so called by Sir *William Alexander*, secretary to king *James I.* and to this day distinguished by the name of *Acadia* by the *French* nation. This country, extending from the gulph of *St. Lawrence* to the river *St. Croix*, on the frontier of *New Hampshire*, the *English* have always claimed as a part of *Norembegua*, or *Virginia*, while the *French* found pretensions to it on the discovery of the *Florentine* pilot *Verazzon*, and the repeated attempts to establish themselves in the province. We have already observed, that the right derived from discovery or pre-occupancy is in itself ridiculous, after it has been once annihilated by subsequent conquests and treaties; we shall, therefore, wave a dispute now intirely silenced by the late reduction of *Canada* and all the *French* settlements on that side the river *Mississipp*; and endeavour to engage the reader's attention to particulars better ascertained, and more essential at a juncture when we may reasonably expect the whole territory in dispute, and much more that has been since conquered, shall henceforwards remain the property of *Great Britain*. *New Scotland*, in which we comprehend *Acadia*, is bounded by the ocean to the east; by the same *Atlantic Ocean* and the bay of *Fundy* to the south; by the river *St. Lawrence* on the north-east and north-west; and by part of *Canada* and *New England* on the west and south-west. The coast stretches from the forty-third to the fifty-first degree of north latitude, including a space of between five and six hundred miles, mostly desert, uninhabited, and incapable of cultivation.

WE have already touched upon the expeditions of governor *Argol* against the *French* who were settled in this country, because he regarded all *Nova Scotia* as an appendage of *Virginia*, and part of the discovery of *Sebastian Cabot*. In the year 1618, when he was governor of the colony at *James-town* in *Virginia*, he made a kind of cruising voyage as far as *Cape Cod*, where he received advice from the *Indians*, that some white people had made settlements to the northward at *St. Croix*. This intelligence whetted his curiosity, and deter-

mined

mined him to proceed to the place specified, where he found a little colony of *Frenchmen*, a small fort, and a ship riding at anchor close to the settlement. He began with attacking the ship with so much vigour, that she soon struck; and then disembarking his men, advanced against the fort, and summoned the garrison. The enemy desired time to weigh the proposal, and in the mean time seized the opportunity of evacuating the fort, and retiring with their most valuable effects to the adjacent woods; whence they returned next day, submitted at discretion to the *English* governor, and cancelled the patents granted by the *French* king for their settlement. Those of the prisoners who were disposed to return to *Europe*, were provided with vessels; the rest were transported to *Virginia*, where they became useful subjects to his *Britannic* majesty. Here the governor had intimation given him of another *French* settlement at *Port Royale*, standing on a bay towards the south-west coast of the territory, distinguished by the particular name of *Acadia*. The reduction of this place was attended with as little difficulty as the former enterprize; the *French* submitted on his first appearance, and were transported to *Canada*, where they probably began to found colonies, though some writers imagine this was the origin of the formidable power of *France* in that province. In 1622, Sir *William Alexander*, at the instigation of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, obtained a patent to plant colonies in this country; and accordingly sent a ship full of passengers to settle in *Nova Scotia*. The ship being late in her voyage, wintered in *Newfoundland*, an island now extremely well known, and next spring set sail, and made the promontory at the north space of *Cape Breton* island. These adventurers coasted along *Acadia*, entered several fine bays and creeks, wrote home the most picturesque and flattering descriptions of the beauty and fertility of the country, and by every art in their power endeavoured to engage others to share in their fortune. They settled in *Nova Scotia*, but were dispossessed in consequence of a treaty between the first *Charles*, of unfortunate memory, and the *French* king, on the family-alliance between these princes.

FROM the patent of *Charles* I. to Sir *David Kirk* it is plain, that not only this country, but the whole territory of *Canada*, was regarded as the property of the crown of *England*; for the king bestowed on that gentleman, as proprietor and governor, all the lands to the north of the river; the south side being given to Sir *William Alexander*. Thus it appears, that the king then pretended a right, which he conveyed to the two above gentlemen, and then relinquished it intirely to *France* by a treaty in 1632; bestowing, as his own, a right which

which had already been vested in the *French* adventurers, who had been at all the labour and expence of planting colonies and cultivating the country. At the close of the civil war, *Cromwell* took upon himself the cognizance of this affair, and determined to redress the injury done to the *English* adventurers. Major *Sedgwick* was sent to retake *Canada*; but the *French* pretended they had purchased the *English* right at the price of five thousand pounds; a price which most certainly was never paid, admitting there was an agreement to this purpose. The colonel executed his commission, reduced the whole country, and obliged the *French* to submit at discretion; accordingly, it was confirmed to *England* by the treaty which took place the year following. The purchase of *Canada* was supposed to be made by *M. Claude de la Tour D' Aunay*, whose son and heir, *M. St. Esfierac*, now came to the court of *London* to solicit his right. He made out his claim, and had the property surrendered to him, which he soon conveyed by sale to *Sir Thomas Temple*, an *Englishman*; who kept possession till the year 1662, when it was delivered by *Charles II.* to the *French* king, an equivalent of one thousand pounds being made, or rather promised, to *Sir Thomas*. Such were the vicissitudes of *Nova Scotia*, confirmed to the *French* by the treaty of *Breda*, who now appointed *M. Marival* governor, and built a fort at *Port-Royale*, upon a basin of salt-water, at the distance of nine miles from the bay of *Fundy*. It was confirmed to *M. La Tour* as his property, by the court of *France*, on his renouncing the Protestant religion. He built a fort at *St. John's River*, which being deemed an encroachment on the royal prerogative by *M. Donnè*, the *French* governor of *Acadia*, was reduced; and the wife and family of *La Tour* were cruelly butchered,* during his absence in *France*. The vicissitudes of fortune brought this proprietary to poverty; he borrowed money of *M. Betishe*, a rich merchant, and great trader to *North America*, assigning over to him for his payment half his property in *Nova Scotia*; and thus the lordship again changed its master.

THE *French* became such troublesome neighbours to the *English*, after they had formed alliances with the natives, and instructed them in the art of war, that it was thought essentially necessary, for the safety of the *English* colonies, to check their progress, and resent a variety of insults and injuries sustained from the incursions of the natives. Accordingly, in the year 1690, an armament of seven hundred men and a considerable fleet was set on foot by the province of *New England*, and the command given to colonel *Phipps*; who arrived on the eleventh day of *May* before *Port Royale*, at that time

was a pitiful defenceless place, fortified only with single palisades. *Marival*, the governor, finding himself so ill provided to resist a regular attack, capitulated, and was conveyed to *Canada*, while the *French* inhabitants took an oath of allegiance to the crown of *Great Britain*. The fruits, however, of this conquest were yielded up at the peace of *Ryswick*, and so was the fort of *St. Johns*, likewise reduced, upon this occasion, by the same armament. Major *Church*, at the head of a body of five hundred volunteers, visited several parts of this coast in the year 1704, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Port Royale*; and about three years after, another expedition was undertaken by colonel *March* against the same place. This enterprize was supported by the ministry; and a man of war was ordered to attend the transports from *New England*, and facilitate, by every possible means, the operations of the land-forces: however, the design miscarried, and the blame was charged on the sea-officers.

In 1709, application was made to the court of *Great Britain* by colonel *Nicolson* and captain *Vetch*, for a proper force to reduce the *French* settlements in *Canada*; but this being an object too great for a ministry which began to fall into confusion and factions, leave only was granted to attempt the intire reduction of *Nova Scotia*. Orders were accordingly issued, to all the governors of the *British* settlements in *America*, to promote the enterprize with their utmost ability. *Nicolson* was appointed commander in chief, and the commission of adjutant-general was granted to *Vetch*. Four men of war and a bomb ketch were ordered as convoy; and the armament, consisting of twenty-six sail, including transports, weighed from *Boston* in *New England* on the eighteenth of *September*; and, arriving in six days at *Port Royale*, landed the troops with little opposition, and soon obliged the *French* governor *Subercasse* to capitulate. The terms granted were, That all the inhabitants within the *Banlieu*, or three miles of the fort, should be entitled to the privileges of *British* subjects, on their swearing allegiance to her majesty: That the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty-eight soldiers, should march out with the honours of war, six cannon, and two mortars: That they should be transported to *Rochelle* in *Old France*, at the expence of *Great Britain*: That such of the inhabitants as chose to retire to *Canada*, or *France*, should be sent thither in the most convenient manner; and that they should have all their effects preserved to them free from the pillage of the *English* soldiers. The name of *Annapolis Royal* was given to the new conquest, which was garrisoned with a body of four hundred soldiers; such was the issue of an

1710

expedition that cost the *American* provinces about twenty-three thousand pounds, which was afterwards repaid by the government.

THE reduction of this place was of very essential service to the *American* colonies, by forming a barrier to *New England*, and depriving the *French* of a situation which was a nest for their privateers, and might be called the *Dunkirk* of this part of the world; but it did not altogether answer expectation. The inhabitants without the *Banlieu* had been declared neutrals by the capitulation; notwithstanding which they continued hostilities, in conjunction with the *Indians*, and kept the garrison of *Annapolis* in perpetual alarm. Upon this, the *English* seized the *French* missionary and five of the principal inhabitants, whom they detained as pledges of the actual performance of the treaty, and good behaviour of their countrymen; notwithstanding which a party of sixty men, from the garrison, sent up the river for timber to repair the fort, was surprised and cut off by the *French* and *Indians*.

By the twelfth article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, all the province of *Nova Scotia*, or *L'Acadie*, with all its ancient boundaries; also the city of *Port Royale*, now called *Annapolis Royal*, with all its dependencies in lands, islands, and other particulars, together with the dominion, property, and possession of the said islands, lands, and other rights, by treaty or otherwise obtained, was ceded in perpetuity to the crown of *Great Britain*. To this was subjoined an exclusion of the subjects of *France* from fishing on the coast of *Nova Scotia*, or within thirty leagues, beginning from *Cape Sable* and stretching along to the south-west; but the *French*, who knew that neither *Newfoundland* nor *Nova Scotia* were of any value but on account of the fisheries, and the security they afforded our colonies, retained the right of fishing on the coast of *Cape Breton*, and in the gulph and bay of *St. Lawrence*; a privilege of which they might easily have been divested at this juncture, had proper regard been paid by the administration to the interests of the colonies, of navigation, and of commerce. The cession of *Nova Scotia*, and the most solemn treaties, could not, however, restrain the *French*. They excited the *Indians* to repeated acts of hostility; and, in the year 1721, captain *Blin*, a trader of *Nova Scotia*, and Mr. *Newton*, collector of the province, were made prisoners by the *Indians* of *Lasamaquady*; but released, when reprisals were made by the governor of *Annapolis*, and twenty-two of the savages brought in prisoners to the fort. But though this spirited act procured the liberty of the *English* captives, it did not restrain the enemy within the limitations of the treaty of *Utrecht*. By

means of the *Indians*, they insulted the *British* fishing-vessels on the *Cape Sable* coast, took some, and killed or captivated the crews: insomuch that governor *Philips* at *Canso* was reduced to the necessity of equipping two armed sloops, attacking the *Indians*, and forcing them, by the rigours of war, to pay a more religious regard to treaties. Soon after they nevertheless resumed their hostilities, killed captain *Watkins*, two other *European* men, and a woman and child, in *Duwell's* island, and even ventured to attack *Annapolis*, but were repulsed. From this time to the year 1744, mutual injuries were daily committed, while *Nova Scotia* was equally neglected by the *British* government and *American* colonies. At the beginning of the last war with *France*, the fort was in the most wretched condition; the garrison not exceeding eighty effective men, and the fortifications being in so deplorable a state, that the cattle crossed the ditch, and mounted the ramparts at pleasure. Every other settlement within the *English* jurisdiction was in a similar situation; and the *French* at *Louisbourg* having earlier intelligence of the declaration of war than the *English*, took the opportunity of seizing *Canso*, making the garrison, which consisted of four incomplete companies, prisoners, taking a man of war tender, and then destroying the little settlement. Privateers annoyed *St. Peters* and the small settlements in *Newfoundland*, and even threatened *Placentia* itself, though defended by a fort and garrison. In the month of *June* one *Luttre*, a *French* missionary, made an attempt on *Annapolis*, at the head of three hundred *Cape Sable* and *St. Johns* *Indians*, destroyed some houses and cattle, killed two men, summoned the garrison to surrender, and, on their refusal, denounced vengeance as soon as a party of *French* arrived from *Louisbourg*. However, the arrival of a privateer from *Boston* with a company of militia to the assistance of the garrison, obliged *Luttre* to decamp without waiting to be reinforced by his countrymen; which did not so intirely remove the fears of the inhabitants of *Annapolis*, but that they sent their families and most valuable effects to *Boston*.

LUTTRE had not long relinquished the enterprize; when *Du Vivier* joined him with sixty regular forces and seven hundred militia and *Indians* trained to arms, both encamping at *Minas*, from whence they sent divers messages to the officers of the garrison of *Annapolis*, endeavouring to intimidate them with boastings of the large armament which he daily expected from *Louisbourg*, and persuading them to embrace the present favourable moment of obtaining moderate conditions. The garrison, suspecting the truth of his allegations, replied, it would be soon enough to demand terms when the expected armament

was actually arrived; at which *Du Vivier* was so much chagrined, that he broke up his camp, retired first to *Bay Vert*, then to *Canada*, and from thence to *Old France*—where he was censured for precipitately alarming the *English* colonies by his sham-hostilities, before the *French* colonies were in a situation to support the consequences of a war; and likewise for his not marching immediately after the reduction of *Canso* to *Annapolis*, when that place must inevitably have fallen for want of a sufficient garrison.

MEAN time the government of *Massachusetts Bay* declared war upon the *Indians* of *Cape Sable* and *St. Johns* for persisting in hostilities against the subjects of *Great Britain*, and joining the *French* in the late attempt on *Annapolis*, forbidding all the nations of allied *Indians* to hold any communication or intercourse with them, and ordering premiums for scalps; a cruel policy, that only could be justified by the necessity of retaliation: but these orders were ill obeyed, the *French* having artfully drawn many of the *Indians* from their allegiance to *Great Britain*, which obliged the government to extend the premium. Yet could not all these precautions prevent *M. Marin*, a subaltern officer in *Canada*, from assembling above a thousand *Indian* rangers and other troops, with whom he laid siege to *Annapolis*; but with the same fortune as the last attempt, he being called away to the relief of *Louisbourg*, at that time besieged by the *British* army and fleet. Next year the enterprize was resumed by *M. de Ramsay*, who had collected an army of sixteen hundred men, composed of regular forces, *Canadian* militia, and *Coueurs des Bois*, with which body he marched to *Minas*, expecting to be soon joined by the duke *D'Anville* from *France*; but, disappointed in this expectation, he was constrained, by the severity of the approaching winter, to return to *Canada*, and relinquish the enterprize. Just after his departure, the *French* succours arrived in *Chebueto*, and *D'Anville* detached couriers to recall *Ramsay*; but he had disbanded most of his forces, and could bring back no more than four hundred regulars and militia, with which, and the *French* armament, he resumed his designs, and laid siege to *Annapolis*. However, there being two *English* men of war in the basin of the town, and the *French* fleet returning home before the dangerous season came on, he was again forced to undergo the mortification of abandoning a second time an enterprize on which he had fixed his heart, resolving, however, to quarter at *Minas* and *Chiconiëto* during the winter, and join the fleet and land-forces which were expected to reduce *Annapolis*. This design furnished *Mr. Mafurani*, who commanded as governor in *Annapolis*, with

an opportunity of countermining the enemy. He reasonably imagined that a reinforcement of a thousand men from *New England*, in conjunction with the three companies of volunteers arrived from *Boston* in the autumn preceding, would be able to dislodge the *French* quartered at *Minas*, keep the *Indians* in their allegiance, and consume the magazines they had formed, so as to render any future attempts impracticable. This scheme he proposed to the government of *Massachusetts*, and accordingly five hundred men were immediately voted for the service by the assembly, to which body were added three hundred men from *Rhode-Island*, and two hundred from *New Hampshire*. All entertained the greatest hopes of seeing our colonies secured against all future hostilities, and the *French* driven from that part of *Nova Scotia*; but the event disappointed expectation. The supply from *Rhode-Island* was shipwrecked; that from *New Hampshire* put back on some frivolous pretence; and only the reinforcement from *Boston* arrived at the appointed rendezvous, after having sustained great hardships and considerable losses from the enemy, who attacked them in small parties on their march. The return of this party was still more unfortunate, most of the troops falling into the hands of the enemy, and several of the best officers being killed.

It would be unnecessary to recapitulate the infractions subsequent to the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, by which *Nova Scotia* was again confirmed to *Great Britain*, but with such indefinite limits, as left an opening for farther prevarication; these facts, which gave birth to the late war, are too recent, and too generally understood, to need any relation. We shall therefore proceed to the description of a country, which has occasioned the effusion of so much blood, and consumption of more treasure than all our dominions in *North America* are worth; were every thing to be estimated by real utility, and nothing due to the honour and security of the nation, and to her colonies. This province having been long the property of *France*, the bulk of the inhabitants are the descendants of *Frenchmen*, educated in the religion, political principles, and language of their ancestors. Since the treaty of *Utrecht*, they have sworn allegiance to *Great Britain*; but their partiality to their native country is very perceivable, whenever a rupture happens between the two crowns; an inconvenience, which can be remedied in none of our conquests so effectually any other way, as by making it their interest to continue the subjects of *Great Britain*, and by gradually changing their religion, language, and principles, by certain rewards and encouragements. After the peace of *Utrecht*, the crown reserved the

power of bestowing the non-appropriated lands upon protestant subjects; but the governors *Philips* and *Armstrong* are accused of having assigned these lands indiscriminately, though the intention was to give extraordinary encouragement to those who embraced the established religion (D) of the constitution; by which means, the *French* were left without any inducement to alter either their faith or language. The former of these gentlemen took upon him the government in 1717, and was empowered to form a council for the management of the civil affairs of the province. Accordingly, in the year 1720, a council was formed, consisting of twelve members, who, by the fifth instruction, were prohibited from being absent above a twelvemonth from the province, without leave from the governor, for more than two years, without the king's special permission, under the penalty of vacating their seats in the assembly.

WITH respect to the boundaries of *Nova Scotia*, it is plain from the rise of the late war, they were never clearly ascertained, nor is it now of consequence to draw the exact line between it and *Canada*, since both countries, it is more than probable, will ever remain the property of *Great Britain*. Hitherto, it continues undivided into lesser districts, which alone sufficiently indicates how poorly it is cultivated (D). *Annapolis* and *Canso* are

(D) Since the above was written, we learn on further enquiry, that the province of *Nova Scotia* is actually divided into twelve districts; each of which annually elects a deputy, who must be approved by the governor and council at *Annapolis*. This deputy is regarded as a kind of agent or solicitor for the district, who reports its situation from time to time to the government. They enjoy no legislative or executive capacity. It is affirmed, that *French* missionaries are not appointed by the bishop of *Quebec*, under his direction, but that they act as civil magistrates, and justices of the peace, in divers districts, as a reproach and scandal to the *British* government. However, appeals

may be made to the governor and council at *Annapolis*. There is no agreement among geographers about the limits of *Nova Scotia*; even *de Lisle*, one of the most celebrated geographers in *Europe*, differs not only from others, but from himself, in this particular. In his map of *Canada*, published in 1703, *L'Acadie* comprehends the country of the *Eschemins*, or *Ichemins*, placed by the bulk of our map-makers on the west side of the bay of *Fundy*, and a part of the continent larger than the peninsula; whereas in *M. de Lisle's* general map of *America*, engraved in 1722, *L'Acadie* is confined within the peninsula, and bounded on the north-west by the country of the *Caspefions*. Father *Charlevoix* makes it two hundred

are the only towns that deserve to be mentioned. The former is the capital, but a very inconsiderable place; except for the excellency of the harbour, which is capable of containing a thousand vessels at anchor in the utmost security. *Canfo*, situated on the eastern shore of *Acadia*, may, in time,

hundred and fifty leagues in compass, and Mr. *Bellin*, engineer and hydrographer to the marine office, reckons it by *French* computation from *Cape Canfo* on the east, to *Cape Sable* on the west, about eighty leagues. M. *la Houton*, another *French* writer of credit many years resident in the country, gives it a much larger extent than *de Lisle's* map of *Canada*, for he includes in it a great part of what that geographer gives to *Canada* and *Gaspesia*. According to him, it is three hundred leagues along the coast from *Rennebeck*, the frontier river of *New England*, to the isle *Perce*, towards the mouth of the river *St. Lawrence*, including the bays of *Fundy* and *Challeurs*.

Writers differ no less about the quality than the extent of the country; some describing it as scarce fit for the residence of the most barbarous nations, while others extol its fertility. *La Houton's* account is, that *Nova Scotia* abounds with little rivers, the entrance of which affords anchorage for the largest vessels; that they abound in salmon; and that most of the gulphs and rivers, with which they communicate, produce great plenty of cod. He further observes, that almost every part of *Acadia* yields corn, fruit, pease, and other pulse; that the four seasons of the year are easily distinguished; that the winter is very severe for three

months; that the country produces excellent timber for masts, and upon occasion for building any kind of shipping. The baron affirms, that *Nova Scotia* is admirable for hunting, and speaks of it in general as a fine country; the air pure and salubrious, the climate tolerably moderate, and the water light and pellucid. With this gentleman, the intelligent *Charles-voix* agrees, alledging, it abounds with all the necessaries of life, and that the inhabitants may live very comfortably without much fatigue. Here is abundance of feathered game, such as partridges, ducks, teal, widgeon, and bustard; the latter flock in such crowds to the banks of the rivers and all the ponds in the month of *April*, that their eggs alone are sufficient to subsist the inhabitants for that season; and yet notwithstanding the extraordinary consumption of these eggs, it is not perceivable, that the species is diminished. At the close of *March*, the fish begin to spawn, when they enter the rivers in such shoals are as incredible. Here also are multitudes of beavers, otters, and some other quadrupeds, chiefly valued for their furs; yet after all, the security which this province affords to the *British* fisheries and plantations, is its principal utility. *Vid. de la Hout. de Lisle, Charlevoix. L. 6.*

become a place of importance, on account of the excellent fishery in its neighbourhood, especially as the *French* will now have no opportunity, as formerly, of disturbing the fisheries, and encroaching on the territories of this province; more particularly since the demolition of *Levisbourg*. The most valuable appendage of *Nova Scotia* is the *Cape Sable* coast, along which is one continued range of cod-fishing banks, and excellent harbours; though the impenetrable fogs, which, for one part of the year, obscure this country, render it of less utility to commerce and navigation. The communication which the bay and river of *Chebueto* have with all parts of the province, either by land carriage or navigable rivers, makes it probable that the seat of government may one day be translated thither from *Annapolis*, which is devoid of every convenience besides a harbour.

THE island of *Sables*, lately well known to the public, as having been demanded by M. *Buffy* for the convenience of the *French* nation for curing and drying fish, must be deemed within the jurisdiction of the province of *Nova Scotia*, as it lies the nearest to that coast, though at a considerable distance; which is also implied by the *British* exclusive line of fishery, stipulated at the treaty of *Utrecht*, which begins at this island. It can indeed prove of no other advantage to the *British* nation, than that of depriving our rivals in trade of a place to serviceable to their fisheries, which may justly be regarded as a very considerable negative advantage.

THE largest island in the gulph of *St. Laurence* is *Cape Breton*, memorable chiefly on account of the strong fortification of *Louisbourg*, demolished since the last reduction of that place, by order of the *British* government. This island lies from forty-five to forty-seven degrees of north latitude, and is, from the nature of its situation, of the utmost consequence to the *British* colonies and fisheries in *North America*. How it came to be restored to the *French* at the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, with the fortifications intire, is what we cannot pretend to determine; certain we are, that true politics will always dictate a proper regard to the establishment of the *French* in an island, which, in a manner, commands the fisheries in the bay of *St. Laurence*, and, by affording shelter for the fleets of *France*, can give great disturbance to our *Newfoundland* trade and navigation. We say nothing of *St. John's* island, which is not of consideration enough to merit notice in a general history.

NEW ENGLAND.

WE have already, in the introductory discourse on the *British Settlements in North America*, given a general view of the first establishment of the *English* in this country, and the grants made to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the *Plymouth* and *London* companies, and to others; for at that time *Virginia* or *Norumbega* comprehended a vast tract of coast now divided into separate governments, and distinguished by particular names. According to captain *Smith's* map, which was approved by the government, *New England* originally extended from twenty miles beyond *Hudson's* river to the east, and northward to the river *St. Croix*, or perhaps to the gulph of *St. Laurence*; by which it included *Nova Scotia*, a grant to which effect had actually been made. When *James II.* bestowed the government on Sir *Edmund Andrews*, his commission expressed the limits of his authority; namely, over the late colonies of *Massachusetts Bay*, *Plymouth*, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode Island*. These were called the limits of *New England*; but the same gentleman was also made governor of *New York*, and *Sagadahoc*; *New Hampshire*, and the province of *Maine*, being then of so little importance as to go as an appendage to *Massachusetts Bay*.

In *New England*, the summer season is warm, but of short duration. For the space of two months, the sky continues perfectly clear, which renders the country so healthy, that it is reported to agree better with *British* constitutions, than any other of the *American* provinces. The winters are long and severe, the wind often boisterous, and the air extremely sharp, but not intolerable. Naturalists ascribe the early approach, the length, and the severity of the winter season, to the large fresh water lakes, lying to the north west of *New England*, which, being constantly frozen over from the beginning of *November* for at least two thirds of the year, occasion those piercing winds, that prove so fatal to mariners on this coast. Towards the sea, the land is generally low, and frequently marshy; but, as you approach the interior country, it rises into hills, and on the north-east becomes altogether rocky and mountainous. Round *Massachusetts Bay*, the soil is black, and rich as in any part of *England*; and the first planters found the grass above a yard high, but rank for want of mowing. The uplands are less fruitful, being for the most part a mixture of sand and gravel, inclining to clay; though even here there is a sufficient quantity of corn, and
culinary

culinary vegetables, produced for the subsistence of the inhabitants.

FEW countries are better watered with rivers and lakes than *New England*, though the latter are not so considerable as those to the west and northward. Seven of the rivers are navigable, all abound in fish, and many of them answer every purpose of commerce. *Connecticut* river, in particular, may be navigated a great way by the largest vessels. It rises in the northern frontier of the province, and runs directly south through the district of its own name, until it discharges itself between the towns of *Saybrook* and *Line*, after a course of two hundred miles. The other most considerable streams are the *Thames*, *Piscataqua*, *Merimech*, *Saca*, *Kennebec*, *Patuxet*, *Cusco*, and a few others; and to the convenience of so many fine rivers, may we ascribe the great number of large and populous towns in this province. Besides river fish, the coast abounds with cod; and formerly there was a whale fishery between *New England* and *New York*, which is now entirely engrossed by the *Newfoundlanders*. The cod taken here are salted and exported, not only to the sugar colonies, but likewise to *Europe*, constituting a very considerable article in the trade of the province.

WE have already observed that the country is fruitful in all kinds of esculent plants, pulse, and corn; but *Indian* corn, or maize, which the natives call *Weahin*, is the most cultivated, and was alone known here on the first arrival of the *Europeans*. The following is the account of it communicated to the royal society by Mr. *Winstrop*, and judged worthy of being inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*. "The ear is a span long, composed of eight or more rows of grain, according to the quality of the soil, and about thirty grains in each row; so that each ear at a medium produces about two hundred and forty grains, which is an astonishing increase. It is of various colours, red, white, yellow, black, green, &c. and the diversity frequently appears not only in the same field, but in the very same ear of corn; though white and yellow be the most common. Strong thick husks shield the tender ear from cold and storms; and in many of the provinces in *North America*, the stalk grows seven or eight feet high, and proportionably strong and thick. It is observable, that the maize dwindles the farther you advance to the northward, whence it appears that warm climates are more congenial to its nature; and indeed its luxuriance in the hottest climes on the coast of *Africa* sufficiently evince the *Indian* corn to be a native of the more southern

southern latitudes. The stalk is jointed like a cane, is supplied with a juice, as sweet as that of the sugar cane; but from the experiments that have been made, it appears to be incapable of being rendered useful. Every joint is marked with a long leaf or flag, and, at the top, shoots a branch of flowers, like rye blossoms. The usual time of sowing, or, as it is here called, of planting, is from the middle of April to the middle of May; but, in the northern countries, the corn is not put in the ground before June; yet the harvest is ripe in due season, owing to the extreme warmth of the summer months. This corn the *Indians* boil till it is tender, and eat with fish, fowl, or flesh, as bread. Sometimes they bruise it in mortars, and then boil it; but the most usual method is to dry the corn high, without burning, to sift and beat it in mortars into fine meal, which the *Indians* either eat dry, or mixed with water. The *English* bake it into bread in the same manner as flour; but the best food made from it is called *Samsi*, the corn being steeped in water for half an hour, beat in a mortar until it is thoroughly cleared of the husk, then sifted, boiled, and eaten with milk, or butter and sugar, like rice; which is not only an agreeable, but a wholesome strengthening diet." The *English* brew good strong beer from it, and their method of malting it green points out an experiment, which might possibly be improved to advantage by the malsters of *Great Britain*. The saccharine rich juice of green corn appears to us capable of yielding a due fermentation, and sufficient body for beer, without the expensive process of malting.

No country in the world produces a greater abundance and variety of fowl, than *New England*; as geese, ducks, turkies, hens, partridges, widgeon, swans, herons, beath-cocks, pigeons, &c. Nor is the feathered kind in greater plenty than the quadrupeds more immediately necessary to human subsistence and convenience. All kinds of *European* cattle thrive here, and multiply exceedingly; the horses of the province are hardy, mettlesome and serviceable, but small. Here also are elks, deer, hares, rabbits, squirrels, beavers, otters, monkeys, racoons, sables, bears, wolves, foxes, ounces, and a variety of other tame and wild quadrupeds; some of which are imported into *Great Britain*, as foreign curiosities. But the most extraordinary of these animals is the *Mose*, which is thus described by Mr. *Josselyn*, in his rarities of *New England*.—We describe the animal intirely upon the authority of this writer, who has obtained some reputation.—“The *Mose* is about twelve feet high, with four horns, and broad palms, some distant near twelve feet from the

the tip of one horn to the other. His body is about the size of a bull, his neck resembles a stag's; his tail is somewhat longer, and his flesh extremely grateful." Our author describes the manner of hunting the *Moose*; but, as we believe this diversion is now pretty well over, we shall not extend an extract, which many writers may ascribe to credulity (F). The rattle-snake is another natural curiosity of this country, though not peculiar to *New England*. The account given of this venomous animal is, that nature has wisely provided it should give warning of its motions by a rattle of twenty loose hard cartilaginous rings in the tail, which shake and beat as it moves, without any voluntary exertion. Some, indeed, alledge it only makes a noise when the animal apprehends itself in danger, and calls out for assistance. In length, this snake is commonly about four or five feet, is less hazardous than other snakes, ~~but~~ seldom attacks any human creature without provocation; ~~is provided~~ like the viper with a poisonous bag, at the root of a hollow forked tooth, which, being compressed as the animal fixes its jaws, pours out a strong poison on the wound, that is mortal in a few hours, unless proper remedies are applied. Descriptions, however, of all the animals in *North and South America*, have so often been exhibited to publick view by voyagers, travellers, and writers of natural history, that it is almost superfluous to transcribe what has been so frequently repeated, though our

(F) We do not intend that the reader should entertain any doubt of the real existence of the *Moose*, but of the extraordinary height, which Mr. *Joselyn* gives the animal. We are told, indeed, by other writers, that the black *Moose*, or *Mouje*, as the natives pronounce it, is exceeding large, and sometimes the height of fourteen spans, reckoning nine inches to a span, a quarter of his venison weighing two hundred weight. The flesh is less delicate in the opinion of many men, than our venison; while others think it richer and more substantial. It will bear salting, and was often used as ship beef by the buccaners. The light colour-

ed *Moose*, called *Wamposse* by the *Indians* is of a smaller stature, is more gregarious, and indeed more frequently met with. The black are seldom found above four or five together. They calve every year, generally produce two together, bring forth their young standing, without any apparent pain or labour; while the young fall upon their feet, and run about the moment they have breathed the air, and touched the earth. Such is the strength of this animal, that after he is unharboured, he will run a course of thirty or forty miles without halting, but with less swiftness than a stag. *Neal's Hist. Brit. Emp. Dualy.*

intirely

Intirely omitting such particulars might possibly be attributed to neglect or to ignorance.

NEW ENGLAND abounds in excellent timber, oak, ash, pine, fir, cedar, elm, cypress, beech, walnut, chesnut, hazel, sassafras, samach, and other woods used in dying, or tanning leather, carpenters work, and ship-building; yet such was the destruction made in the forests, that a law passed to prevent the waste of woods, by inflicting penalties on those who cut down trees of a certain kind, before they were arrived at specified growth and age. The pines are equal to those of *Norway* in growth and straitness; and it is certain, *Great Britain* might be provided from this country with all the materials of ship-building, at present purchased in the northern kingdoms, at the expence of a considerable sum of ready money to the nation. The oak, indeed, is reported to be inferior in quality to that of *England*, but as the forests of *Great Britain* are on the decline, it is certainly politic to be careful of this valuable commodity.

THE seas round *New England*, as well as its rivers, abound with most of the fish that is common in *Europe*; and even whales, we are told, were formerly taken between *New England* and *New York*. They are of several kinds, viz. the whale-bone whale, the sperma ceti whale, which yields ambergrease, the fin-back'd whale, the scrag whale, and the bunch whale; and each species has a separate property. Those whales are said to have something remarkable in their manner of generation, and the female is supposed to go with her young nine or ten months; but to be pregnant only every other year. The sagacity and affection of those animals in nourishing and bringing up their young, is incredible. The bone of the *New England* whale is however too brittle, and not so serviceable as that of the *Greenland*. A terrible creature called the *Whale-killer*, which is from twenty to thirty feet long with strong teeth and jaws, persecutes the whale in these seas; but, afraid of his monstrous strength, those killers seldom attack a full-grown whale, or indeed a young one, but in companies of ten or twelve.

THE province of *New England* seems to have been neglected by the original discoverers of our *American* colonies; of *New* for, though it is more than probable that *Sebastian Cabot* discovered it, and though it is certain that the adventurers under *Sir Walter Raleigh* and *Sir Francis Drake* knew of this country, yet we have no satisfactory account of it till 1602, when captain *Gesfold* performed his voyage to this province. He had received a hint from *Sir Francis Drake* of the advantages that might arise from a settlement here, and for that purpose

purpose he and his sailors and passengers, who amounted in the whole to thirty-two, carried out with them seed-corn to sow the ground. After touching at various places, he at last made a settlement on a place which he named *Martha's Vineyard*, where his planters sowed their corn, and found it answer; and to protect them from the natives who lived in the neighbourhood, he here raised a small fort, and mounted six guns on a platform. It was not long before he and his little colony traded with the savages, whom they perceived to be an hospitable inoffensive people, and whom they found, by the dress and accoutrements of some of them, to have before traded with *Europeans*. In general, however, they were dressed with deer-skins upon their shoulders, and seal-skins about their waists. Their hair was long, and tied up in a knot behind; and, though all over painted, their natural complexion appeared to be the same with that of the other savages on the same continent. The commerce of the *English* with them was so profitable, in furs, skins, and sweet wood, which they exchanged for toys, that the merchants who employed him, who were most of them *Plymouth* men, obtained a grant from *James I.* authorizing them to plant where they should think fit and convenient, between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees of northern latitude. The country thus described was then called *North Virginia*; and the grantees held it under the title of the council of *Plymouth*. The chief of these grantees were the lord chief-justice *Popham*; Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, *Thomas Hanham*, Esq; *Raleigh Gilbert*, Esq; son of the famous navigator Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*; *William Parke*, Esq; and *George Popham*, Esq; These gentlemen, with the other grantees, in 1606, sent a ship commanded by Mr. *Henry Chalmers* to *North Virginia*; but he and his crew, consisting of about thirty persons, were taken by the *Spaniards*, and sent prisoners to *Spain*. Lord chief-justice *Popham* was so public-spirited as not to be discouraged by this accident; and, at his own expence, fitted out another ship, the command of which was given to captain *Hanham*, whose report of the country was so encouraging, that captain *Popham* and captain *Gilbert* carried thither two ships with one hundred men and proportionable stores for a settlement, which they began to make at the mouth of *Sagadahock* river.

Difficulties
of plant-
ing it.

It appears from the general history of the *English* settlements in *America*, that the chief discouragement of the planters settled there arose from the difficulties they were under of subsisting themselves all the year through. As to the trade itself, it was evidently gainful; and notwithstanding what had happened, captain *Rawden*, captain *Langham*, Mr.

Bully,

Baily, and Mr. Shelton, fitted out two ships for *North Virginia*, giving the command of one of them to captain *John Smith*, who had acted as president of *South Virginia*, and of the other to *Thomas Hunt*. On their arrival, *Smith*, taking eight of his crew along with him, went up the country, and made a map of it, which he shewed to *Charles* prince of *Wales*, afterwards *Charles I.* and his royal highness gave it the name of *New England*. As to *Hunt*, the other commander, he behaved most infamously, for he kidnapped between thirty and forty of the natives, and carried them to *Malaga*, where he sold them to the *Spaniards*. This perfidious action was resented by the *Indians*, and revenged upon the *English*, particularly upon captain *Hobson*. *Smith*, who had made a very gainful voyage, having put 1500 l. in his own pocket, besides indemnifying his owners, sailed with two ships in 1615 once more to *New England*; but being dismasted, he returned to *Plymouth* with his own ship. When he attempted to renew the voyage he was taken by the *French*, while his other ship made a very gainful voyage, and returned safe to *England*. *Hunt's* villainous action, however, had rendered the natives so irreconcilable to the *English*, that the latter were unable to continue their settlement, though the trade was carried on to very beneficial purposes by other adventurers.

NEW ENGLAND, at last, owed its settlement and *Original* prosperity to the noblest of all principles, a generous disdain of civil and religious tyranny. Our histories are full of the impolitic persecutions of the dissenters under the two first princes of the *Stuart* race, who sat upon the throne of *England*. Many of them had been driven into foreign countries, particularly to *Holland*, where the complaisance of the government for that of *England*, rendered them unsafe in the exercise of their religion. Sir *Robert Naunton* was then one of the secretaries of state, and the exiled puritans, as they were then called, knew him to be their friend. Some of them were men of substance as well as sense, and they had formed themselves into a congregation at *Leyden*, of which Mr. *John Robinson* was the pastor, and one Mr. *John Brewster*, a person of about sixty years of age, the ruling elder. From this congregation the noble hint of retiring to *New England*, where they could have the free exercise of their religion without being persecuted by bigots and churchmen, arose. They applied to *Naunton* for leave to settle in those inhospitable wilds, where the *Indians*, savage as they were, were more desirable neighbours than the tyrants from whom they fled. *Naunton* had the address to persuade *James I.* that it was bad policy to unpeople his own kingdoms for the

which
consists of
dissenters.

he might have, he could have none to govern them liberty of conscience, where they would still continue to be subjects, and where they might extend his dominion. His majesty's answer was, that it was a good and honest proposal, and liberty was accordingly granted. After various schemes and disappointments, the new adventurers, many of whom had sold their estates, and generously thrown the produce into a common bank for carrying on their undertaking, hired a ship of 180 tons, called the *May-flower*, and another ship called the *Speedwell* of 60 tons, on board of which they put all their necessary implements, and sailed from *Plymouth* the 6th of *September*. Their intention was to have made a settlement under the sanction of *Gesnold's* patent, being one hundred and twenty persons on board, besides thirty seamen; and after arriving at *Cape Cod*, being betrayed, as is said, by *Jones*, the master of the *Speedwell*, who was bribed by the *Dutch*, they were obliged to land there; and here they associated themselves by a formal instrument, as subjects of *England*, and engaged to submit to the laws, that should from time to time be made for the good of the colony. This association, though made with a very good intention, was really void in itself, as the place they took possession of was not included in *Gesnold's* grant. They pretended, however, that they treated with the cacique, or lord, and other principal natives of the country, from whom they purchased a right of settlement on their lands. About forty substantial planters, and some of them gentlemen of fortune, but all of them dissenters, were at the head of this undertaking. They chose for their governor for one year *Mr. John Carver*, who with sixteen men landed on what is now called *Barnstable County* to search for a convenient situation to settle on; but though they saw evident tracks of an inhabited country, they could find none, and returned; another detachment was sent out for the same purpose, and in search of a harbour. They ranged about the *Patuxet County*, and at last on *Cristmas Day*, having found a spot, which they thought would answer their purpose, but not before they had a slight skirmish with the natives, they returned to their ship, made their report, landed their goods, stores, and utensils, erected a kind of storehouse, and agreed to call their infant settlement *New Plymouth*. Here they remained without seeing any *Indians* all the winter, which proved so severe that half their number died. About the middle of *March*, a *Segamore*, one of the petty lords who lived to the northward, but who had been so much conversant with the *English* that he had picked

New
Plymouth
founded.

...the Indians, who came to visit the colony, and was
 so well satisfied with his reception, that he brought several
 of the Indians to visit their country, till at last their
 sachem, or king, *Massasoit*, with his brother and sixty
 warriors, did the new colony the same honour. A native,
 who understood *English*, served as interpreter on this occasion,
 and the governor, with the gentlemen of the colony, received
 their visitors in great state. The visit, however, seems
 to have been somewhat unseasonable, for the colony began to
 be distressed for provisions, and their visitants eat and drank most
 enormously. It was on this occasion, if we are not mistaken,
 that *Massasoit* made a present to the settlers, their heirs,
 and successors for ever, of the spot on which *New Plymouth*
 was built, and all the adjacent lands. Upon the death of
Carver, *William Bradford*, Esq; was chosen governor, and
 he sent two of the principal gentlemen of the colony to re-
 pay *Massasoit's* visit; but though their excellencies were re-
 ceived with much savage politeness, yet they were in great
 danger of being famished for want of victuals and drink, so
 miserably was this court provided for their reception.

SOON after some of the savage segamores, who could not *War with*
 be reconciled to the *English* having been guilty of some hosti-
 lities, captain *Standish* was sent with fourteen men from *New*
Plymouth to *Namasket* to demand satisfaction. This had so
 good an effect, that the neighbouring sachems and segamores
 made their submissions, and according to the historians of
New England, they subscribed the following instrument.

"KNOW all men by these presents, that we, whose names *A Grant*.
 are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the legal
 subjects of king *James*, king of *Great Britain*, *France*, and
Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and
 as a testimony of the same, we have subscribed our names or
 marks, as followeth, *Obquamehud*, *Cawunacome*, *Obbatinua*,
Nattamawhant, *Coubatant*, *Chillaback*, *Quadaquina*, *Hutta-*
maiden, *Apadnow*."

NOTWITHSTANDING the good opinion we have of the *Progress*
British title to *New England*, we must entertain great doubts of the
 as to the authenticity of this submission; for, though such a colony.
 paper may be produced, it may be questioned whether the
 subscribers knew what they were signing; and, to this day,
 the *American* savages, notwithstanding their connections with
 the *Europeans*, seem to have few ideas of deeds in writing.
 Be this as it will, the planters found that, with a little sup-

* *NEAL. MATHER. British Empire in America. System*
of Geography.

part from *England*, they should be able to undertake any undertaking; and, in the spring of the year next, the *Mayflower* was dispatched to *England*. In May following, *Weston*, one of the original *Plymouth* adventurers, sent a ship with seven passengers to *New Plymouth*, and soon after many more arrived; but, bringing no provisions with them, they served but to encrease the mouths, and consequently the distresses, of the colony, which had been unfortunate in its harvest. More passengers arriving soon after, a famine must have ensued, had not a small trading vessel touched on the coast, provided with *English* toys, such as beads, scissars, and knives, which the colony bought up; and, by exchanging them for the native peltries, they soon procured themselves a comfortable subsistence. By this time, *Weston* broke off from the colony, and produced a patent for establishing a settlement upon part of *Massachusetts Bay*, at a place called *Wasagwasset*, under pretence of propagating the church of *England* worship (G). During the residence of *Weston's* men in *New Plymouth*, we cannot suppose there was any good understanding between them and the planters, not only on account of religion, but because the latter did not think they held their possessions and properties from the crown of *England*, though they acknowledged themselves to be its subjects. The strictness of the lives of the puritans disgusted *Weston* and his men; whom the original planters accused of being guilty of all manner of vice and wickedness. We cannot say what might have been in this charge, nor can we affirm that the old colonists spirited up the natives against them; but it is certain, that *Weston* and his men were scarcely arrived at their new settlement, when the savages entered into a conspiracy for cutting them all off. The *New England* historians attribute this conspiracy to *Weston's* men's riotous way of living, which gave scandal to the savages, and obliged the new planters to consume their stock, and to barter away their goods, even to their cloaths and bedding, to procure subsistence. If the truth was known, their distresses, perhaps, would be found to arise from the prepossessions the savages had conceived against them, so as, by not trading with them, to force them into those desperate circumstances.

THE conspiracy we have mentioned was discovered and prevented in the following manner. Governor *Bradford*, being informed that his friend *Massasoit* was sick, again sent

(G) We are to read this part of the *New England* history with great caution, as the writers were violent puritans, and opposers, even to enthusiasm, of the church of *England*.

Mr.

Diffentions
amongst
themselves.

Mr. Winslow and Mr. Herbert, his former ambassadors, to visit him. They found him very weak, and, in gratitude for some relief that Mr. Winslow administered to him, he discovered to him the conspiracy, which was instantly suppressed by captain Standish, at the head of no more than eight men. If there is any truth in this conspiracy, the *New Plymouthers* behaved very nobly, for they not only saved *Wenton's* men, but offered them a retreat in their own settlement; and when that was declined, they victualled a vessel to go in quest of their head, who was trading to the eastward. It appears, however, that the sachem of the *Massachusetts* savages disowned the execrable conspiracy; but a plague soon swept him and all his people off.

FROM the year 1623, the industry of the *New Plymouthers* and their associates in *New England* rendered this a flourishing colony. *The colony flourishes.* Its reputation increased every day in its mother-country, and it became the refuge of all who were oppressed by the bigots, either of the church or the state. It grew at last to be such an eye-sore to both, that attempts were made to introduce into the colony episcopacy. For this purpose, Mr. Gorges, son to Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, arrived with several families, besides a church of *England* clergyman; and, as is said, with a commission to be governor of *New England*: but the *New Plymouthers* stood so firmly to their principles and their consciences, that *Gorges* and his people soon left the country. All this while, the *New Plymouthers* held their possession under agreement with the council of *Plymouth*, whose patent comprehended the continent of *America* from *New Scotland* to *Carolina*; so greatly, however, did the planters thrive, that in seven years time they offered to buy out the patentees, to take the whole property into their own hands, and to indemnify the patentees for their expences in the adventure. The patentees, as such, had been no great gainers by the prosperity of the colony, and they willingly gave an ear to the proposal. The colonists' agent, at first, was one *Pierce*; but, discovering that he wanted to betray them, they sent over Mr. *Winslow*, who obtained the patent they wanted in the name of governor *Bradford*, and he, upon demand, surrendered it to the general council. Thus did those industrious colonists find means to erect themselves into a republic, even though they held their possessions under the sanction of an original patent from the crown of *England*; a case that is rare in history, and can be effected only by that perseverance, which the true spirit of liberty inspires.

THE governor's assistants were now increased to five; for though those planters had no reason to distrust him, yet they

New con- were willing that as little power as possible should be vested in
situation of one of their own body, and the number of the council was
its govern- now seven. It is a memorable era in the history of *New*
ment. *England*, that in the year 1624, upon Mr. *Winslow's* return

to *New Plymouth*, amongst other articles of a considerable supply he brought along with him, there was that of three heifers and a bull, the first ever seen in that country, together with hogs, goats, and poultry, all which encreased incredibly. But while we mention the thriving condition of the colony at this period, the reader is not to carry with him the idea of an *European* state; and yet any infant state in *Europe*, if any such we can suppose, might profit by the wise and humane policy of those planters. The town of *New Plymouth*, at the time we speak of, contained only an hundred and eighty persons, living in thirty-two houses. Though each head of a family had his separate portion of land, yet the whole produce was paid into one common stock, from whence it was dealt out to the families, in quantities proportioned to the number each contained. The town itself was about half a mile in circumference, and paled in, and a kind of watch-tower was erected upon an eminence in the middle. We are not, however, to imagine that all the strength and riches of the colony were contained in this town; for large quantities of lands had been cleared, sown, and enclosed in the country by settlers, who lived there on their own plantations.

Disturbed THE thriving condition of the *New England* colony served
by a muti- only to encrease the desire of the government of *Old England*
ny of to send over fresh planters to settle on *Massachusetts Bay*. With
Morton. this view, one captain *Woolaston*, with some gentlemen of fortune, in 1626, came over thither, and settled at a place called *Mount Woolaston*, since changed into that of *Braintree*. *Woolaston* soon found his scheme impracticable, went to *Virginia*; and, his men mutinying in his absence, chose one *Morton* for their head. They are accused by the *New England* historians of the same crimes as *Wesson's* men, particularly drunkenness, and perhaps, for the same reasons, their deriding the sober plain manners of the puritans, in contempt of whom they are said to have danced round a may-pole. But another charge was brought against them, which, if true, was highly punishable; and that was, that they instructed the savages in the use of fire-arms. The government of *New Plymouth*, finding their remonstrances on this head had no effect upon *Morton*, sent against him captain *Standish*, which service this sober puritan performed in a most gallant manner, by

‘ Vide ubi supra.

The History of America.

striking Morton with his own hand, and carrying him and all his men prisoners to *New Plymouth*, from whence Morton was sent to *England* to be prosecuted by the *New England* council, who took no notice of their complaint; so jealous were they become of those colonists.

THIS second settlement projected at *Massachusetts* failing, *Rise of the* the puritans, who continued to be most miserably harrassed in *Massachusetts*, very sensibly thought that they could not do better let's com-
than to make a settlement there of their own body. Mr. pany.

John White, the puritan minister of *Dorchester*, was at the head of this noble design, which he seems to have long had in view. He sent over one *Cannant* and some others as fore-runners, and he managed with such prudence and zeal, that he procured a patent from the council of *Plymouth*, or *New England*, to *Sir Henry Roswell*, *Sir John Young*, *Thomas Southcot*, Esq; *John Humphreys*, Esq; *John Endicot*, Esq; and *Simon Whetcomb*, Esq; for all that part of the country, that lies three miles north of the river *Merrimack*, which falls into the sea near *Salisbury*; and three miles south of *Charles* river, which falls into the sea near *Boston*, at the bottom of *Massachusetts Bay*. Those patentees, being sensible of the former failures of this project, resolved to associate with themselves a number of gentlemen of their own principles, but well acquainted with trade and commerce; the following gentlemen therefore were taken into the patent, viz. *Sir Richard Saltonstall*, *Isaac Johnson*, Esq; *Samuel Alderly*, Esq; *John Ven*, Esq; *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; *George Hammond*, Esq; *Increase Nowel*, Esq; *Richard Perry*, Esq; *Richard Bel-
lingham*, Esq; *Nathaniel Wright*, Esq; *Samuel Vassal*, Esq; *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; *Thomas Goff*, Esq; *Thomas Adams*, Esq; *John Browne*, Esq; *Samuel Browne*, Esq; *Thomas Hutchins*, Esq; *William Vassal*, Esq; *William Pinchon*, Esq; and *George Foxcraft*, Esq. Some of those gentlemen's names occur in the general histories of *England*, particularly that of *Mr. Samuel Vassal*, who was one of those patriots that made the noble stand in favour of public liberty under *Charles I.* The addition of so many new patentees, I perceive, obliged *Mr. White* and his friends to take out a new patent, dated *March 4, 1628*, by which they were incorporated by the name of the governor and company of *Massachusetts Bay*, in *New England*; impowered to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates, and to make plantation laws, provided they were not repugnant to those of *England*; and liberty of conscience was granted to all who should settle there. To give this grant all the validity possible, a patent was obtained from *Charles I.* 1627, to hold the said lands (contained

in the patent from the *Plymouth* company) as of the manor of *East Greenwich* in common soccage, yielding and paying to his majesty one fifth of such gold or silver ore, as should be found from time to time within the said limits.

governors,
and clergy.

THE first governor elected under this new company was *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; whose deputy was *John Endicot*, Esq; Mr. *White* had with some difficulty prevailed with Mr. *Connant* and his friends to remain in *Massachusetts*, till the new charter could be expedited; and Mr. *Endicot* was immediately dispatched to join them with a fresh reinforcement. He found them at *Neumkeak*, now called *Salem*; but his numbers before and at the time of his landing were greatly diminished by the scurvy and other infectious diseases, and more must have perished, had it not been for the great skill of Dr. *Fuller*, a physician of *New Plymouth*, who recovered them. In the mean while, the new adventurers were making great preparations for carrying their scheme into execution. The following ships were prepared, viz. the *George Bonaventure*, of twenty guns; the *Talbot*, of twenty guns; the *Lion's-whelp*, of eight guns; the *May-flower*, of fourteen guns; the *Four Sisters*, of fourteen guns; and the *Pilgrim*, of four guns. The passengers on board this flotilla were about three hundred and fifty, men women and children; about a hundred and fifteen head of cattle, viz. horses, mares, bulls, and cows, six pieces of cannon; proper stores of ammunition of all kinds, with every thing that could be required for such a settlement, not forgetting even goats and conies. Our new colonists were upon their passage from the first of *May* till the twenty-fourth of *June*. The reader is to observe, that the colony of *New Plymouth* had got such credit with the natives, that they were of infinite use to the *Massachusetts* adventurers; but upon the express condition, that the latter should exclude all forms of worship but that of the puritans. It soon appeared how little men may profit by persecution, and how apt they are to exercise the rod under which they themselves have smarted. The two brothers, *Brown*, were joined with some others in making use of the church of *England* worship; but so far were they from being indulged in this, though both of them were patentees, that Mr. *Endicot* sent them back to *England*, though, as we have already seen, one of the clauses of the company's charter provided for liberty of conscience^a. This indefensible conduct very probably procured peace to the colony, which, in a short time, made a most surprizing progress.

A schism.

^a System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 667.

In the year 1630, the governor, Mr. Craddock, being too old to go over in person, the company chose for their governor, John Winthrop, Esq; a gentleman bred to the law, and one who had sold an estate of about 700 l. a year, to raise money for the uses of the colony. His deputy was Thomas Dudley, Esq; who, at first, had been bred a soldier, but became afterwards a violent puritan. Under those two gentlemen, a fleet of no fewer than ten ships, with stores and provisions in proportion, set sail this year for *New England*. Before they arrived, the noxious qualities of an uncleared country appeared in the deaths, during one winter, of one hundred of the colonists, carried over by Mr. Endicot. This second fleet, on board of which were some persons of distinction, and about two hundred passengers, all of them voluntary exiles for religion, besides many others, who went thither for the purposes of commerce, and were a kind of occasional conformists, had but a very indifferent passage, and arrived in July at *Salem* in a sickly condition. Those new emigrants divided into two bodies, of which one settled in *Charles-Town*, so called from its being built on the banks of the river *Charles*; and the other at a place called *Dorchester*, at the bottom of *Massachusetts* bay. The inhabitants of *Charles-Town* soon perceived the superior advantages of the spot where *Boston* is now built, and, removing thither, they there founded that metropolis of *New England*. It is to the honour of the puritan ministers, that they were highly instrumental not only in forming the manners, but in promoting the interests of this promising colony. The chief of them were *Wilson*, *Wareham*, *Hooker*, and *Eliot*, which last is deservedly stiled the apostle of *America*. The colony now prospered, and was encreased to a degree that rendered it formidable to the natives, so that the colonists were obliged to live perpetually upon their guard; but the apprehensions of the latter were removed by a calamity, which an *European* can scarce have an idea of, but was not uncommon in that country amongst the savages; for the small pox all of a sudden swept off nine parts in ten of the natives, and the despicable remainder fled to new and distant habitations.

In 1632, *Winthrop*, the new governor of *Massachusetts Bay*, and *Wilson*, the minister of *Boston*, travelled for forty miles through the woods to settle a regular correspondence with the colony of *New Plymouth*. About this time, a new phenomenon appeared in the *American* world. One Sir *Christopher Gardiner*, having run through a capricious round of pleasures, pretending to be a puritan though he is said to have been a papist in his heart, settled with a lady he carried along with

him amongst the *Indians*, in the neighbourhood of *Boston*, intending, as he pretended, to pass the remainder of his life in retirement. It was not, it seems, so perfectly regular as to impose upon the governor of *New Plymouth*, who promised the *Indians* a reward, if they could take him alive, which they did; but not till after a gallant resistance, in which he was wounded. Being carried to *New Plymouth* his wounds were cured, and he was, from thence, sent to *Old England*, where he exclaimed against the injustice that had been done him, and joined with the enemies of the *New Plymouth* colony, who were numerous and powerful. As no particulars of this gentleman's offences are either specified or proved, we suspect that he was guilty only of a behaviour, which the puritans there looked upon as the worst of crimes. *Gardiner*, on his arrival in *England*, was joined by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, and the chief of the *New England* council, in a petition which they presented to the privy council of *England* against the colony, but in this they had no success. Next year, some of the heads of the puritan ministers then settled in *New England* arrived in *Old England* to solicit farther supplies for their colony. The good sense, the policy, and the great national advantages accruing from it, got the better of *Laud* and his brethren of the established church, all-powerful as they were with their mislaid master. Some of the members of the council board, sensible of the national advantages arising from the colony, patronized them; and all the puritans in *England*, who were then a formidable body, favoured them, as did most men of sense even of the established religion.

*Murder of
two Eng-
lishmen.*

It must, however, be acknowledged, that some of the colonists settled in *New England* did not behave with proper moderation, even in temporal affairs. They had no ideas of the right which the natives had to their own country, and whatever may be pretended of the puritans having purchased it from the *Indians*, the latter were often treated with an impolitic barbarity. Pity it was, that they had no other means of testifying their resentment, but by actions reciprocally barbarous. The *Pequots* was an *Indian* nation, lying in the neighbourhood of *New Plymouth*. Two *English* gentlemen, captain *Stone* and captain *Morton*, were incautions enough to set out in a small bark from *New England* towards *Virginia*, and to force two of the natives, whom they seized, to pilot them up *Connecticut* river. The *Pequots*, suspecting that this was done with a design to seize on their lands on the borders of that river, both the gentlemen, with six men attending them, were surprized and put to death; their bark blowing up after it had been plundered by the savages. This, in the main,

main, seems to have been the truth, and, though the *Indians* endeavoured to excuse themselves by pretending that the bark blew up by accident, yet they never could be prevailed upon to restore the plunder they had seized.

In a society primarily founded upon religious principles, *The colony* it is not surprising that religion had there a great influence. *persecute* One Mr. *Williams*, the minister of *Salem*, had broached several wrong-headed opinions, and amongst others the following, viz. That it was not lawful for good men to join in family prayer with the wicked; that it was unlawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate; and that the king of *England* having no right over the *Indians* of *America*, his patent was invalid; with several other principles of the like tendency. *Williams* was so obstinate, that he defended his doctrines, for which he and his followers were driven out of *Massachusetts* colony, and took refuge on the banks of an adjoining river, where they built a town, which they called *Providence*, lying to the southward of *Plymouth*, opposite *Rhode-Island*, and in the country of the *Narragansets*. *Williams*, in other respects, seems to have been a wise, virtuous, worthy man; and proved afterwards to be one of the greatest benefactors to the new settlement that ever went from *Old England*.

In the year 1635, the famous Sir *Henry Vane*, the younger, *Sir Henry* who afterwards lost his head for high treason in *England*, and *Vane* *governor* who, notwithstanding all his parts, was at this time a gloomy hair brained enthusiast, went over to *New England* in a fleet of twenty sail, well provided with stores and passengers of all kinds. He is said to have been encouraged to this voyage by *Charles I.* himself, who wanted to be rid of him, and persuaded his father to let him be absent for three years. A man of his figure and reputation highly engaged the attention of both *Old* and *New England*; and, instead of forming a settlement, as he proposed to do, on the banks of *Connecticut* river, he accepted of the government of *Massachusetts*, which was offered him. His scheme of government was entirely different from the principles of the ruling party there, who, most inconsistently with their own conduct, demanded a rigorous conformity, through all their colony, in matters of religion. *Sir Henry*, who, if he had any principle, was that which was afterwards called independency, was for a comprehension of the baptists, and all the other sectaries who disented from the church of *England*; nor would he be dictated to by the ministers and their ruling elders. Being as violent as they were obstinate, at the next election he was set aside, and Mr. *Winthrop* was replaced in the government; upon which

Sir

Sir Henry returned to England, where he acted a part sufficiently known in history.

The Con-
necticut
company
settled.

THE more the colony prospered, the more did the aversion of the *Pegquots* to the *English* manifest itself; so that the scheme of making a settlement on *Connecticut* river for bridling them was still pursued. The two settlements at *New Plymouth* and *Massachusetts* were, by fresh emigrations from *England*, now become so populous that they contained towns, to which the names of the principal cities and towns in *England* were affixed. The situations of some of those towns, however, were not always well-judged; and upon the report of certain commissioners, who had been sent to survey the banks of *Connecticut* river, of their amazing fertility and conveniency, many inhabitants already settled resolved to transplant themselves thither. Mr. *Hooker*, the minister, put himself at the head of the first detachment of those emigrants, and after easy journeys of ten or eleven days, they arrived at the banks of that river, where they began to build a town, which they called *Hertford*; other detachments followed afterwards, who built *Windsor*, and three or four towns more. It happened unfortunately for those new planters, that they were obliged to draw all their subsistence from *Massachusetts*; and it was so late in the year before the ship that was to carry them could be freighted, that she was frozen up at the mouth of the river, sixty miles below the nearest of the new plantations. This accident proved a dreadful blow upon the settlers, especially the poorer sort of them, many of whom were frozen to death in endeavouring to get back to their former habitations: nor indeed can we well conceive how the others could subsist, unless they carried their provisions with them, or had drawn them from the ship. Be this as it will, it is certain, that they who remained, by their courage and perseverance, conquered all difficulties, and, in the spring of the year 1636, this colony was in a condition, not only to subsist, but to defend itself from the natives. Great part of its settlements, however, being without the limits of the *Massachusetts's Bay* company, under whose commission they acted, they agreed upon a plan of government amongst themselves, and chose for their governor *Edward Hopkins*, Esq;

Their
difficulties.

Great
scheme for
peopling
New
England

THE independency with which those colonists acted, the prosperous state of their settlements, with the beauty and fertility of the country, now made it to be considered by the heads of the puritan party in *England*, many of whom were men of the first rank, fortunes, and abilities, as the sanctua-

ty of liberty; and some of them, particularly the lord viscount Say, and the lord Brooke, formed a design to transport thither themselves, their families, and effects. It happened, that the earl of Warwick, who was a puritan like-wile, had obtained a grant from the crown of all that part of the country, extending from the river Narraganset forty leagues in a strait line, near the sea-shore towards Virginia, for so the continent, south of New England, was then called. This grant was assigned by the earl of Warwick to the lords Brooke and Say, Charles Fiennes, Esq; Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, Esq; John Pym, Esq; John Hampden, Esq; and Herbert Pelham, Esq; But matters, about this time, began to take a turn in England. The friends of the constitution had secretly united themselves against the court, and had entered into a correspondence with the heads of the Scotch parliament; so that the above gentlemen thought it would be cowardly for them to desert their country, while there remained the smallest probability of their being able to serve her. They therefore sent over a commission to Mr. Fenwick, their agent in New England, authorising him to dispose of their lands, which he accordingly did, to the colony of Connecticut, who thereby luckily obtained for the first time a legal patent for a great part of their possessions.

THE design of the lords and the gentlemen to transport themselves to New England came to the ears of the court; and it was publicly known that several other members of the English house of commons, amongst whom were Oliver Cromwell and Sir Arthur Haselrig, had the same intention. Laud, and the bigots about king Charles, trembled at this, and prevailed with Juxon, bishop of London, then lord high treasurer, to lay an embargo upon eight ships lying then laden in the Thames for New England. A proclamation, at the same time, was emitted to restrain the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects. Thus Charles and his ministers sought to undo the only prosperous measure of his reign, as if they had been ashamed of having so long connived at the felicity of England. They, at the same time, procured the lord admiral's order for stopping all divines, who did not conform to the church of England, from transporting themselves to his majesty's plantations; and several other orders, equally absurd and impolitic, of the same kind were published. Those foolish measures seemed to encrease the desire of the people to leave England; and, in the summer of 1636, so many planters arrived, that they could find no place for them to settle on Massachusetts Bay. They, therefore, purchased from the

the natives the land that lies between *Connecticut* river and *New York*, called *Hudson's river*; and there founded the town, colony, province, and government of *Newhaven*; which, with *Long Island*, which was comprehended in their purchase, was soon filled with towns, all of them, as usual, with *Old English* names. The heads of those emigrants were *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; an eminent merchant, and the reverend *Mr. Davenport*, minister of *Coleman-street*, who, having been obliged to fly for non-conformity to *Holland*, returned to *England* in disguise, where he shipped himself off for *New England*. This colony at first, being most of them traders, applied to commerce, in which they were unsuccessful, but when they turned themselves to clear and improve their lands, they thrive like the rest.

Trade
of New
England.

THE trade of *New England* consisted now of two great branches; the product of the earth, in which we include the peltry; and that of the sea: but the furs and fishes were commonly in the same hands, and the north-east parts of *New England* were found to be the most commodious for both. Two counties were therefore there laid out, those of *New Hampshire* and *Maine*, between the rivers *Merrimack* and *Sagadahock*; and here likewise several towns were built. The difficulties which this last settlement, which lay within the line of the *Massachusetts* colony, met with, arose from their own feuds and dissensions, which in the end deprived them of their independency. The *French* colonies in *Canada* having great communications with the *Indians*, who lay nearest to *New England*, used all means to disturb their settlements; and it is certain that the *French* councils at home had a great effect on the mind of *Charles*, and were a principal means of the impolitic discouragement which he now gave to his *New England* subjects. Add to this, that the *Dutch* were then settled in the country now called *New York*, and did not behold the flourishing state of *New England* with pleasing eyes.

War with
the Pe-
quots.

THE *Pequots*, whom we have already mentioned, had for some time been at war with their neighbours, the *Naragansetts*, and likewise with the *Dutch* at *New York*; but they on all occasions manifested their ill-will towards the *English*, whom they considered as the invaders and usurpers of their country. The *English*, for some time, were not able to act offensively, or they would have brought them to account for the deaths of the captains *Stone* and *Norton*, and likewise for many alarms which they had given their settlements, particularly their mother-one at *New Plymouth*. But at the time we now treat of, the four colonies of *New Plymouth*, *Massachusetts*,

~~The English of~~
~~the~~ *Connecticut*, and *Newbury*, could muster 7000 men.
 This struck the *Pequots* with terror, and they pretended to
 court the friendship of Mr. *Winthrop*, the governor of *Massachusetts*.
Winthrop agreed to a treaty, but insisted upon
 terms not a little arbitrary, viz. That the murderers of *Bron*
 should be given up; that the *Pequots* should make a cession
 of their lands adjacent to *Connecticut* river, and that a free
 trade should be opened between the two nations. The *Pe-*
quots seemed disposed to grant those demands, provided the
English would bring about a peace between them and the
Narragansets, which it seems could not be effected. The
Pequots then seized a *Massachusetts* vessel, and murdered its
 owner. They then proceeded to other hostilities; killed
 nine men at *Weathersfield*, an *English* town upon *Connecticut*
 river, and took prisoners two young women, who escaped
 being put to death by torture by the sachem's wife taking a
 liking for them. The governor and council at *Boston*, which
 was already become the residence of the *New England* legisla-
 ture, to revenge those insults, sent the captains *Endicot*, *Un-*
derhill and *Turner*, with one hundred and twenty men, the
 greatest army of *Englishmen* that had ever been before seen
 in *New England*, to demand satisfaction. The *Indians* fled to
 the woods, and all the satisfaction the *English* obtained, was
 their destroying their corn and cottages. Upon their depar-
 ture, the savages attacked *Seabrook*, the fort that had been
 erected by Mr. *Fenwick*; but they were repulsed, though the
 garrison consisted of no more than twenty men. In revenge
 for this, they killed some people who were at work in the
 fields, and applied to the *Narragansets* for assistance against
 the *English*, but were refused it.

THE *English* of those parts foresaw and dreaded the con-
 sequences, should they suffer such insults to remain unchast-
 tized; and, therefore, a kind of crusade was preached up-
 against the infidels, through all the confederated colonies.
 That of *Connecticut*, young as it was, furnished ninety men
 under captain *Mason*; *Seabrook* twenty, under captain *Un-*
derhill; and these, being joined, sailed to the *Narragansets*
 port, where they demanded from the sachem a free passage
 into the *Pequots* country, which was granted. Five hundred
Narragansets, who joined them on their march, deserted
 them when they came near the *Pequots* country, and returned
 home; but *Uncas*, a friendly sachem and his men, stood
 firm to the *English*, tho', when they came within sight of
 danger, they fell into the rear of the party.

ARRIVING at the *Pequots* country, they had intelligence
 that *Sassacus*, the sachem of the *Pequots*, and his men were
 retired

*Expedition
 against the
 natives.*

entire into two strong forts on the river *Missick*, about eight miles distant from each other. This *Sassacus* was the most tremendous champion of all the *American* chiefs, being so strong and so brave at the same time, that his people said he was a god, and could not be killed. The *English* set fire to the first fort they came to, while all within it were asleep, and killed all whom the flames did not consume, excepting seven or eight who escaped; so that, in fact, they may be said to have massacred four or five hundred unsuspecting, unoffending, barbarians. By this time, *Sassacus*, who was in the other fort, got together three hundred of his men, and harried the rear of the *English* for almost six miles. The victory, if it may be called so, of the *English* appeared to be next to miraculous to the savages, who, measuring every thing by success, abandoned the brave *Sassacus*, and he was obliged to conceal himself. The second detachment of the *English* from *Massachusetts Bay*, about a fortnight after the massacre committed by the first, arrived in the *Pequot* country, with an intention, as appeared by the sequel, to exterminate the very race. Finding no body of them; they scoured the woods in small parties, and killed or took prisoners all they met with. They cut off the heads of two sachems, but gave the third his life, for being so dastardly as to discover the place where *Sassacus* was concealed. The latter, however, was not to be surprised, and escaped to the country of the *Maquas*, or *Mohocks*, who inhumanly put him to death at the request of the *Narragansets*, instigated, probably, by the *English*. Amongst other adventures in this expedition, a party of the *English* met with eight hundred men, and two hundred women, with their children, whom they drove into a swamp, where they must have been starved to death if they remained, or killed, had they attempted to leave it. A fog arose which favoured the escape of the men, but they were discovered, pursued, many of them killed, and some of them found dead in the woods of their wounds. The women surrendered, and became the prey of the victors. Amongst them was the sachem's wife, who had so generously saved the lives of the two *Weathersfield* maids. With a modest dignity, which would have done honour to a *Roman* matron, she requested her captors, that her body might not be abused, nor her children taken from her; and the sweetness of her countenance and behaviour was answerable to the virtue and tenderness of her requests. The number of the prisoners in the whole was about one hundred and eighty, and they were divided between the colonies of *Connecticut* and *Massachusetts*. As to the women and children, the former were dispersed through

An example of
savage
virtue.

through the *English* settlements, and the male infants were sent to *Bermuda*. We own, unless those colonists had some other motives than those expressed in their history, which is not very probable, we cannot account for the humanity or justice of this war. Conquest, it is true, is said to establish a right; but then the grounds of the quarrel, from which that conquest arises, ought to be justifiable, otherwise the conquest itself is a wicked and an illegal title. As to the *Paquots*, their lands were distributed amongst the *English* planters; of the few who escaped, some fled to other countries, and others submitted to the conquerors, who divided them between the *Narragansets* and the *Mohegins*, who were friends to the *English*.

A WAR of a different kind, which threatened the extinction of the colony, had by this time broken out. Diversity of religions in an undertaking of that kind, is only so far beneficial, as they are founded upon the principles of toleration; but no toleration is to be expected amongst hot-brained enthusiasts, such as the majority of those *New Englanders* were. They began upon the fanatical parts of controversy, and their madness was encouraged by young *Vane*. Whether the preference ought to be given to the covenant of works, or the covenant of grace? was a most important point to be decided, and the controversy took rise from women. One lady, *Mrs. Hutchinson*, held in her house assemblies of female devotees, where she held forth in sermons and other effusions of nonsense. This religious contagion was soon communicated to their husbands. Mechanics set up for preachers, and the old ministers were turned out. The clergy themselves were divided, till at last the magistrates interposed and a synod was called; the majority of which happened to be for the magistrates, that is, on the side of common sense. Notwithstanding the threatening aspect which those divisions bore to the affairs of the colony, yet in the end they turned greatly to its advantage. The madness of the *Antinomians*, for so the party condemned by the synod was called, obliged their antagonists to inflict some severities upon them; upon which the others purchased what is now called *Rhode-Island*, and made so judicious a choice of their situation, that it was soon so much overstocked with inhabitants and planters, that part of them were obliged to purchase lands near the river *Patuxet*, where they built two towns *Providence* and *Warwick*; and the spot of *Rhode-Island*, with those two towns its dependencies, is at present amongst the most flourishing in all *North America*.

*Religious
difference.*

190
A college
established.

From what has been said of those religious disputes, the governors of *New England* very reasonably thought that nothing could so effectually remove their causes, as the introduction of useful learning into their colony. This had been long foreseen, and so far back as the year 1630, a sum of money had been subscribed for founding a college there for the education of youth. But the sum being too small, and the *Pequot* war employing the attention of the public, the design lay long unexecuted, till the munificence of private benefactors, as well as of public bodies, now carried it into execution. A spot, about six miles from *Boston*, was pitched upon, and there a college, which goes by the name of its principal benefactor, *Harward*, was erected, which gives the town where it is situated the name of *Cambridge*.

Increase of
the colony.

FEW of the places originally pitched upon for settlements in *New England*, were now able to contain or maintain their inhabitants, and frequent migrations happened. In 1640, the year we now treat of, the inhabitants of *Lyn* in *Massachusetts* purchased from the agents of the earl of *Sterling*, a great proprietary in those countries, the western part of *Long Island*. But, being there incommoded by the *Dutch*, they removed to the eastern part, where they built the town of *Southampton*; and, in imitation of the other settlements in *New England*, they formed themselves into a civil government. It is computed, that, about this time, the four colonies or settlements of *New England* contained above 4000 planters. Though all of them were under separate governments, yet a kind of a federal union subsisted amongst them; but they did not, till two years after, come into any certain plan of general government. In 1641, *Massassoit*, the son probably of old *Massassoit*, and his son *Novanam*, came to *New Plymouth*, which was now called simply *Plymouth*, and not only renewed the former league between his people and the *English*, but concluded with the latter a treaty offensive and defensive. This was a very wise measure on both sides: *Massassoit* thereby was taken into the protection of the *English*, and though they were then so powerful, that they could have brought 3000 armed men into the field, yet it was highly convenient for them to have savages to oppose savages, in case of being attacked. In the year 1642, the number of *English* capable to bear arms in *New England* were computed to be between 7 or 8000; by which it appears, how much the civil war improved that colony. No fewer than seventy-seven divines, expelled from *England*, settled in *New England*, besides sixteen students, who afterwards

words became ministers. Many of these, however, when the
 puritan and independent party got the upper hand in *England*,
 showed that they had a regard for their interest, as well as
 their conscience, by leaving their flocks, and returning to
Old England, where they met with places and preferments.
 At the time we now treat of, fifty towns and villages were
 planted; above forty ministers had houses, and public works
 of all kinds were erected at public expence. All this could
 not have been done, but through the almost incredible industry
 of the inhabitants, which had by this time rendered their coun-
 try a near resemblance of *England*. Fields were hedged in,
 gardens, orchards, meadow, and pasture grounds were laid
 out, and all the improvements of husbandry took place, parti-
 cularly the sowing of corn, and the feeding of cattle. As to
 the commercial part of the inhabitants, they shipped off vast
 quantities of fish for *Portugal* and the *Straits*, besides sup-
 plying other places, *England* particularly, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.
 They exported bread and beef to the sugar islands, with oil
 and lumber, or timber, of all kinds, some of which they
 sent to their mother country; and, what is still more sur-
 prizing, they carried on a great trade in ship building, being
 plentifully furnished with materials both for themselves and
 others. It was about this time likewise, that *Thomas May-
 hew*, Esq; purchased a patent for an island, which he called
Martha's Vineyard, to the south-east of *Rhode-Island*, with
 two other little islands near it, called *Nantucket* and *Elizabeth*
 islands. *Mayhew* took out this patent principally with a
 view of converting to christianity the natives of those islands.
 For this purpose he settled his son, who was of his own cast,
 in *Martha's Vineyard*; and both together gave themselves up
 entirely to the conversion of the *Indians* with great success,
 which is the less to be wondered at, as the converts were their
 own tenants, or rather their property. *Mayhew* the son
 being drowned soon after, the father continued his evangelical
 labours, being assisted by his grandson, the third *Mayhew*,
 who proved an able and a worthy minister. This spot, in a
 short time, became as flourishing as any in *New England*.

NEITHER their labours, however, nor those of the other *Dissenters*
 christian ministers, could extirpate the barbarous usages of the *amongst*
 natives, or reconcile their tribes to one another. *Miantonimo*, the In-
 king of the *Narragansets*, having failed in a design he had to diana.
 assassinate *Uncas*, one of the kings of the *Mohocks*, declared
 war against him; but, though *Uncas* was far inferior in
 strength to his antagonist, he defeated him, took him pri-
 soner, and cut off his head. The *Narragansets* were so ex-
 asperated at this, that, being more numerous than the others,
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they carried on the war with a resolution to exterminate *Uncas'* nation, who were therefore obliged to put themselves under the protection of the *English*. This was granted them, but on express condition, that they should deliver up the sons of their new king, as hostages for their keeping the peace, and paying the expences of the war. Those savages are faithless oftener through indolence than design, and neglecting to perform their promise, the governor of *Massachusetts* ordered one captain *Atherton* to take a small party of men, and to compel them. It is almost incredible with what ease *Atherton* performed this service; for such was the dread of the *English* power amongst those savages, that he marched to the wigwam or palace of *Neriget*, the *Narraganset* sachem, and, without the smallest opposition from any of his subjects, he dragged him out by the hair of his head, and with a pistol at his breast compelled him to pay the money, and to deliver up the hostages.

The
French
practices
against the
English.

It is certain, and indeed it appears from the accounts of the *French* themselves, that the *French* were very troublesome about this time; and that the *French* missionaries of *Canada* were extremely active in spurring up the more distant savages against the *English* colonists of *New England*. This put the latter upon a very wise expedient, for uniting all the four governments into a political confederacy, yet each retaining the form and independency of its interior government. This project had been long in agitation, and, at last, on the seventh of *September*, 1643, the same was effected by an instrument under the following title, viz. "Articles of confederation, between the plantations under the government of the *Massachusetts*, the plantations under the government of *Plymouth*, the plantations under the government of *Connecticut*, and the government of *Newhaven*, with the plantations in combination therewith." By those articles they declared that they all came into those parts of *America* with the same errand and aim, to advance the christian religion, and enjoy the liberty of their consciences with purity and peace; that two commissioners should annually be chosen, who should have full powers from the general court of each settlement to meet at an appointed place to concert and conclude matters of general concernment, such as peace or war, and other affairs conducive to the general welfare of the confederacy. It is more than probable, that the plan of this excellent measure was taken from that of the government of the *United Provinces*. Their deputies sat as the states-general, but without the same inconveniences attending their constitution, because it was more simple, and under no controul but that of the

the four confederates together that appointed them; so that from this time we are to consider them under the common denomination of *New England*.

By this time, the mother-colony of *New Plymouth* was New overstocked with inhabitants, and its soil worn out, which Plymouth put some of the principal inhabitants upon transporting themselves to a place called by the natives, from whom they purchased it, *Namset*; and which was every way proper for the purposes both of agriculture and commerce, the soil being rich for the one, and the situation convenient for the other, it lying near *Cape Cod*. Having removed hither with their best effects, they built the town of *East-Ham*, now lying in *Barnstable* county.

The affairs of *New England* were then in so flourishing a situation, that, as has been the case with states of much greater importance, they grew wanton with prosperity, and the liberty they enjoyed threatened their ruin. They had nothing to apprehend from the savages, who were even useful to them in carrying on their affairs; and the *French* were at too great a distance to give them much disturbance. They split however amongst themselves; for the inhabitants of *Hingham* in *Suffolk* county, in a domestic contention, having broken the peace, Mr. *Winthrop*, the deputy-governor of the *Massachusetts*, committed the rioters to prison for refusing to give bond to appear at the quarter-sessions, and to answer for words spoken in defamation of the general court of the *Massachusetts*. This produced a petition from the inhabitants of the town, signed by seven of them; of whom six, being cited to the court, appealed to the *English* parliament, and offered bail for standing to its award. This was a very dangerous precedent, and, if admitted, must have ruined the public peace; especially, as they complained of many other grievances. The members of the general court were sensible of this, and fined and imprisoned the petitioners, whose chief complaints were levelled against the deputy-governor *Winthrop*. The general court, however, with a right republican spirit, commanded *Winthrop* to descend from his dignity on the bench, to clear his conduct at the bar, which he most magnanimously did, to the admiration and satisfaction of all present, and a severer fine was added to the punishment of the offenders. Mr. *Winthrop*, having resumed his seat upon the bench, made the following speech, which is equal to any thing of antiquity, whether we consider it as coming from a philosopher or a magistrate.

2 GENTLEMEN,

His speech
as being
requested,

"I will not look back to the past proceedings of this court, nor to the persons therein concerned: I am satisfied that I was publicly accused, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but give me leave to say something on this occasion, that may rectify the opinion of the people, from whom these distempers of the state have arisen. The questions that have troubled the country of late have been about the authority of the magistrate, and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment of God, and I entreat you to consider that you chose them from among yourselves, and that they are men, subject to the like passions with yourselves. We take an oath to govern you according to God's laws and our own, to the best of our skill; if we commit errors, not willingly, but for want of skill, you ought to bear with us; nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a liberty in doing what we list, without regard to law or justice: this liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority, but civil, moral, federal liberty consists in every one's enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country; this is what you ought to contend for, with the hazard of your lives; but this is very consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate, and the paying him that respect that his character in common requires."

THIS noble speech was of equal benefit to the reputation of Mr. *Winthrop*, and the peace of the colony. It settled him firmly in the esteem and the affections of the people, and the general court, and by his well-timed condescension, he became more powerful than ever. *New England* then was in a perfect state of tranquility, and we are to make use of this interval to shew how well it was improved, for the great end of the colonists converting the *Indians*, by which a civil as well as a religious end was obtained, as by their conversion they were rendered useful members to society. The reverend Mr. *John Elliot*, whom we have already named, was the first of the *English* missionaries who ventured into the countries of the savages to preach the gospel. For this purpose, he applied himself to one of the most discouraging studies, that of learning, their language. In other respects, he was extremely proper for the labours of a mission. He had been educated at *Cambridge*, where he had acquired a considerable stock of learning, and coming over to *New England*, he was settled at *Roxbury*, where he continued minister for about sixty years, and became so great a proficient in the *Indian* language, that he published a grammar of it. In

October,

October, 1646, he set out on his mission, but sent forerunners to apprize the *Indians* of his intention. Upon this he was met upon the borders of the country he intended to convert by five or six of the savages, headed by a grave *Indian*, one *Wauban*, who welcomed him; and, ushering him into a large wigwam, he there began to preach and instruct his new disciples. According to his representation of their questions, arising from his religious discourses, they were not void either of quickness or docility, and, in a short time, several hundreds were converted. The civil government of *New England* wisely seconded the apostolical labours of this reverend person. They furnished him with all kinds of tools for agriculture, and with money to encourage the natives to labour, which he distributed amongst his converts; so that, in a short time, they built a town upon a spot assigned them by the colony. The great difficulty of this undertaking was to break the natives of their idle habits, and to conquer their indolence; in which the missionary and his associates (for he had several) succeeded to admiration, though they never could bring them to go through the laborious works so well as an *Englishman*. They laboured, however, with great assiduity, women as well as men, after they came to taste the profits of their toil; and, at last, they agreed to the following laws, which will give the reader a lively idea of their manners. “1. If any man be idle a week, or, at most, a fortnight, he shall pay five shillings. 2. If any unmarried man shall lie with a woman unmarried, he shall pay twenty shillings. 3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the place of justice, to be severely punished. 4. Every young man, if not another’s servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other wigwams. 5. If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as man’s hair, she shall pay five shillings. 6. If any woman shall go with naked breasts, she shall pay five shillings. 7. All men that shall wear long locks, shall pay five shillings.”

*Laws
enacted.*

THEIR compliance with christianity, and the above institutions, wrought so surprizing a change for the better upon those converts, that the *Indians*, about the town of *Concord*, longed to be converted likewise. Mr. *Elliot*, at their request, visited them, and a spot of ground was assigned them for building a town. As the *Indians* have different vices or superstitions in every tribe, Mr. *Elliot* prevailed upon those converts to abolish the *perwaving*, or conjurings of their priests, which were most infamous impositions. Drunkenness was

published by a fine of twenty shillings. A thief was to restore four-fold. Twenty shillings was the penalty for profaning the sabbath, and for fornication; but the woman for the last nam'd crime was to pay only ten shillings. The man who beat his wife was to pay twenty shillings; and murder and adultery were made capital crimes. They likewise agreed to lay aside their savage customs of greasing their hair, howling, and the like, and to conform themselves to the *English* dress and behaviour, to say prayers and grace before and after meat. Several *English* gentlemen and divines in the neighbourhood, undertook to enforce the execution of those laws, and the new converts had cloaths distributed amongst them.

State of
christianity.

THE rapid progress of christianity alarmed the *Indian* sachems, who complained that both their revenues and their authority were diminished since their subjects had turned christians. Even *Uncas*, the friendly sachem we have already mentioned, seeing his territory now quite surrounded with the *English*, became apprehensive that their government would issue orders for his and his courtiers praying in their wigwams, and therefore he came into the general court of *Connecticut*, and there entered a formal protest against any such proceeding. *Cutshamoquin*, another sachem, stood very high upon his prerogative, and prohibited all his christian subjects building any town in his territories; "because, said he to Mr. *Elliot*, my praying subjects do not pay me tribute as formerly." Upon enquiry, however, it was found, that what his majesty said was not strictly true; and that he had received the same revenues as before, only, being a despotic tyrant, he was not, so much as formerly, master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. His complaints met with so much regard, that Mr. *Elliot* was chosen umpire between him and his people, who enumerated thirty-two bushels of corn, fifteen deer, the discharging a debt he owed of 3 l. 10 s, and a beaver skin worth forty shillings, they had given him, besides building and enclosing his wigwam and several days work. They added that they would even do more, if he would govern them justly, and turn christian. *Cutshamoquin*, like other tyrants, could not bear with his subjects remonstrances, and their liberty of speech, and therefore left the assembly with high indignation; but, when he grew cool, he turned christian himself, as being the most ready means of encreasing his revenue.

An Indian
town.

BUT, notwithstanding the opposition those conversions met with, the converts multiplied so greatly that the praying christians, for so they were called, built a large town near *Charles* river, in the middle of the *Massachusetts*; and was the best

both *Indian* towns, that had ever been seen either in the *French* or the *English* settlements of *North America*. It consisted of three long streets, (one of them on the other side of the river, but joined by a wooden bridge) and a large house built after the *English* manner, which served for a church, a school-room, a store-house, and a lodging for Mr. *Elliot*. This *Indian* town soon encreased in bulk and populousness, and the natives called it *Natick*. Mr. *Elliot's* missionary labours grew so much upon his hands, that he was obliged to take for his pupil an ingenious *Indian*, whose name was *Mene-queffon*, whom he made his schoolmaster at *Natick*. It is to the honour of Mr. *Elliot* that we mention, he was so zealous and so disinterested a missionary, that he translated several tracts, and, at last, the bible itself, into the *Indian* language, which was afterwards printed. In other parts of this great colony, (for such it now was) other ministers were equally zealous; and Mr. *Mayhew*, particularly, converted an *Indian* called *Hiacomnes*, who, with his son, turned preacher, and were extremely useful to them. Other *English* ministers, after Mr. *Elliot's* example, learned the *Indian* language; and, in a short time, no fewer than eleven *Indian* christian settlements, with churches and schools were formed, and all of them but three supplied with *Indian* pastors and school-masters; nay, in some of the most populous, particularly near *East Ham*, they had *Indian* justices of the peace. All this success was owing to the good usage those savages met with; for the remains of the *Pequots*, the *Narragansetts*, and the *Mohicans*, who had been severely handled by the *English*, were still irreconcilable to christianity, notwithstanding the indefatigable labours of Mr. *Mayhew*.

It is not to be dissembled, that, however exemplary the *Discontent* lives of the *English* colonists might be at this time, the un-^{of the na-}converted *Indians*, seeing them in possession of so great a ^{times.} part of their country, and still acquiring more, had but a very indifferent opinion of their justice, and their goodness of heart. This appears by an excellent repartee given to Mr. *Mayhew*, who, wanting to convert a sachem, the latter bid him "go, and make the *English* good first." By this time, a society for propagating the gospel was formed in *New England*, and it was reckoned that about 5000 *Indian* converts, who were supposed to have been the fourth part of all the remaining natives, were made in that province. This very noble institution was confirmed in 1649, by the parliament of *England*, who then passed an act to encourage the propagating the gospel amongst the *Indians* in *New England*. In consequence of this act, a corporation was established in

England, consisting of a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with powers to receive and disburse money for those pious purposes; and so popular were the interests of *New England* at that time, that the money contributed in one year in *Old England* enabled the society to purchase estates to the yearly value of 600 l. But this subject has carried us a little beyond our time.

Conspiracy against the English. In 1647, the *French* found means to engage in their interests some of the outlying *Indians*; and *Sequoiassan*, a sachem near *Newhaven*, undertook to murder the *English* magistrates there. The *Narragansets* and *Mohegins* likewise shewed dispositions for renewing the war against *Uncas*, but were over-awed by the *English*, who, at the same time, obliged them to give satisfaction for some murders and depredations they had committed near *Rhode Island*. The year 1648 was remarkable for nothing, but the *New England* churches agreeing to the confession of faith published by the assembly of divines at *Westminster*, and for modelling their ecclesiastical discipline. But, at this time, the inhabitants of *New England* were in so great security from their *Indian* enemies, that they gave way to the most inhuman persecutions of one another. Till then in *England*, all were blended under the denomination of puritans, which signified dissenters of all kinds from the established church. But when they came to have an established church, under the protection of the civil government, which was the case when the parliament and *Oliver Cromwell* ruled in *England*, their dissenting sects shewed themselves; and the ruling party, the presbyterians, shewed more mercy to the baptists and the quakers, than *Laud* and his party had shewed to themselves. At a place called *Rehobeth*, in the *Plymouth* colony, this persecution first broke out, and six or seven of the baptists, who had separated from their presbyterian brethren, were severely whipped, fined, and imprisoned, excepting such whose friends, unknown to themselves, bought their whipping off, to the great mortification of the parties, who were ambitious of suffering in their persons. Some years after, viz. in 1656, this spirit of persecution broke out still more bitterly against the quakers, many of whom had come from *Barbadoes* to *New England*, where the magistrates first were contented with ordering them to be re-shipped for that island. In the mean while, it was enacted, that every master of a ship bringing thither a quaker, or quakers, should forfeit 100 l. That all quakers, landing in *New England* should be sent to the house of correction, there to be severely whipped, and held to hard labour, and none to speak to them; and that 5 l. should be the

the penalty for dispersing any of their books or pamphlets. Several sanguinary punishments were accordingly inflicted upon those deluded wretches; but these not being thought sufficiently severe, the following inhuman laws were added to the former. "If a quaker, for the first offence, that is, coming to *New England* after having been banished, if a man, to have one of his ears cut off, and be kept to hard work in the house of correction, till he could be shipped off at his own charges. For the second offence, to lose the other ear, and be kept in the house of correction. If a woman, to be severely whipped, and kept as aforesaid. For the third offence, man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and then to be kept in the house of correction, till they can be shipped off at their own charges."

THOSE laws were productive of still greater mutilations *Their* and whippings; and Mr. *Bradford*, who had been governor *enthru-* of *New Plymouth* colony for about thirty-seven years, dying, *siasm.* he was succeeded by *Thomas Prince*, Esq; as was Mr. *Eaton*, the original governor of *Newhaven* colony, by *Francis Newman*, Esq. The severities against the quakers, instead of deterring them, seemed to invite them into *New England*; where, at last, the magistrates, ministers, and elders, made a law for shipping them off, and prohibiting their return under pain of death. It was with great difficulty carried, that the delinquents in such cases should have the benefit of a jury. It happened, to the disgrace of the *English* planters, that *Endicot*, the governor, was himself an enthusiast, and consequently a persecutor; and four quakers, one of whom was a woman, were actually hanged for returning from transportation. Upon the restoration, the colony sent over *Bradstreet*, their secretary, and *Norton*, a minister, with their congratulations to *Charles II.* who received them civilly; but, upon their return, they were upbraided, particularly *Norton*, for having laid the foundation for the colony's ruin. Some time after, secretary *Morrice*, who was himself a presbyterian, by command of his master, *Charles II.* sent over an order for the government of *New England* to stop all proceedings against quakers, which was obeyed, only, so far as related to capital punishments.

ABOUT this time, the two sons of *Massasoit*, the deceased *Submission* Indian prince, came to the general court at *New Plymouth*, of the and desired, without receiving baptism, to have christian Indian names given them; upon which they received those of *princes.* *Alexander* and *Philip*. It soon appeared, that *Alexander* was exciting the *Narragansets* against the *English*, upon which Mr. *Winslow*, who was called major general of the colony, and

and next in authority to the governor, was sent with ten men to bring him prisoner to *Plymouth*. *Winslow* accordingly surprized his majesty at one of his country-seats; and *Alexander*, with a pistol, at his breast, consented to the journey, but insisted to go as a king; upon which *Winslow* offered to give him a horse, but the king was too polite to ride, while his squaw, or wife, and his other women were to go on foot, and walked to *New Plymouth*, where he was very civilly received by governor *Prince*. The affront he had received, however, put his spirits into such an agitation that it threw him into a fever, of which he died.

History
of king
Philip.

His brother and successor, *Philip*, was young, spirited, and politic; and, finding himself at his accession in no condition to maintain a war against the *English*, he came to *Plymouth*, where he renewed his family-alliances with the colony; and farther obliged himself, by an instrument drawn up for that purpose; neither to sell nor alienate any of his lands without their approbation; they, on their parts, engaging to give him all friendly assistance. The year 1662 was spent at *Boston* in ridiculous theological disputes; but, when the *Bartholamew* act took place, by which the dissenting clergy, who did not comply with the church of *England*, were turned out of their livings, *New England* received a fresh reinforcement of pastors; of whom the famous Dr. *Owen* would have been one, had he not received his majesty's positive commands to the contrary, after some of his goods had been put on board.

Institution
of the so-
ciety for
propagat-
ing the
gospel.

THE hands of the government of *New England* being now tied up from putting the quakers to death, the spirit of persecution broke out again, in a manner disgraceful, not only to that colony, but to human nature and reason, by burning innocent people for witches. One Mrs. *Greenwich*, at *Hertford*, was hanged for having lain with the devil. This execution was scarcely over, when the magistrates of *Connecticut* began to reflect that they had really no rule, in any case, to inflict capital punishments; and the colony of *Newhaven* perceived itself to be in the same situation. Upon this, *John Winthrop*, Esq; son to the late governor of the *Massachusetts*, was employed by those two colonies to solicit for them, at the court of *England*, a charter for uniting them into one body corporate. *Winthrop*, who on his own, as well as his father's account, was greatly respected by the government, succeeded in his solicitation, and was the first governor of the united colonies, continuing so till his death. The earl of *Clarendon*, a wife and a moderate minister, was then at the head of affairs in *England*, and did all he could to mitigate his majesty's passion for enlarging his prerogative. It is not to

be

be denied, that the people of *New England*, in general, had, for the reasons we have already seen, always affected an independency upon their mother country; especially when it was governed by the princes of the house of *Stuart*. We have already mentioned the estates, bought by the corporation for propagating the gospel in *New England*; and part of them having been purchased from colonel *Bedingsfield*, a papist and a royalist, he, upon the restoration, re-entered upon the possession of them; but he was obliged to quit it by the lord chancellor *Clarendon*. His lordship, at the same time, upon the application of the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, and alderman *Asburst*, procured a new charter to the corporation, by which the members therein nominated, and their successors for ever, were to be a society for the propagation of the gospel in *New England*. At the head of this new society stood the following illustrious names, *Edward*, earl of *Clarendon*, lord chancellor; *Thomas*, earl of *Southampton*, lord treasurer; *John*, lord *Roberts*, lord privy-seal; *George*, duke of *Albemarle*; *James*, duke of *Ormond*; *Edward*, earl of *Manchester*, lord chamberlain; *Arthur*, earl of *Anglesey*; *William*, viscount *Say and Seal*. Besides those noblemen, the celebrated *Robert Boyle*, Esq; several knights and baronets, three aldermen of *London*, and many other gentlemen of great distinction and learning, were of this society; while Mr. *Boyle* promoted it with great zeal, and, at the expence of his private fortune, was chosen to be its first governor. The members were impowered to appoint corresponding members in *New England*, and its borders; to which their powers were limited.

UPON the breaking out of the *Dutch* war, his majesty, *The king* who seemed still to have been uneasy about the constitution of *New England*, made a grant to the duke of *York* of all the lands possessed by the *Dutch* on both sides of *Hudson's Bay*, and a squadron of ships, with land forces, were sent to drive them away, under the command of Sir *Robert Car*, and colonel *Nicholls*. That service being performed, the two commanders, with other two commissioners, *Cartwright* and *Maverick*, were ordered to repair to *New England*, there to decide all controverted points amongst the colonies. Arriving there, they presented to the governor and council of *New Plymouth* a letter from his majesty, in which he promises to preserve all their liberties and privileges both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation. "This, (continued his majesty) we presume will dispose you to manifest by all your ways in your power, loyalty, and affection to us, that all the world may know, that you look upon yourselves as
being

being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience to us, as if you continued in your natural country." Though those expressions from a king of *England* to one of his colonies were justifiable, yet the presence of the commissioners, we are given to understand, was very unacceptable at *New Plymouth*. Soon after this, upon some extraordinary, but natural, appearances in the air, the magistrates, who seem to have been as much superstition-struck as the lowest of their people, wrote circular letters to the ministers and elders of every town to promote the reformation of manners, as if some very dreadful event had been at hand. The only thing of that kind, however, that happened was a renewal of their own persecutions of the baptists and the quakers, whom they now ruined by banishments, fines, and imprisonments. This produced an interposition from the heads of the presbyterian clergy in *England*, for a mitigation of the sufferings of the baptists, addressed to *John Leverett*, Esq; governor of the *Massachusetts*. At the same time, the chief of the *London* quakers obtained a like letter, signed by eleven of the most eminent dissenting divines, in favour of their brethren, but all was to little or no purpose.

The Phi-
ippic
war.

WHILE the government of *New England* was thus, out of zeal for christianity, exercising a most unchristian spirit, *Philip*, king of the *Wampanoags*, the same we have already mentioned, mindful of his brother's disgrace, was meditating a most severe revenge against the *English*; and conducted himself with as much policy and courage, as his namesake of *Macedon* could have done, had he been in like circumstances. According to *Charlevoix**, in the year 1673, there was no dispute in *America* between the courts of *France* and *England*; but it appears from him, at the same time, that this was owing to the tameness of the court of *England*, which was persuaded by the *French* to order its subjects to leave the fine settlements they had upon the banks of the river *Kennebek*, which they accordingly did, and retired to *New England*; which now far exceeded the *French* boasted colony at *Quebec* in populousness, strength, riches, commerce, and every circumstance that could render the lives of the colonists secure and agreeable. The *French*, therefore, considered *Boston* as the *Carthage*, that was, at any rate to be demolished; and early entered into secret connexions with king *Philip*. He saw they were not then in a condition to assist him; and, though he was a complete master of dissimulation, the *English* at *New Plymouth* began to suspect his intentions, and ordered

* CHARLEVOIX. Tom. II. p. 238.

him to repair to *Taunton*. *Philip* obeyed, and not only confirmed his former treaty with that government, but consented to pay 100*l.* for damages done by himself and his subjects; and, to shew that he was a vassal to the colony of *New Plymouth*, he agreed to send them every year by way of tenure five wolves' heads. If the colony demanded this, it was unjust, as they could have no such claim of superiority over a native and independent prince. If the submission was voluntary, it was impolitic in them to accept of it, as they must know that it was dissembled. Upon the whole, it appears but too plain, that those colonists, now thinking themselves invincible, proceeded against *Philip* and his allies too haughtily, and unguardedly, and with too great a contempt of their power.

PHILIP had a secretary, one *Sansaman*, but whether he was his natural born subject does not appear, though he probably was. He was the son of a converted *Indian*, but growing up, he returned to the religion of his forefathers, from which he apostatized, and again turning christian and a preacher, he was sent upon the *Wampanoag* mission. Having in his heathenish state been secretary to *Philip*, such an apostle could not be a very agreeable guest in his dominions; and, as he was travelling the country, he was murdered by some of *Philip's* counsellors, at which we ought to be the less surprized, as we are told, that, during his mission, he held a correspondence with the *English*. The governor of *New Plymouth*, suspecting the truth, ordered the body to be taken out of its grave, and, the coroners inquest sitting upon it, they brought in their verdict wilful murder; upon which one *Tobias*, one of *Philip's* counsellors, and his son, were upon the evidence of an *Indian*, and the ridiculous one of the body's bleeding at the touch of *Tobias*, tried by a jury, half *English*, half *Indians*, convicted and executed.

As the credibility of the history of *New England* at the *Difficulties* time we treat of, depends originally upon the information of *of History*. Mr. *Cotton Mather*, one of the weakest men that ever took a pen in his hand, but at the same time the very firebrand of persecution; and, as Mr. *Neal*, a much more sober writer, was obliged to follow him in his facts, we are therefore to be cautious, and to judge from probabilities, as well as narratives. It is certain, that the love of lucre, and mutual jealousies amongst the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch*, who were settled in *North America*, had furnished the natives with fire-arms, of which they now knew the use; and, being naturally better marksmen, and swifter of foot than the *Europeans*, they were dangerous enemies. All the advantage the *English* had in

in this respect was, that the converted *Indians*, who lived amongst them, continued faithful, and in every respect behaved like true *Englishmen*. About this time, some pirates ran away with a ship, after putting the master and some of his men on board the long boat, and both parties happened to meet at the very same time in the port of *Boston*, upon which the pirates were seized, tried, and the ringleaders executed.

Philip's
war.

KING *Philip's* patience was by this time worn out, nor can we be surprized at it, considering the indignities he had suffered from the *English*. His first hostilities broke out near mount *Hope*, where he plundered an *English* plantation; but instead of giving satisfaction as usual to the governor of *New Plymouth*, who demanded it, his *Indians* murdered three *Englishmen* in the fields by day, and six others in the town of *Swansey* by night. This was in the year 1675, and the governor of *New Plymouth* immediately demanded from the confederate colonies their stipulated assistances. The *Plymouth* forces lay at *Swansey*, under captain *Cudworth*, and the *Massachusetts* colony detached captain *Prentice*, with a troop of horse, captain *Henchman*, with a company of foot, and captain *Moseley*, with another of volunteers, to join him. The *Indians* seldom or never could be brought to stand a pitched battle with the *Europeans*; and this junction being formed, they fled into the woods, upon which the *English* took possession of mount *Hope*, and ravaged their country. They then compelled the *Narragansetts* to renounce their alliance with king *Philip*, and to enter into articles to assist the *English* against him, and all their other enemies; and, by way of encouragement, they were promised two coats for every living, and one for every dead *Wampanoag*, and twenty good coats for *Philip's* head. How far this reward for the life of a sovereign prince was agreeable to justice or the law of nations may be justly doubted, especially as it did not then judicially appear that he authorized the barbarities that had been committed by his subjects. In the mean while, captain *Cudworth* marched to prevent the *Pocassets*, another *Indian* tribe, from joining with *Philip*; but he found that they had already taken arms, and he was too weak to reduce them.

PHILIP knew perfectly well how to avail himself of the *Indian* manner of fighting, which was by ambuscades and surprizes. The *English* officers, on the other hand, finding their enemies fled, scoured the country with little or no precaution, and were often over-reached by the stratagems of the barbarians. The head quarters of the *English* were then at *Taunton*, from whence they broke up, upon advice that

that Philip was in a swamp, lying on a spot called *Pearse's Nest*, between *Rhode-Island* and *Manomet Bay*, about eighteen miles distant from *Taunton*. Thither they marched, but, after losing some men, they found themselves obliged to turn their attack into a blockade, which they formed with two hundred men, in hopes of starving out Philip, or obliging him to surrender. This service was performed by the *English* with neither courage nor conduct, for Philip in the mean time crossed the river on a raft, and made his escape into the country of the *Nipmucks*; one hundred of his men, however, were made prisoners. The *Nipmucks* were *Indians* lying between *Connecticut* and *New York*, and had already made such devastations in *Suffolk* county, as had obliged the *English* to draw off great part of their troops from their expedition against Philip to suppress them. At first, the *English* endeavoured to detach them by a treaty from Philip's interest; but they no sooner heard of that prince's arrival in their country, than they fired upon captain *Hutchinson*, one of the two officers sent to negotiate with them, killed some of his men, and obliged the rest to fly. Philip, who was by this time very strong, pursued them, and drove them, to the number of about seventy, into a house, where they must probably have been taken or burnt, had they not been relieved by major *Willard*, another *English* officer, who, at the head of no more than fifty men, surprized the *Indians* in the night-time, killed eighty of them, and obliged Philip in his turn to retreat, which he did towards the *Nipmuck* country. By this time, the *Connecticut* forces had taken the field under major *Treat*, who was directed to observe Philip's motions. A proof of that prince's great abilities, we will not say virtues, arises from his inspiring all the savages in those parts with a passion for recovering their native independency and country. When the *English* demanded hostages from the savages on the borders of the *Nipmuck* country, instead of obeying, they were so attached to Philip that they cut in pieces their own king for listening to the proposition, and marched to join Philip. They were pursued by the captains *Lathrop* and *Beers*, who killed twenty-six of them with the loss of ten of their own men. The rest joined Philip. All the out-settlements of the colonists of *New England* were now ravaged by the natives, whom Philip had every where roused into arms; but the *Connecticut* colony suffered the most. The inhabitants of *Deerfield*, an inland town, after seeing their plantations destroyed and burnt, shut themselves up in a slight fortification, where they defended themselves. Captain *Beers* was sent at the head of thirty-

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thirty-six men, but he was met by the savages, who put to the sword himself and ten of his soldiers, and obliged the rest to fly to *Hadley*. Major *Treat*, at the head of a larger detachment, had better fortune, for he brought off the besieged, but they were in danger of starving, having left their corn behind them. Captain *Lathrop*, on September the 15th, went at the head of a large detachment, consisting almost of the whole force of *Essex* county, with carts to fetch it off; but he was surrounded by the *Indians*, and, endeavouring to fight them in their own manner, he himself and seventy of his men were shot dead, through the superior dexterity of the *Indians* in managing their fire-arms. This was the greatest loss of men the *New England* colonies had ever sustained at one time, nor was it repaired by captain *Moseley*, who, though he came too late to save his countrymen, killed above one hundred of the *Indians*, losing but two of his own men.

Defeat
of the
English.

LATHROP's defeat encouraged the savages upon *Connecticut* river to declare for *Philip*; and the hostages they had given for the preservation of the peace had the address to make their escape. *Springfield*, a town lying on that river, was the first object of their fury. There they burnt down thirty-two houses, and would have massacred all the inhabitants, had they not been put upon their guard by *Toto*, a faithful *Indian*, and retired into the strongest places of the town, which they defended till they were relieved by a detachment under captain *Appleton*. It is probable, however, that all *Hampshire* must have been destroyed, had not the government ordered the *Connecticut* forces to cover its frontiers, especially the towns of *Hadley*, *Northampton*, and *Hatfield*; all of them lying upon or near *Connecticut* river. This was done with so much secrecy, that an army of eight hundred *Indians* fell upon *Hatfield*, but being repulsed with great loss, they retreated to the country of the *Narragansets*, whom the commissioners for the associated colonies voted to be enemies to the *English* for sheltering them. Though it was now far in the winter, the necessity of chastising the *Narragansets* was so great, that Mr. *Winslow*, the governor of *New Plymouth*, put himself at the head of a hundred men, and having for his guide, one *Peter*, a *Narraganset* renegade, about the beginning of *September*, he carried fire and sword into their country, and burnt a hundred and fifty of their wigwams, and killed or took prisoners about a dozen of their inhabitants. But the operations of this winter campaign soon assumed a new face. The enemy still continued their ravages and murders, particularly about *Petequamset*; and *Winslow* understood from *Peter*, that the whole flower of the
enemy's

Narra-
gantset
war.

enemy's force was shut up in a fort, the most regular that had ever been raised by the *Indians*, built upon a kind of an island, accessible only one way. *Winslow*, being joined by a hundred and fifty *Mohegins*, bravely resolved to lose no time, but instantly to attack this fort. The officers under him were the captains *Mosely* and *Davenport*, who led the van; *Gardner* and *Johnson*, who were in the center; and major *Appleton* and captain *Oliver*, who brought up the rear of the *Massachusetts* forces: by which, it is probable that *Winslow* had been considerably re-inforced by the *English*. He himself as general, with his *New Plymouth* men, commanded in the center, and major *Treat*, with the captains *Gallop*, *Mason*, *Senly*, and *Willis*, served with the *Connecticut* forces in the rear. All of them were under the direction of *Peter*, who conducted them through the swamp to a breach, but of what kind we are not informed, which was attacked and defended with equal oblinacy and resolution. The fire of the savages was steady, and no fewer than six brave *English* captains, *Davenport*, *Gardner*, *Johnson*, *Gallop*, *Senly*, and *Marshall*, were killed in the attack. The *English* soldiers, exasperated that so many of their gallant officers should fall by the hands of barbarians whom they had used to despise, at last carried their point. The enemy was beaten from post to post into a cedar swamp at some distance. Their fort was burnt down; the fortifications were levelled; seven hundred of the savages with arms in their hands were put to the sword, amongst whom were twenty of their chief captains; three hundred, besides, died of their wounds; and a great number of defenceless men, women, and children, who had taken refuge in the fort, believing it to be impregnable, perished either by the sword or in the flames. The loss of the *English*, besides the six captains, was eighty-five men killed, and a hundred and fifty men wounded. This attack, which, in modern times, would be but just mentioned in the course of a campaign, forms a principal æra of the *New England* history, and was the most important action that ever had happened in *North America*. It was plain from it that the savages had been disciplined, and the construction of the fort had in it a strength and regularity, to which those barbarians were utter strangers before they were instructed by the *French*.

COUNT de Frontenac, whom *Charlevoix* himself allows to have been a violent, haughty, suspicious man, was then governor of *New France*; and having a mortal antipathy to the *English* Americans, he both openly and secretly supported the

† Ibid. p. 273.

insurrection, or, if the reader will, rebellion, of the savages against the *New England* colonists. If we are to believe our *New England* historians, he, this winter, sent a detachment from *Canada*, who acted in concert with the barbarians, and threatened the very extinction of the *Massachusetts* colony. They burnt down the town of *Mendham*, and carried off all the live stock of the inhabitants; whose farms were generally as well stocked as those in *England*. They plundered or burnt the town of *Lancaster*, and carried forty-two persons into captivity. *Marlborough*, *Sudbury*, *Chelmsford*, and *Medfield*, where they killed twenty *English*, underwent the same fate; and they spread their ravages within a few miles of the gates of *Boston*.

THE successes of the barbarians seem to be owing to two causes. The first was that the *English* colonists were so intent upon protecting their private properties, that they split their strength into too many subdivisions; while the *French* had taught the barbarians to march in a body, to move quickly from place to place, and to mind no other object, but the spreading around them as much desolation as possible. This second cause is assigned by Mr. *Neal*, who informs us that the cold of this winter was so extremely intense, that the *English* durst hardly look out of their quarters. Notwithstanding those two reasons, something still seems to have been wanting on the part of the *English*, who, while pursuing their enemies, left their own country exposed, and, before the campaign opened, had not taken proper precautions to defend themselves.

Success
of the
English.

In the spring of 1677, a party of seventy *English* and one hundred *Indians*, under captain *Dennison*, slew seventy-six of the hostile *Indians*, and a party of the *Connecticuts* killed or made prisoners about forty-four. *Cananchet*, son of *Miantonimo*, the chief sachem of the *Naragansets*, was amongst the prisoners. He was accused by the *English* of having concluded a peace with them at *Boston* six months before, and of having broken it as soon as he returned home. We are to observe, however, that his father, who was no friend to the *English*, was alive and possessed of the government. Be this as it will, the *Indians* delivered him into the hands of the *Mohocks*, and they cut off his head out of hatred to his father.

Death
of king
Philip.

PHILIP had commanded in the famous defence of the fort, and was one of them who had escaped to the swamp, from whence he went to the *Maquas*, one of the *Mohock* nations, to excite them to a war with the *English*. Finding that they were backward in answering his solicitations, he

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fell upon an expedient to induce them, which could be suggested only by a more than barbarous spirit of revenge; for, going into the woods, he murdered some of the *Maquas* with his own hands, and, returning in the utmost hurry, he informed the prince of the *Maquas*, that the *English* had invaded his lands, and were then butchering his people. Unfortunately for *Philip*, one of the savages happened only to be severely wounded; and crawling home, he informed the sachem and his people of the truth, which turned against *Philip* all the rage they had conceived against the *English*; for their whole nation immediately declared for the colonists. Their alliance was, by giving a diversion to *Philip*, of infinite service to the *English*; for his *Indians* could now no longer march in large bodies; and though the inhabitants of *Plymouth*, *Taunton*, *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Havenhill*, *Bradford*, and *Woolburn* were sometimes alarmed, they did not suffer much from the small numbers of the savages, who attacked them. Several, however, were killed, and some carried off; but two *English* boys, who made their escape, described a place towards the falls of *Connecticut* river, where a body of *Indians* were surprized by captain *Turner*, with one hundred and eighty men, who put a hundred of them to the sword, and drowned as many. He afterwards was killed in an ambush of the *Indians*, who had been driven from *Bridgewater*. In short, the fortune of the war now entirely inclined towards the *English*, who had profited by their misfortunes; and, in a short time cut off about six hundred of the savages. Famine co-operated with the arms of the *English*; for those thoughtless barbarians had been so intent upon revenge, that they had neglected their harvest, and two hundred of them threw themselves upon the mercy of the colonists at *New Plymouth*; and all of them were pardoned but three, who, being convicted of atrocious crimes, were hanged. *Philip* still kept the field; but, being at the head of no more than two hundred savages, he could do nothing effectually, and returned to his old retreat at *Mount Hope*, where his chief employment was to plan ambushes against the *English*. Major *Bradford*, with a party of *English*, happily escaped one of them; and, marching into the country of the *Tacometts*, obliged the queen of that country, with her whole army, which consisted of ninety men, to receive the *English* yoke. About the end of *July*, a sachem or sagamore of the *Nipmuck Indians*, with one hundred and eighty of his men, submitted to the *English*, and delivered up *Matoonas*, the first savage who, in that war, had appeared in arms against the *English*. We shall, once for all, observe, that the colonists seem to

Bravery of
two boys;

and of the
queen of
Pocasset.

have acted, in all this war, upon principles that self-preservation alone could justify. If those *Indians* were the subjects of *England*, it was necessary for the colonists to have had legal powers from *England* for proceeding capitally against their fellow subjects. If they were independent, it will perhaps be difficult to assign a reason why they should be put to death, because, in the last case, they could only be prisoners of war. The colonists seem to have been somewhat apprized of their own doubtful situation; for, instead of putting *Matoonas* to death themselves, they ordered the *Nipmuck* sagamore to shoot him dead, which he accordingly did; but the son was pardoned. A great many other skirmishes, but all of them, in general to the advantage of the *English*, happened about this time; and, though they figure greatly in the *New England* history, are of very little consequence. As to *Philip*, all his arts could not keep up the spirit of his party when they met with ill success. One of his allies, the queen of *Pocasset*, as she is called, deserves particular mention. Being surprized by the *English*, she animated her men to hold out to the last; but they meanly deserted her, and, in endeavouring to escape upon a raft, she was drowned. Her body being found, the *English*, not knowing whose it was, cut off her head and set it with others upon a pole at *Taunton*, where it was soon recognized by the *Indians*, and her obsequies were celebrated with howlings which testified the high esteem she held amongst her countrymen. *Philip*, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, continued the undaunted and irreconcilable enemy of *Englishmen*, and went so far as even to cut to pieces with his own hands an *Indian*, who had dared to mention proposals for a peace. One of his friends and counsellors, who probably was of a pacific disposition likewise, taking warning by the fate of his fellow-subjects, went to *Rhode-Island*, where he discovered to the *English* where *Philip* was, and the means by which he might be surprized. Captain *Church* upon this went with a small party, and found him with a few attendants in a swamp, which, by the description, is a place surrounded by fordable stagnated waters. *Philip* endeavoured to escape, but was singled out by an *Englishman* and an *Indian*. The *Englishman*'s piece missed fire, but that of the *Indian* laid him dead. His body being taken up was quartered, and his head was carried in triumph to *New Plymouth*, where his skull is said to be seen at this day. Thus ended what is very properly called the *Philippic* war; and it is observed even by the *New England* historians, that the *Indians* to the eastward were an independent people, their country lying without the line of the charter of the *Massachusetts*.

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chusets. They continued the war, even after *Philip's* death, with some advantages, till the government of *Boston* interposed, and sent a body of men, who made four hundred *Indians* prisoners; two hundred of whom were sold for slaves, and the rest, excepting a few who had been made examples of for having been guilty of murders, were sent home, on promise of behaving better for the future. In the relation of this war, we have purposely omitted many little skirmishes, that have been described with great minuteness by the *New England* historians; but they consist only of surprizes of very small bodies, not proper to enter into a general history. After the death of king *Philip*, major *Walderen* was sent to make up matters with the sachem of *Penobscot*, in which he succeeded but indifferently; and, after all, when a kind of a general peace was concluded, the *English* were obliged to allow the *Indians* of the eastern parts a certain quantity of corn yearly, and to pay a small quit rent for their lands, which they possessed, or rather had usurped from them.

UPON the whole, the *English* had no great reason to boast of the laurels they acquired by this war: It is said, that three hundred and forty of their countrymen had perished in it, and three thousand of the *Indians*. Notwithstanding this seeming disproportion, we are to observe, that the *English*, had they not been too much taken up by their interested pursuits of trade, were always in a condition to have brought into the field a body of men that might have driven the *Indians* from their own country, had they acted together. But besides the disadvantages, we have already mentioned, some arose from the jealousies, the colonies entertained of each other, which greatly retarded the public service; and, by their not pushing the war vigorously, the natives had many opportunities of learning the art of war, as the *English* often felt to their woful experience. Though the war was extinguished in one part of *New England*, yet it still continued in another, where the natives resented the gross affronts and impositions of the *English*; especially upon the borders of *New Hampshire*. Those savages had heard that the *English* were not invincible; and while the war was raging in the west, they fell upon the plantations in the east, where they murdered all the *English* they met, while the latter made severe reprisals. The government of *Boston*, though sufficiently employed in the war with king *Philip*, sent a body of men under captain *Hawthorn* to the relief of their eastern colonists; and they surprised four hundred *Indians* as they were plundering major *Walderen's* house, and made them all prisoners. Half of them were sold for slaves, the other half, excepting a few,

who were executed for atrocious crimes, were dismissed on promise of a more pacific behaviour. This, in fact, finished the war, which gave occasion for many serious reflections to the *English*. They found the vast inconvenience of their having no strong places to defend themselves against the flying attacks of the *Indians*, and therefore they set themselves to build them at *Scarborough*, *Falmouth*, *York*, *Dover*, and other parts. The war had occasioned a neglect of agriculture, and an uncommon profligacy of manners among the people; and, therefore, in the year 1679, a true presbyterian synod, in which lay members were admitted to vote, was held at *Boston* for the reformation of manners.

Deaths in
New
England.

Its charters
resumed.

ABOUT this time, the province of *New England* in general met with three severe blows, in the deaths of Mr. *Winthrop*, the governor of *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*; Mr. *Leveret*, the governor of the *Massachusetts*; and Mr. *Winslow*, the governor of *New Plymouth* colony: all of them gentlemen of great experience and honest intentions. The first was succeeded by *William Leet*, Esq; the second by *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; and the third by *Robert Treat*, Esq; but *Charles II.* towards the end of his reign, getting the better of his parliament, the province of *New England* underwent a most severe persecution. A *Quo Warranto* was brought against the *New Plymouth* colony, and judgment entered up in chancery. The *Massachusetts* colony in the years 1683 and 1684, had pretty much the same fate; but when the *Quo Warranto* was sent against *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*. their governments were given to understand, by a letter from the king, that if they quietly resigned their charter, they might have it in their option to be associated either under *New York*, or *Boston*. Finding their fate inevitable, they wisely chose the latter. *Rhode-Island*, whose charter is said to have been very valuable, gave it up without a struggle; and *New Hampshire* and *Maine* resigned, into the hands of the crown, the association under which they were constituted; since which time their governor and council have been named by the king, but their governor has generally been the same with that of the *Massachusetts*. *Henry Cranfield*, Esq; was the first governor under this new regulation, and, on his arrival in *New England*, he turned out Mr. *Bradstreet*, Mr. *Leet*, and Mr. *Treat*. *Cranfield* was turned out of his government upon the death of *Charles II.* and succeeded by *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; a *New England* man. This governor endeavoured to support himself in the favour of the court, by favouring the church of *England* against the presbyterians, which so provoked the *New England* men, that, by a very
uncommon

uncommon strain of liberty, they deposed and sent him prisoner to Old England.

Sir Edmund Andros, who is said to have been a poor knight Governor of Guernsey, came over to be governor of New England just ment of Sir at the time the people had resumed their charter government. It was likewise about the same time that captain Edmund William Phipps, a New England man, made his fortune in the following extraordinary manner. Understanding that about the year 1640, a large Spanish galleon had been lost near Port de la Plata, he applied to the court of England for liberty and assistance to fish up her treasure. Charles II. gave him a small frigate of eighteen guns, and ninety-five men, with which he sailed to Hispaniola, and continued diving, but without success so long, that his men were quite tired out, and he was obliged to give up the enterprize. The duke of Albermarle, son to the restorer duke, being in desperate circumstances, adopted the desperate undertaking of Phipps, who proposed to divide the contingent prize money into a number of shares, each proportioned to the share of expence advanced by the adventurer. A ship of about two hundred tons was bought, with which Phipps set sail to the old spot of exploration; but after various most tedious attempts by a canoe and a tender, on board of which were divers of all kinds, he was about to have entirely given over the enterprize, when the wreck was discovered; and so industriously did they work, that, in a few days, no less than thirty-two tuns of silver was brought up, with an immense treasure in gold, pearls, diamonds, and rich commodities. It is said, that the whole, when brought by Phipps to England, amounted to 300,000 l. of which 90,000 came to the share of the duke of Albermarle; and 20,000 to that of Phipps, who was knighted by king James II. This adventure, in a reign less unpopular than that of king James, must have made a figure in history, whereas it is now scarcely mentioned.

A LONG calm in the affairs of New England succeeded, War and continued to the time of the revolution, when the Indians with the began to complain of the little attention that was paid to the French treaty by which they were to have an allowance of corn. They complained, at the same time, of their being interrupted in their fishery upon Saco river; that their fields were trespassed upon by the English cattle; and that the government of Boston had given away their lands. The truth is, the English planters of New England, about this time, were a little too free with the natives, as well as with the French. They took upon themselves to affix new boundaries to their jurisdiction,

diction, by which they seized a great deal of *French* property ; particularly some belonging to one *St. Casten*. The *French* ambassador had procured an order from the *English* court, for restoring *Casten's* goods, and, particularly, a parcel of wine, which the *English* had arbitrarily seized ; but no regard seems to have been paid to it. It is probable, that the people of *New England*, by this time, began to suspect that king^t *James's* government in *Old England* would be but short-lived ; and they had conceived at once a contempt and an aversion for their governor *Andros*. *Casten* was himself an almost naturalized *Indian*, having married the daughter of a sachem or segamore ; and, therefore, in the bad humour the natives were, he had no great difficulty in persuading them to enter upon hostilities. They accordingly killed some *English* cattle, whom they pretended to be trespassers upon their grounds, and one *Blackman*, a busy justice of the peace, seized eighteen or twenty of the offenders, and sent them under a strong guard to *Falmouth*. This produced reprisals on the part of the *Indians*, who seized some *English*, particularly the captains *Rewden* and *Gendal* ; the former of whom died in their hands. It would have been easy for the *English*, by making proper concessions, to have brought the *Indians* to reason ; but the latter were dissuaded by the *French*, and killed several of the inhabitants of *New Yarmouth*, which obliged the others to take shelter in their fortifications. *Andros* was then at *New York* ; but, upon his return to *Boston*, he disapproved of *Blackman's* conduct, and ordered all the *Indian* prisoners in the hands of the *English* to be released, without insisting upon any equivalent. The savages considered this pusillanimous conduct, as proceeding from weakness, and captain *Gendall*, whom they had released, being sent with a party to *New Yarmouth*, was attacked by them ; but most of his men, whom they had taken prisoners, were afterwards recovered. In the mean while, the *Indians* murdered two *English* families near *Kennebek*, and all the frontiers were filled with blood and devastations.

*Andros
takes the
field.*

ANDROS put himself at the head of 1000 men, and marched towards the frontiers in the very depth of winter, but without the smallest success, and he is accused by the *New England* historians, not only of neglecting the colony, but of persecuting those who stood up for its defence, and even of corresponding with the *French* in *Canada*, and of setting the *Indians*, who had been guilty of murder, at liberty. The truth is, the government of *New England*, at this time, was in a most deplorable condition. Mr. *Dummer* writes, that “ the governor, with four or five strangers of his council,

n en

men of desperate fortunes, and bad, if any, principles, made what laws, and levied what taxes they pleased on the people. They, without an assembly, raised a penny in the pound on all estates in the country, and two pence on all imported goods, besides twenty pence per head, as poll-money, and immoderate excise on wine, rum, and other liquors. Several worthy persons having, in an humble address, represented this proceeding as a grievance, were committed to the county-jail for a high misdemeanor; denied the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* act; tried out of their own county; fined exorbitantly, and obliged to pay 160 l. for fees, when the prosecution would hardly have cost them so many shillings in *Great Britain*, where prosecutions are so managed by lawyers, as to make them equally terrible and ruinous; and to complete the oppression, when they, upon their trial, claimed the privileges of *Englishmen*, they were scoffingly told, these things would not follow them to the ends of the earth.²

THE reader will not be surprized at those acts of tyranny, *History* when he reflects how very reverse the principles of king of *Sir James's* government were to that of *New England*, which *William* was founded on liberty, and had all along supported itself by *Phipps*. a determined resistance to arbitrary power. *Sir William Phipps* was then in *England*, and, being a kind of favourite with king *James*, he took the freedom to remonstrate against the behaviour of *Andros* and his counsellors, and to solicit the king to restore his countrymen to their charter government; but his majesty's usual reply on that head was; "Any thing but that *Sir William*." King *James*, however, created a new kind of post for *Sir William*; for he made him by patent sheriff of *New England*, which gave so much umbrage to *Andros* and his creatures, that they are said to have attempted to murder him. At last, the government of *Andros* growing quite intolerable, *Mr. Increase Mather*, rector of the college at *Cambridge*, with two other gentlemen, were sent over to *England* to complain of him to the king and council. The revolution was then in agitation, and news arriving at *New England* of the prince of *Orange's* landing, *Andros* not only imprisoned the bearer, but published a proclamation for preventing any one, commissioned by the prince, from landing on the province. Those violences introduced a suspicion, that *Andros* and his creatures intended to massacre the inhabitants, and it was artfully kept up, to give the people an opportunity of confederating together to do themselves justice upon their tyrants. On the 18th of *April*, 1689, proper dispositions being previously made, a report was spread at the north

² Discourse addressed to lord Carteret, secretary of state.

end of the town that the south end was in arms, and the like was spread of the north, in the south end. This report effected the thing; the governor's creatures, wherever they were found, were secured and thrown into jail. The principal inhabitants took possession of the council house, and the governor shutting himself up in the castle they sent him the following letter.

"SIR,

Andros
displaced.

"Ourselves and many others the inhabitants of this town, and the places adjacent, being surprized with the people's sudden taking of arms, of the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant; being driven by the present accident, are necessitated to acquaint your excellency, that for the quieting and securing the people inhabiting in this country from the imminent danger they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tendring your own safety, we judge it necessary, that you forthwith surrender and deliver up the government and fortifications, to be preserved and disposed according to order and direction from the crown of *England*, which suddenly is expected may arrive; promising all security from violence to yourself, or any of your gentlemen, or soldiers, in persons or estate: otherwise we are assured they will endeavour the taking the fortification by storm, if any opposition be made. *White Winthrop, Simon Bradstreet, William Stoughton, Samuel Shrimpton, Bartholemew Gidney, William Browne, Thomas Danforth, John Richards, Elisba Cook, Isaac Adlington, John Nelson, Adam Winthrop, Peter Sergeant, John Foster, David Waterhouse.*"

Charter
restored.

THIS letter was a sufficient intimation that the writers of it, who were the most respectable names in *New England*, were resolved to carry their point. *Andros* at first stood upon his defence, and sent for arms to a king's frigate then lying in the port. But they were intercepted by a party of the townsmen under *John Nelson, Esq;* who demanded the surrender of the fort; and the governor, finding he had no farther means of resistance, gave it up. The gentlemen then, with a true republican spirit, repaired to the council-chamber, from whence they read a declaration of their grievances to the people; about 3000 of whom were in arms. They then summoned a general assembly, consisting of the representatives of the united colonies; and, on the 24th of *May*, by their own authority, they resumed their charter government, which proceeding of theirs was approved of by king *William* and queen *Mary*, who confirmed the restored magistrates in their power. Sir *William Phipps* was in *England* at the time of the revolution; and king *James* offered him the government of *New England*: but he is said to have declined

declined it, though he served under that prince in other arbitrary proceedings.

THE revolution in *England* taking place, an open war ensued between the *French* and *English* in *America*, as well as in *Europe*. The *French*, who had been at great pains to win over the natives, endeavoured to persuade them that the *English*, being rebels, were abandoned by God and man; and promised to support them with all the power of the *Quebec* colony. Major *Waldern* then commanded in *Quaquebecco*, a frontier fort of great importance. He had entertained *Mesandonit*, a sachem, and had given him leave to lodge in the fort; but the barbarian in the morning unbarred the gates, and admitted a party of the savages, who had been ambushed at a little distance, and who, rushing in, killed the major, and about twenty two men, burnt several houses, and led off twenty-nine *English* prisoners, besides committing other acts of murder and violence. Captain *Noyes* was ordered to march with a party to *Penecook*; but the savages had retired from those quarters before he could come up to them. He had, however, the satisfaction of laying waste their country, and destroying their wigwams. The savages, afterwards, surprized *Pemmaquid* fort, and killed fourteen *Englishmen*; they likewise broke the capitulation upon which the fort surrendered, by butchering the garrison, and some troops who were advancing to its relief; upon which the inhabitants of *Sheepscot* and *Kennebec* retired to *Falmouth*.

IN the time of the last *Indian* war, the *New England* men were fully convinced of their error in acting by small detachments; and, now seeing that the *French* were even aiming at the ruin of their colony, they raised a thousand men, five hundred of whom were sent from the *Massachusetts*, under major *Swayne*, and five hundred, under major *Church*, from *New Plymouth*; but, by this time, the *French* had taught the barbarians their own arts, particularly those of gaining intelligence by means of corruption. They had every where their spies, who informed them of the motions of the *English*, many of whom were thereby cut off; and the savages were so well instructed in all the arts of treachery, that they behaved towards the *English* with a brutality even foreign to their nature, barbarous as it was. Particular mention is made of the bravery of two *English* boys, who defended a fort that was surprized by the *Indians*, and though reduced to the last extremity refused to surrender it, till they obtained a capitulation, which was infamously broken by the barbarians, who murdered three or four children and one of the boys, whilst the other made his escape. The majors *Swayne* and *Church* were,

The
French
invaded.

were, by the practices of the *French*, who had found means to corrupt even the *English Indians*, disappointed in all their designs; so that the former, after garrisoning *Blue Point*, was obliged to retire into winter quarters, without effecting any thing farther worthy of notice. The *English* government was fully sensible of the *French* practices, and resolved to strike at the root of the evil, by attacking, at one time, both *Quebec* and *Acadia*, or *New Scotland*, then in the possession of the *French*. An account of the former expedition will fall under the article of *Canada*; but the command of the expedition against *Acadia* was given to Sir *William Phipps*. It consisted of a frigate mounting forty cannons, another ship of sixteen, and a third of eight. Sir *William* immediately bore down upon *Port Royal*^a, where, according to *Charlevoix*, the garrison consisted of no more than eighty-six men, with eighteen unmounted cannons, and the works not tenable. On the 22d of *May*, 1690, the *English* armament appeared before the place, and *Manneval*, the *French* governor, sent a priest to know Sir *William's* demands, which were, that the governor should surrender at discretion. This was peremptorily refused by the priest, who produced articles of capitulation ready drawn up. The first was, that the soldiers, with their arms and baggage, should be transported to *Quebec* in an *English* vessel. The second, that the inhabitants should be maintained in peaceable possession of their properties, and that the honour of the women should be preserved. The third was, that the inhabitants should have the free exercise of the *Roman* catholic religion, and that none of the church goods should be touched. *Phipps*, according to *Charlevoix*^b, readily agreed to those conditions, but refused to sign them, saying, that his word, as a general, was better security than any signature. *Manneval* was obliged to put up with this verbal assurance; and, next day, came on board the *English* ship, where the capitulation was ratified, and the keys of the fort delivered to *Phipps*. Upon entering it, the latter was surprized at the weakness of the place, and repented his having given the garrison such good terms. According to the same authority^c, he soon found means to break them. While *Manneval* was on board the *English* ship, some stores, belonging to the former governor, were seized upon by certain drunken soldiers and the inhabitants. *Phipps* construed this into a breach of the capitulation, which it undoubtedly was; as the fact is not denied by *Charlevoix* him-

^a CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 95.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid. p. 99.

self. He made a handle of this for disowning the capitulation. He disarmed the soldiers, and shut them up in the church. He confined *Manneval* to his own house under the care of a centinel, stripped him of his money and cloaths, and plundered the inhabitants, without sparing either the priests or the churches, and then re-imbarked his men, after obliging the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to king *William* and queen *Mary*. As to the rest of *Phipps's* undertakings, they will be found under the articles of the places against which they were intended, particularly that of *Canada*.

THE colony of *New England* suffered greatly by his ill-managed expedition against *Quebec*, in which 1000 of its natives perished; and the public there ran 140,000 l. in debt, besides losing almost all their men and ships in their return. One *Artell*, a *French Canadian* officer, and *Hoopwood*, a *Huron* chief, attacked *Salmon Falls*, a frontier-town, where they killed thirty people, and carried off fifty prisoners. Lieutenant *Clark*, venturing out of *Casco*, was surprized by a body of four or five hundred *Indians* and *French*, who, after killing him and thirteen of his men, burnt down the place; the garrison surrendering, on condition of their being carried to the next *English* town. This capitulation, however, was broken under the ridiculous pretence, that the *English* were rebels to their lawful sovereign. Some of the garrison, with major *Davis* the commandant, were sent prisoners to *Quebec*, and the rest were murdered by the natives. The garrisons of *Papcodac*, *Spanwick*, *Black Point*, and *Blue Point*, were thrown into such consternation by the destruction of *Casco*, that they fled as far as *Saco*, which garrison likewise abandoned its post, and *Hoopwood*, the *Huron*, pursuing them, destroyed all the open country round, and murdered all the inhabitants, who fell into his hands. The captains *Floyd* and *Greenleaf* at last came up with him, routed his party, and wounded himself. He was afterwards killed by the *French*, who mistook him for an *Iroquois*. The *French* and *Indians* after this had the advantage in many encounters, which, tho' of too little consideration to be separately particularized, yet formed upon the whole a very considerable loss both of men and property. The only expedition worth notice, was that undertaking by major *Church* with three hundred men to *Casco Bay*, where he burnt some *French* and *Indian* forts, and released a few *English* captives. The war after this continued with various success, but by no means to the advantage of the *English*; and, at last, a cessation of arms till *May* 1691, was agreed on on both sides.

A new
charter
granted.

SIR *William Phipps*, all this time, was busied at the court of *England* in soliciting to be put at the head of a new expedition to *Quebec*: but the terrible war, in which king *William* was engaged, and the bad success of his late attempt, rendered all his endeavours fruitless. Sir *Henry Ashurst* and Mr. *Increase Mather* were at the same time in *England*, as agents for the people of *New England*, soliciting the restoration of their old charter; which, considering their zeal for liberty, and their abhorrence of a popish government, they had good reason to expect under a revolution-establishment. But neither king *William* nor his then ministers were of dispositions to encourage any motion that tended towards the independency of the colony upon the prerogative; and the renewal was in effect refused. They then contented themselves with petitioning for a new charter with more ample privileges. They obtained, indeed, a new charter; but their privileges, even under the late one, were abridged or rather annihilated; and had they been treated in that manner under the *Stuart* family, the peace of the colony would probably have been in danger. By king *William's* charter, the crown has the nomination of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and the officers of the admiralty, all which was before in the people, and the power of the militia was vested in the governor. All judges, justices, and sheriffs were appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of his majesty's council, and he likewise was to have a negative upon all laws, and public acts of the general assembly and council. Lastly, all laws, when approved of by the governor, were to be transmitted to *England*, and to be void if disallowed of in the space of three years. In short, all the favour the *New England* people obtained was the power of electing their first governor; and their choice fell upon Sir *William Phipps*.

An Indian
war breaks
out.

SCARCELY was this important affair settled, when hostilities recommenced by the *Indians*: near *Berwick*, *Exeter*, and *Cape Nidduck*. Upon this, some officers, with four hundred men, marched to *Pechypset*; but, not observing discipline, they were attacked by the barbarians, and driven with some loss to their ships. This was followed by barbarities and murders in many other places, and the *Massachusetts* itself was attacked from the eastward, which it never had been before. This filled the colony with alarms, and the fort of *Cape Nidduck*, one of the strongest in those parts, was abandoned by its garrison, which had been greatly thinned by draughts. The *French* savages were now likewise in motion, and at-
tacked

tacked the town of *York*, where they killed fifty of the inhabitants, and carried a hundred into captivity. The government, upon this, sent parties under different officers to redeem the captives; but they found that *French* officers headed the barbarians; that *French* soldiers were intermingled with them; that no fewer than five hundred christian *Hurons* were in the field; and that four or five *Indian* chiefs with their troops were confederated against them. An *English* captain, one *Convers*, is mentioned on this occasion with great honour for having maintained a post with no more than fifteen or twenty men, and beating off two hundred of the barbarians, headed by *Moxus*, one of their chiefs. *Convers* after this took the command of the *English*, and beat the *French* and savages from *Sagadahock*; the *French* commandant *la Brosse*, being killed in the action. It was remarked, that during this expedition the barbarians charged the *New England* men with these *English* words, in their mouths, "Fire and fall on brave boys," a proof of their great intercourse with the *English*, though the *French* missionaries had the address to detach them from their interest.

SIR *William Phipps* was now arrived in *New England* Sir *William* with the colony's new charter, which gave great dissatisfaction to many. After confirming the laws enacted by the assembly he declared his resolution of marching against the *Indians* in person. No man could be better qualified than he was for such an undertaking, being a native of that part of the country where the chief seat of war lay, near *Kennebek* river, and well acquainted with every spot and lurking-place about it. He immediately marched eastward with four hundred and fifty men; and gave orders for building a new fort at *Pemmaquid* (D). Accordingly, one of the strongest and largest in all *North America* was erected there. The charge of building it, however, was so great, that it is said to have

(D) Captain *Bancroft* and capt. *Wing* laid the foundation, and capt. *Marib* finished it. It was built of stone in a triangular figure, about seven hundred and thirty seven feet in compass, without the outer wall, and one hundred and eight square within the inner one. It had twenty eight port holes, eight feet from the ground, and fourteen guns mounted, six of which were eighteen pounders. The south

wall facing the sea was twenty two feet high, and six broad. The round tower at the west end was twenty nine feet high. The east wall was twelve feet high; the north ten, and the west eighteen. The fort stood about twenty rod from high water mark, and had a garrison of sixty men for its defence. *British Empire in America*, Vol. I. Page 146.

*Builds
forts.*

alienated the affections of the *New England* colony from Sir *William* ever afterwards. But this could be only the effect of private resentment on account of their charter; for it is certain, that both that fort and the others he constructed were of great use to the eastern parts of the colony, to whom he likewise performed many important services in his own person against the savages, who were now become more unruly than ever. Being still spirited up by the *French*, they had been guilty of many murders towards the north of the rivers *Merimack*, *Oyster*, and *Connecticut*. The governor gave *Convers*, now a major, the command of the eastern garrisons; and sent three hundred and fifty men to reinforce him; with which assistance he was enabled to invade the *Indian* country, and to destroy all their lands and habitations about *Taconet*. Near *Connecticut* river the savages, who were there in arms, were attacked by the *English*, who gave them a total defeat, and retook the captives they were carrying off; while Sir *William*, the better to bridle them, built another fort at *Saco*. All those dispositions, with the fear of bringing a *Mohawk* war upon their hands, inclined the barbarians to a peace. The *French* agent, or, as he is called, ambassador, who, as usual, was a priest, at the courts of their sachems, did all he could to persuade them to continue the war, and probably he might have been successful, had the *French* in *Canada* been in a condition to have sent them the arms and assistance they had promised. But that not being the case, the barbarians actually begged for a peace; and a congress was held at *Permaquid* fort, since called fort *William Henry*, between three *English* commissioners, and thirteen *Indian* sachems with proper interpreters. This meeting was very formal and important; and, by the articles then concluded, the *Indians* acknowledged themselves subject to the crown of *England*; confirmed them in possession of their lands, renounced their alliance with the *French*, and submitted their commerce between themselves and the *English* to the general assembly.

*A peace
concluded.*

*The witch
persecution
begins.*

WHILE those scenes of murder upon the frontiers were closing, a more horrid than any was exhibited in the heart of the colony, where an irresistible spirit of witch-burning again broke out. The reader is to observe that this spirit raged the more as it was encouraged equal by the civil as the spiritual power; Sir *William Phipps* himself being a great believer of the existence of witches, and the ministers thought it as bad as blasphemy to doubt of it. One *Paris*, the minister of *Salem*, by torturing a poor *Indian* woman, obliged her to confess her having bewitched his niece and daughter. But the persecution was not confined to the female sex. One Mr. *George Burroughs*,

Burroughs, minister of *Salem*, was tried for witchcraft before a court consisting of six of the principal gentlemen of the colony; convicted and executed upon evidences that were impossible to be true, or the facts sworn to have any existence; not to mention that this, and all the other trials of the same sort, were so many insults upon the common understanding of mankind. The persecution raged with such fury, that no character or station could be secure against it. One *Rebecca Nurse*, a woman of great piety and virtue, being tried, the evidence against her was so poor, that the jury, zealous as they were for witch-burning, acquitted her; but so greatly to the dissatisfaction of the court and the bye-standers, that they were obliged again to go out and bring her in guilty. Her behaviour at the place of execution was remarkably composed, rational, and devout. As if both judges and jury had solemnly abjured common sense as well as humanity, some men were hanged on the evidence of ghosts; an absurdity which the reader may find explained in *Mather's* history of this persecution. One woman, (*Easty*) presented to the court a most rational and affecting petition in favour of her innocence, but without the least effect, for she was executed. The same was the case with *Martha Cory*, whose husband, rather than allow himself to be convicted upon the infamous evidence by which his wife was hanged, suffered himself to be pressed to death. At last, the persecution raged so dreadfully, that no fewer than a hundred and fifty of both sexes were imprisoned, and two hundred more accused of witchcraft, many of whom found no safety but in flight. Amongst the latter was one *Mr. English*, a gentleman of fortune, who, being obliged to fly upon this ridiculous accusation, had his effects to the value of 1500 l. seized by the sheriff. Even girls of eleven years of age did not escape; and some women saved themselves by pleading their bellies.

The effects of those barbarities were that the government and of *Old England* heard of them with horror and resentment, and they awakened the small remains of common sense and humanity in that of *New England*, when they began to reflect upon the innocent blood they had shed. This naturally produced a backwardness in those magistrates, however zealous they had been before, to grant new warrants. One *Dudley Bradstreet*, in particular, though he had granted thirty or forty such warrants, refused to issue out any more. The witch-prosecutors and witnesses accused him and his lady of having killed nine persons by their witchcrafts; and they were obliged to fly out of the colony. His brother, *John Bradstreet*, was accused upon oath of riding through the air upon his dog to

witch-meetings. Mr. *Bradstreet* narrowly escaped being executed upon this notable evidence; but his dog was put to death as an accomplice. One captain *Aldin*, a man of as much sense and virtue as any in the colony, suffered fifteen weeks imprisonment upon the like charge, and, making his escape, he returned next year, being 1693, to take his trial; but he was cleared by a proclamation. In short, of twenty-eight persons, who received sentence of death, twenty were executed. Their blood made their persecutors ravenous for more; and, upon their being somewhat checked, they accused the friends of the governor, and Dr. *Increase Mather*, the two great patrons of witch-burning. It was now time to stop the prosecution: Sir *William Phipps*, the governor, pardoned all who were under condemnation; and the grand jury would not find the bills preferred against supposed witches, even though they confessed themselves guilty; upon which this bloody persecution ceased.

Reflection. WE are here, in justice to the ministry and people of *New England*, to observe that those persecutions were carried on by wretches, partly to gratify their private resentments and interests, and partly from a spirit of enthusiasm and credulity; nor could they have happened, had it not been for the weakness of the governor and Dr. *Mather*, who were rendered the tools of more designing men. The people in general, and some ministers, particularly Mr. *Caleb* of *Boston*, detested them, and remonstrated against them from the beginning; but all to no purpose. It is farther remarkable, that tortures were applied to make the poor wretches confess themselves witches; but that all of them, who did so, retracted their confessions at the place of execution.

THE minds of the people of *New England* were now entirely alienated from the person and government of Sir *William Phipps*. The establishment of the peace with the *Indians* had brought no abatement to their taxes; and many considered him, notwithstanding his recantation, as the cause of shedding all the innocent blood that had been spilled in the late witch persecution. Add to those considerations, that they did not think Sir *William's* capacity was equal to the government of so great colony as *New England* was now become. It appears that the discontented had long complained to their friends in *England* of their governor's conduct, and they had influence enough to bring the court to the same way of thinking as themselves; till, at last, articles of a formal charge having been sent over, Sir *William* was called to *Old England*, to answer for himself before a committee of the privy council. On the other hand, Sir *William* had on his side a majority

Charge
against Sir
William
Phipps.

majority of the clergy, and of the general assembly, who sent over a counter-petition in his favour, praying that he might be restored to his government; but before the matter could come to any decision, Sir *William* died at *London* of a *His death*. malignant fever: He was succeeded in his government by *Succeed-William Stoughton*, Esq; who had not been quite innocent in *ed by* the affair of the witch persecution. He had a difficult pro-Stoughton-vince to manage during his administration. The *French* of *ton*. *Canada*, as shall be more fully related in our history of *Canada*, not only continued to have the ascendancy over the savages lying between them, and the *English* settlements, but were of themselves become very powerful. This was occasioned by a plan, which the *French* king had adopted for extirpating the colony of *New England*, and for which he was making great naval preparations. The sea armament was put under the command of the chevalier *Nesmond*, one of his best naval officers, who was to be joined by 1500 *French* from *Canada*. In the mean while, it was agreed at the court of *France*, to remit to count *Frontenac*, governor-general of *New France*, money and arms for the use of the *French Indians*, who would not have been such bloody enemies as they were to the *English*, had not the priests found means to make them papists, and consequently enthusiasts against protestants. This spirit increased their natural ferocity, and rendered them not only more brutal, but more treacherous, than ever.

NOTWITHSTANDING the solemn peace that had been *Continu-* concluded at *Pemmaguid*, twelve months did not elapse when *ance of the* they and the *French* all of a sudden invaded the town of *Oyster war*. *River*, where they carried off a hundred captives, twenty of whom were of the trained bands. They then murdered one Mrs. *Cutts*, and all her family; but were repulsed from *Gretton* by one lieutenant *Lulin*. They next fell upon the open country, where they killed twenty or thirty *English*, plundered the plantations, and carried off captives, or scalped, all whom they did not put to death. One woman, particularly, who was scalped on this occasion, was alive twenty years after. There seems, at this time, to have been a debility in the *New England* government, which now contained above 200,000 *English*, besides their *Indian* subjects. The *French* and their *Indians* were every where repulsed when they met with officers or men of spirit to oppose them, which seemed to make them the more cruel against the defenceless part of the inhabitants. At last, *Bommaffen*, one of their principal segamoires or sachems, and who had been present at the *Pemmaguid* peace, was made prisoner by the *English*; and, notwithstanding all his evasions, he was sent prisoner to *Boston*.

He was a chief of so great consequence, that the *Indians* were greatly daunted by his captivity, and not only forbore hostilities for some time, but sent proposals for peace to the garrison at *Pemmaquid*. At first, they proposed to release all the *English* captives, and actually delivered up eight. Upon this, they obtained a truce for thirty days, and the brave major *Convers*, with two other *English* officers, were appointed to treat with them. This negotiation came to nothing; because, on the one hand, the *English* refused to deliver up the sagamore *Bommafeen*, and they, on the other, to fulfil their preliminary of releasing the *English* prisoners, of whom above a hundred were still in their hands. The war then went on with fresh fury, and, in *August* this year, the *Indians*, for the first time ever known, appeared at *Billericay* on horseback, and committed within the county of *Essex*, a great many murders and other barbarities.

THOSE transactions are but slightly touched upon in the *English* histories, which gives great reason to believe that *Stoughton*, and the government of *New England*, were not quite void of blame with regard to the *Abenquais*, or *French Indians*, to bridle whom *Pemmaquid* fort had been built. We are therefore somewhat inclined to believe the relation of father *Charlevoix*, as to many particulars of this war, the rather, as he agrees in the main with the *English* accounts, and, as it is allowed on all hands, that the government of *New England*, both civil and military, was at that time very indifferently administered. The garrison of *Pemmaquid* had arrested seven *Abenquais*, who came to the fort with a flag of truce; four of whom were killed on the road to *Boston*, to which they were all sent prisoners. The rest of the nation demanded satisfaction for this breach of faith as they called it; and *Stoughton*, the governor of *New England*, reproached them, on his part, for their repeated breaches of faith. The government, both of *Old* and *New France*, saw now the necessity of taking *Pemmaquid* fort from the *English*; and two of their best officers in *Canada*, *Iberville* and *Bonaventure*^d, were charged with the execution, with orders from *Old France* to raze the fort, as soon as they should take it, and then to join an armament to be sent from *Old France* to proceed to the destruction of the *English* and their settlements. The *French* court had this enterprize to greatly at heart, that they assigned a very considerable force to support it. Their writers, however, admit that it must have been impracticable, had the *English* officers in *New England* done their duty.

^d CHARLEVOIX. Tom. III. p. 235.

The governor of *Pemmaquid* fort was one captain *Chub*, and he was, at this very time, 1696, treating with some *Abenaquais* segamores, two of whom he shot dead while they thought themselves in perfect security^e; a barbarity owned and condemned by the *English* themselves. This villainous action renewed hostilities in those parts on both sides, and they proceeded with their usual inhumanities. On the 26th of *June*, the two *French* commandants arrived at *Spanish Bay*, where they had intelligence of three *English* ships, lying in the mouth of *St. John's* river. Upon this, they set sail in quest of them, and, coming up with them on the 4th of *July*, *Iberville* took one of them, the *Newport* of twenty-four guns; and then proceeded to the attack of the fort, which they invested the 14th of *July*; having landed their artillery, and raised their batteries, in all which they were assisted by large bodies of the disciplined natives, who flocked to join them.

BEFORE any firing began (E), the *French* summoned *Siege* and *Chub* to surrender the place, and he answered with great shew of resolution, that he was determined to hold it out to the *French* till the last, though the *French* should cover the sea with their ships, and the land with their *Indians*. Upon this a smart firing began on both sides, and *Iberville* coming a-shore raised a battery, from whence he played with five bombs. This daunted *Chub* and his garrison, especially as they were informed by the *French*, that, if the place was taken by storm, they would be left to the mercy of the savages. A capitulation was then begun, and it was agreed that the *English* should be sent with all their goods and effects to *Boston* to be exchanged for an equal number of *French* and savages; and that, in the mean while, they should be protected from the fury of the *Indians*. *Charlevoix* says, that *Chub* was forced by his garrison, which consisted of no more than ninety-two men, (the *English* say two hundred) to accept of this capitulation. When the *French* entered the fort, they there found one of the natives in irons, and ready to expire under the severities he had suffered in his confinement. The sight of this captive put the *Indians* in such a fury, that the *French* pretended it was with great difficulty they could prevent the savages from falling upon the garrison. It is on all

^e British Empire in America. Vol. I. p. 161.

(E) The author of the *British Empire in America*, and other *English* writers, pretend that the fort was surrendered by *Chub*, without a gun being fired on either side; but our account, which we have taken from *Charlevoix*, is most likely to be true.

hands admitted that this fort might have held out a long time, had it been garrisoned by brave men, they having fifteen cannon, and plenty of ammunition and provisions. The capitulation met with some difficulties in the execution of it. The *French* commandant sent indeed a few of the garrison to *Boston*; but he demanded, at the same time, that all the *French* and *Indian* prisoners in *New England* should be set at liberty, in exchange for the remainder of the garrison, and the crew of the *Newport*, which amounted to above one hundred men; and, in the mean while, he demolished the fortifications of *Pemmaquid*. Before he received an answer, he departed to execute the rest of his commission; but, perceiving that he was telling short of provisions, he sent to *Boston* all the *English* prisoners, detaining only the officers.

Exploit of
Hannah
Dunster.

THE unexpected news of the loss of *Pemmaquid* fort spread great terror all over *New England*; and governor *Stoughton*, when it was too late, ordered three men of war to sail in pursuit of the *French* squadron. At the same time, colonel *Gedney* marched eastward with five hundred men, but found the country evacuated both by the *French* and their allies; and all he could do, was to carry *Chub* prisoner to *Boston*, where his commission was only taken from him: which is a farther proof that he behaved better than the *English* writers allow. The *English* were now in a manner despised by the barbarians, who invaded *Haverhill* in *Essex* county; from whence they carried off thirty captives. Amongst them was one *Hannah Dunster*, (who had been but a few days brought to bed) a woman of most amazing strength and intrepidity: for, perceiving herself in danger of being sacrificed to the cruelties of the barbarians, she animated her nurse, and an *English* boy, who was with her, so effectually, that they three killed ten of the *Indians* with their own weapons, and then made their escape to *Boston*, where they deservedly received 50 l. from the assembly, besides handsome private presents. The war, all this while, to the reproach of the *English*, was carried on by detached parties of the *Indians*, who cruelly murdered all that fell in their way, excepting those they reserved for torments; but they always acted by ambushes and surprizes.

A French
invasion
threatened.

BESIDES the expedition against *Pemmaquid* fort, another was now fitting out both from *Old* and *New France*, for carrying into execution their grand plan of conquering all *New England* in the beginning of the year 1697. How this expedition came to miscarry will be seen in the history of *Canada*. When certain accounts of it came to *Boston*, the inhabitants seemed to awaken from a lethargy. They immediately repaired

paired the fortifications of that town, and the militia of the province was every where raised and disciplined, so that it is likely that the *French*, if they had landed, must have miscarried in their main design. The valour and good conduct of major *March* was of vast service to the colony on this occasion. Being dispatched to the eastern parts, where the greatest danger from the savages was apprehended, he drove them from the neighbourhood of *Casco* bay; and putting his men on board some small vessels he landed them near *Damascottes* river off the eastern isles before the barbarians could recover their fastnesses, and drove them, with some loss to himself, but much greater to them, to their canoes. The importance of this seasonable check consisted in its dispiriting those savages from joining the *French*, whose fleet and army after this disappointment returned to *Europe*.

THOUGH Mr. *Stoughton* still continued to act as governor of *New England*, yet it does not appear that he had ever obtained a formal commission from the crown of *England*, being only continued in his government from time to time. About the year 1695 the clamour against the people of *New England* and *New York* for piratical practices growing very outrageous, king *William* had bestowed the government of *New England*, to which that of *New York* was now added, upon the earl of *Bellamont* an *Irish* peer, the king expressing himself at the same time, that he thought him a man of resolution and integrity, and with those qualities the more likely than any other he could think of to put a stop to the growth of piracy. The lord *Bellamont* continued for two years after in *England*, during which time *Stoughton* had acted as his deputy governor. *Bellamont* consulting with colonel *Robert Livingston*, a person of reputation, and considerable property in *New York*, the latter recommended to him one captain *Kidd* as a proper person to suppress the piracies so much complained of. *Bellamont* mentioned this proposal to the king; but upon his consulting the admiralty, it was found that the then situation of affairs did not admit of their granting *Kidd* what he demanded, viz. the command of a thirty gun ship, properly manned and equipped for that service. The project was then as good as dropt, when it was revived by *Livingston*, who proposed to the earl of *Bellamont*, that a ship, at the expence of 6000*l*. of which he and *Kidd* were to bear a fifth, should be fitted out, and that the other shares should be advanced by other great lords, particularly the lord chancellor *Sommers*, the duke of *Shrewsbury*, the earls of *Romney*, *Orford* and others. This proposal was likewise communi-

*History of
Kidd the
pirate.*

cated by the earl of *Bellamont* to the king, who highly approved of it, and consented that the adventurers should have a grant of all that *Kidd* should take from the pirates, excepting one tenth, which was reserved to shew that the king was concerned in the undertaking. The bargain was struck by all parties, and a commission in the usual form was made out for *Kidd*, to act as a privateer against the pirates. *Kidd*, after cruising for some upon the coasts of *New England* and *New York* with but very indifferent success, bore away for the *East Indies*, where he was guilty of various acts of piracy, especially on the subjects of the *Great Mogul*, by which the *East India* company's estate and effects in those parts were in danger of being seized.

His piracies made a great noise all over *Europe*, especially in *England*, where the disaffected to the government represented them as being committed by the authority of the king and the ministry. The earl of *Bellamont*, in the year 1698, after a very tedious voyage, landed on his government at *New York*, where he found every thing in great disorder. The massacres of the *Indians* upon the defenceless inhabitants had been renewed. Many of them, amongst whom was a minister, captain *Chub* and colonel *Bradstreet*, both whom we have already mentioned, were murdered in *Essex* county; but the savages were beaten off from *Dee*field on *Connecticut* river, by the valour of the minister, one Mr. *Williams*, who headed the inhabitants. The peace of *Ryswick* restored for sometime those parts to a state of some tranquillity. Count *Frontenac* intimated to the sachems of the *Hurons*, and other sachems in the *French* alliance, that they ought to make the best terms they could with the *English*, because he had no longer any authority to support them. The earl of *Bellamont* remained all this while at *New York*, but nominated major *Convers*, and colonel *Philips*, to repair to *Penobscot*, there to confer with the *Indian* sachems upon the means of restoring peace. At the same time his lordship wrote a very polite letter to the count *de Frontenac*, informing him of the publication of the peace at *London*, and sending him back by colonel *Schuyler*, nineteen *French* prisoners; but with a demand of having all the subjects belonging to *England*, both *English* and *Indians*, who were prisoners in *New France* delivered up to him^f. The count readily agreed to the restitution of the *English* captives, but pretended he had no power over the *Indians*, particularly the *Iroquois*, many of whom had settled af-

ter they had become prisoners in *New France*. A long negotiation between the earl and the count ensued upon this. The count's main drift was to convince the *Iroquois*, that he was ready to release all their prisoners, but not to deliver them up to the *English*, as they themselves were an independent people. All his art however had very little effect upon those savages, and he himself soon afterwards died, in the 78th year of his age, after raising the affairs of *Canada* to a higher pitch than they had ever been in before.

THE conferences at *Penobscot* were still continued between the *English* commissioners and the *Indian* Sachems; the latter of whom laid the blame of all the perfidious cruel conduct they had been guilty of upon the *Jesuit* missionaries. At last the *English* commissioners concluded a treaty with them upon the footing of that of *Pemmaquid*, but received from the Sachems the following separate instrument of submission to the crown of *England*, which we insert here, because it is the best evidence the nature of the thing can admit of to prove their subjection to the *British* nation.

“ WHEREAS notwithstanding the aforesaid submission and agreement, the said *Indians* belonging to the princes aforesaid, *Submission* or some of them, through the ill counsel and instigation of *of the sa-* chems to the *French*, have perpetrated sundry hostilities against his majesty's subjects the *English*, and have not delivered and return- *crown of* England, ed him the several *English* in their hands, as in the said submission they covenanted.

“ WHEREFORE we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, Segamores, captains, and principal men of the *Indians*, belonging to the rivers of *Kennbeck*, *Ammonoscoggin*, *Saco*, and parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly, in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreement, and also of the sufferings and mischiefs that we have hereby exposed ourselves unto, do in all humble and submissive manner cast ourselves upon his majesty's mercy, for the pardon of all our rebellions and violations of our promises, praying to be received into his majesty's grace and protection, and for, and in behalf of ourselves, and of all the other *Indians* belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of his majesty of *Great Britain*, do again acknowledge and profess an hearty and sincere obedience to the crown of *England*, and do solemnly renew, ratify and confirm, all and every the articles and agreements contained in the aforesaid recited submission: and in testimony hereof, we, the said Segamores, captains and principal men, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at *Casco Bay*, near *Mare's Point*, the 7th

7th day of *January*, in the tenth year of the reign of his majesty king *William the third*, *Anno Dom. 1698-99.*"

"Subscribed by *Moxus*, and the rest of the *Segamore's* present."

"In the presence of *James Convers*, *Cyprian Southack*, *John Gyles*, interpreter, *Scodook*, alias *Sampson*."

THE earl of *Bellamont* appears to have been in every respect a proper governor for *New England*, not only as he understood the interests of the colony perfectly well, but because he was well qualified to deal with the *French* governors of *Canada*. He affected however to make his chief residence at *New-York*; and *Stoughton* continued still to act in *New-England* as his deputy or lieutenant governor. In the beginning of the spring of 1699 he came in person to *Boston*, where he held a general assembly, which consists of deputies from the freeholders and other inhabitants of the respective towns and places². He seems to have been the first governor who received from the province a determined salary; being allowed 1000*l.* a year, and a present of five hundred pounds, by which it would appear that the assembly were of opinion his not residing amongst them was of no detriment to their province. While he was at *Boston* he had the good fortune to seize *Kidd* the noted pirate, and to send him over to *England*; where his trial, for reasons foreign to this history, made a very great noise; but he was afterwards executed. As to lord *Bellamont* himself, he died soon after his return to *New York*; and lieutenant governor *Stoughton* again resumed the government. The *Indians* being now quiet, nothing remarkable happened, but a dreadful fire, that might be well called a public calamity, which broke out at *Boston*, consumed several houses, and damaged others. In this interval of tranquillity, however, the colony acquired great property in commerce; and they wisely attached themselves to those views even after the breaking out of the war between *France* and *England*. This was in a great measure owing to the prudence of *Calieres* and *Vaudreuil*, the *French* governors of *Canada*, who were sensible that that province was as much benefited by repose as *New England* was, and that the *Iroquois* and other savage nations would prove a firm barrier to *New England* in case of an attack from *Canada*. The *New England* men, however, were far from being idle at the beginning of this war; for they fitted out as many

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privateers as, in a very short time, brought into their ports seventeen or eighteen *French* prizes.

On the death of the earl of *Bellamont*, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; *History of* a native of the province was appointed governor of *New Eng- the expedi-*land. The people of that province seem at this time to have *tion against* been particularly careful to avoid rendering their own coun- *Canada.* try the seat of war; and they rather chose to contribute as far as the circumstances of the colony could permit, towards carrying it on in other quarters; for which reason we are obliged to refer to the history of those colonies to be inserted in other parts of this work, for many brave and generous actions performed by the *New England* men in the course of that war. They were so public-spirited as upon the application of the people of *Jamaica*, who were apprehensive of a *French* invasion, to send to their assistance two companies of foot under colonel *Walton* and captain *Lawrence*, who served there for two years. They likewise generously relieved the people of *Nevis*, when ruined by the *French*, by sending them all kinds of provisions and materials for building, without their either receiving or demanding any return.

THE government of *Old England* early in this war were sensible that nothing could more effectually distress the *French* than to attack their colony of *Quebec*. This project had been formed by the whig ministry, and had gone so far, that the earl of *Sunderland*, secretary of state, had sent an advice boat to *Boston* to have every thing in readiness in that town and harbour for the reception of the troops who were ready to sail from *England* against *Quebec*. This design however was laid aside upon the government receiving news of the unfortunate battle of *Almanza*, and the troops were sent on another destination. There is some reason for doubting when this design was reassumed, whether the *New England* men were really friends to it. The probability lies that they were not. They knew the difficulties of such an undertaking, and they were afraid, if it was unsuccessful, of having their country again rendered the scene of *French* and *Indian* barbarities. Add to this, that we cannot well suppose them to have had any great opinion either of the ministers who planned, or the admiral and general who were to execute it. The first was Sir *Howden Walker*, and the latter was col. *Hill*, brother to Mrs. *Mayham*, who had supplanted the duchess of *Marlborough* in the queen's favour.

BE that as it will col. *Nicholson*, who had recovered *Nova Scotia* for the *English*, having been over in *England* in the spring of the year 1700, had brought with him some *Indian* chiefs, and so effectually persuaded the ministry of the utility of

of the undertaking, that five regiments of foot and a battalion of marines, the latter under the command of colonel *Charles Churchill*, were appointed to the service, and the ships of war that sailed from England were the *Edgar*, *Monmouth*, *Devonshire*, *Humber*, *Swiftsure*, *Kingston*, *Sunderland*, *Montague*, and *Dunkirk*. This force was to be joined by an additional number of troops and ships when it arrived at *New-England*, which was the first place of its destination. It does not however appear that the people of *New England* had received any instructions for that purpose; or if they did they seemed to have neglected them. The armament sailed from *Plymouth* the 4th of *May*, and arrived at *Boston* the 4th of *June* 1711, and so little was it expected, that upon its first appearance a troop of guards, and a regiment of foot that were in the town, put themselves under arms, and the inhabitants made the proper dispositions for repelling the enemy, but were soon undeceived. The general and the admiral had at first no thoughts of landing their men here, but coming ashore, after some conference with the inhabitants, found that they themselves were not in the secrets of the ministry. The latter had often brought severe charges against the whigs for entering on designs not laid before parliament, and for which no supplies had been given, and the parliament had a little before declared, That to enlarge the service, or increase the charge beyond the bounds prescribed, and the supplies granted, was illegal, and an invasion of their rights. Those circumstances filled the patrons of this expedition with apprehensions, and they had nothing to trust to but success for being indemnified. Looking upon secrecy as being one of the great means of success, they had either concealed their design from the *New-England* men, or explained it so imperfectly, that when the admiral and general came on shore they were amazed to find that no provisions were in furtherance for their proceeding on the expedition; so that, all their own provisions being spent, notwithstanding the shortness of the passage, the men were landed out of the ships, and encamped on *Noddies* island near *Boston*, where col. *Nicholson* likewise was. This delay, probably, was the ruin of the expedition, but it is owned on all hands, that the *New-England* men seeing the good appearance the troops and ships made, and perceiving the officers to be thoroughly in earnest, expedited the raising their quota of men, and got ready the provisions demanded of them in a shorter time than could have been well expected. It was however the 20th of *July* before the *British* troops re embarked, and they were joined by two fine regiments of 1000 *New England* and *New York* men, under the colonels

Wal-

Walton and Vetch. The fleet then consisted of twelve, some say fifteen men of war; six store ships with all kind of war-like stores, besides fire ships, bomb-ketches, tenders and transports, with forty horse on board for drawing a fine train of artillery. It was the 30th of *July* before the fleet sailed for the river *St. Lawrence*. At the same time colonel *Nicholson* set out from *Boston* for *New York*, from whence he proceeded to *Albany*, where the forces of *New York*, *Connecticut*, and *New Jersey*, about 1000 *Palatines*, and about as many *Indians* of the *Five Nations*, under the *Casiques*, who had been in *England*, rendezvoused to the number of about 4000 men, commanded by col. *Ingoldby*, col. *Schuyler*, and col. *Whiting*, who marched toward *Canada* the 28th of *August*. It was the 14th of the same month before the fleet arrived at the mouth of *St. Lawrence* river; but proceeding upwards, partly by the unskilfulness of the pilots, and partly through contrary winds, the whole was in great danger of being lost, as eight transports, with about 800 men on board, actually were. After two or three days remaining in this uncomfortable situation, a resolution was taken, by a consultation of the sea-officers^a, to return to *Spanish* river bay; and there a council was held, consisting of sea and land-officers, "who, says Sir *Hovenden Walker* in his account of this expedition, considering we had but ten weeks provision for the fleet and army, and that the navigation in these parts of the world being so bad and dangerous, that, at this time of the year, we could not depend upon a supply of provisions from *New-England*, it was unanimously agreed to return home, without making further attempts elsewhere." Thus ended an expedition that has been variously represented; but we cannot help thinking that the conductors of it were in earnest, though their delaying it so long was inexcusable, if it was owing to them. It was however considered by the whigs as so desperate an undertaking, that one of the articles of the earl of *Oxford's* impeachment, was his having suffered it to go forward. As to what regards the part which the people of *New-England* bore in it, we shall here present the reader with part of their governor's apology for them in a speech he delivered to the assembly soon after the expedition miscarried. "Before we proceed (says he) I must offer you my sincere sense and sincere condolence of the fleet and forces sent hither by her majesty's special favour. I have had time enough, since the account thereof, to consider the several articles of her majesty's command to this government, for the putting forward this expe-

Miscarriage of the expedition.

Governor's speech on the same.

^a Letter of Sir HOVENDEN WALKER, dated Sep. 12, 1711.
dition.

dition. I cannot charge this assembly with neglecting any particular; but, on the contrary, when I peruse the journals of the proceedings, I think there was provision, and expedition made in every article, referring to soldiers, artificers, pilots, transports and provision for the service of her majesty's *British* forces as well as our own. I hope you will see reason to consider and represent home, for our justification, that it may be demonstrated, that we were in earnest to do our duty to the utmost for our own benefit and establishment, as well as her majesty's honour and just right set down in the instructions for the expedition."

Boston
burnt and
rebuilt.

ABOUT this time the greatest part of the town of *Boston* was laid in ashes by an accidental fire: but though the public of *New England* was at that time considerably in debt on account of the late war, it was soon rebuilt in a far more elegant and commodious manner than before; a proof of the prodigious acquisitions the inhabitants had made by commerce and industry since the foundation of their colony. The peace of *Utrecht*, however disgraceful, or disadvantageous it might be in other respects, gave a prodigious spring to the wealth and welfare of *New England*. The inhabitants of that colony, to their native love of liberty, added now the polite arts of life, industry was embellished by elegance; and what would have been hardly credible in ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, in less than fourscore years, a colony, almost unassisted by its mother country, arose in the wilds of *America*, that if transplanted to *Europe*, and rendered an independent government, would have made no mean figure amidst her sovereign states.

Colonel
Shute go-
verner.

UPON the accession of the family of *Hanover* to the crown of *Great Britain*, colonel *Samuel Shute*, brother to the then lord *Burrington*, was by king *George* the 1st. appointed governor of *New England*. He had served in the *English* army under the great duke of *Marborough* with great reputation, and having been wounded in the cause of public liberty, both his person and principles were extremely agreeable to the people of *New England*. They accordingly provided him with a house suitable to his dignity; but they still retained so much of their original character, that they could not be prevailed upon to render him independent on themselves by settling upon him a certain salary. He had succeeded one colonel *Burgess*, who, for that reason probably refused to go over to his government; and his lieutenant governor was Mr. *Dummer*, a man of understanding, and very well versed in colony affairs, especially those of *New England*. By this time, that province was so far from being a wild uncultivated land, where the colonists must work for their bread to clear it from trees, that there was a necessity for a law passing to pre-

went any more from being cut down; as appears from the following speech of this governor to the assembly. "Notwithstanding, says he, the law passed in *England* for encouraging naval stores, and for the preservation of white pine trees, his majesty has been informed that great spoils are daily committed in his woods, in the province of *Main*, and in some parts of *Massachusetts*'s bay, by cutting down, and putting to private use such trees as may be proper for the navy royal; therefore he recommends that all laws against it may be put in execution, and new ones be made, if these are not sufficient." In the same speech he recommended the rebuilding of the fort *Pemnaquid*, or erecting a fort in that neighbourhood. In 1717 he met the heads of the eastern *Indians* near *Kennebek* river, and found that the *French* priests from *Canada* had been again tampering with them to renounce their alliance with, and submission to the crown of *Great Britain*. This appeared in the haughtiness of the behaviour of the *Sachems*, who, with a peremptory air, demanded that the *English* should build no more forts, nor make more settlements on their lands; to which the governor resolutely answered, that he would not part with an inch of ground that belonged to his province, and threatened to build a fort upon every settlement in it. Upon this, the savages departed to a neighbouring island with a shew of resentment; but upon the governor's ordering the ship of war which attended him, to put herself in a sailing posture, they sent to desire another conference, which with some difficulty was granted, and the *Sachems*, to the number of 23, renewed their submission to the crown of *England*, and all the articles of their former agreement, saying at the same time in their native stile, that they hoped it would last as long as the sun and moon endured. Upon their return home, however, the *French* renewed their practices with them, and two hundred of them marched under *French* colours to the town of *Arrowsick*, from whence they sent a menacing letter to the governor, who laid it before the assembly. This produced a new expedition, which was attended by five of the counsellors, and which soon dissipated the danger. Next year about thirty or forty pirates, taken by captain *Solgard* of the *Greyhound* man of war, were brought prisoners to *Rhode* island, where they were tried, and about twenty-four of them executed.

NOTWITHSTANDING colonel *Shute*'s easy administration, *Shute* and the services he had done the colony, he could not prevail upon them to fix his salary, and the assembly gave him so much trouble that he was at last forced to carry over to *England* a complaint against them, consisting of seven articles

for invading the royal prerogative, viz. "1. Their taking possession of royal masts cuts into logs: 2. Refusing the governor's negative of the speaker. 3. Assuming authority jointly with the governor and council to appoint fasts and thanksgivings. 4. Adjourning themselves for more than two days at a time. 5. Dismantling of forts, and ordering the guns and stores into the treasurer's custody. 6. Suspending of military officers, and mutilating them of their pay. 7. Sending a committee of their own to muster the king's forces."

MR. *Cook*, the agent for the house of representatives, admitted the first, third, fifth, sixth and seventh articles to be true; and on the part of his constituents he acknowledged their fault, but laid the blame upon the precedents of former assemblies. As to the two articles not acknowledged¹, an explanatory charter was made out in the 12th of *George the 1st*. in which is the following clause, "Whereas in their charter, nothing is directed concerning a speaker of the house of representatives, and their adjourning themselves; it is hereby ordered, That the governor or commander in chief, shall have a negative in the election of the speaker, and the house of representatives may adjourn themselves, not exceeding two days at a time."

Burnet governor.

COLONEL *Shute's* successor was *William Burnet*, Esq; son to the famous bishop of that name. When he entered upon his government he found the people more numerous than those of any colony in the world; their commerce flourishing, and their riches immense. But they had not laid aside the independent principles of their ancestors; and the government of *England* thought that they affected powers inconsistent with their duty to their mother country. To put them to a test of their obedience, Mr. *Burnet* had an instruction peremptorily to insist upon a settled provision for him as governor, which was as peremptorily refused by the assembly. The disputes on this head increased so much, that for some time no public business could be transacted. Mr. *Burnet* was a zealous promoter of the good of the colony; and had many schemes for its service, which were so just that he had credit enough to carry them into execution. It is thought that he would even have given up the point of his salary had he not have been tied down by his instructions from *England*. But finding that was impracticable, he having given up a very lucrative place in *Great Britain* for the government of *New York*, in which he succeeded governor *Hunter*, as colonel *Montgomery* did him. The province of *Massachusetts*'s perceiving

¹ DOUGLASS'S Summary, Vol. I Page 380.

they could gain nothing upon their governor in the matter of his salary, sent over *Jonathan Belcher, Esq;* to join with *Mr. Wilks* in an application to the government of *England* to get a revocation of his instruction on that head. The whig ministry being at that time, viz. 1727, pretty much divided, the *New England* agents who were charged with other complaints against their governor, besides that of his insisting upon a salary, received great encouragement from one part of the administration, and were threatened by the other, that the affair should be laid before parliament; but *Mr. Burnet* dying September 7, 1729, *Mr. Belcher* was appointed to succeed him as governor of *New York*. In the mean while, *Mr. Dummer* acted as lieutenant governor. *Mr. Belcher* arrived at *New York* on the 8th of August 1730, and was received with great joy by the natives, who thought that under their own countryman they had nothing to apprehend, especially as he had so lately been employed by them as their agent; but they were deceived. The first step he took in his government, was to lay before the assembly of *New Hampshire* his instruction to obtain a salary, and they accordingly granted him two hundred pounds a year. But their example did not further his main end, which was to obtain a proportionable sum from the assembly at *Boston*. The general assembly of *New England* met at *Cambridge* on the 9th of Sept. and was opened by the governor with a speech, in which he had the following expressions, "Gentlemen, the king's placing me at the head of his government here, taken in all circumstances of it, (without assuming any personal merit to myself) is such an instance of his majesty's grace and favour to the people, as I want words to express. The honour of the crown, and the interest of *Great Britain*, are doubtless very compatible with the privileges and liberties of her plantations; and it being my duty to support the former, it will also be my care to protect the latter. I have in command to communicate to you his majesty's twenty-seventh instruction to me, respecting the support of his governors in this province for the future; I therefore desire, from the affectionate regard I have for my native country, that you will give your most calm and deliberate attention to this affair, of so nice a consequence, and now brought to a crisis." The crisis he mentions was the former threat of obtaining the sanction of a *British* parliament for fixing a salary; and *Mr. Belcher*, to shew he was not to be baffled, insisted upon the arrears due to the late governor *Burnet's* children at the rate of 1000 *l.* a year for his salary. At length his salary was fixed by a bill passed in the assembly, but in so ambiguous and uncertain a manner, that he refused it his consent.

consent. The council however, was willing to have agreed to his terms ; but the house of representatives still stood out, which produced from the governor the following expressions, " With you, gentlemen, of the house of representatives, " this matter more especially lies, for you must stand alone " in your present unhappy situation, and after my discharging " my duty to the king and to this province, I do not intend " to give you any farther trouble in what I have so often " urged to you. I cannot help mentioning to you the opi- " nion of your present agent, that any longer contention " will be but a fruitless spending of money, and still bring " this province into a less esteem with his majesty and his " ministers. You may depend the king will take care that " what he has now directed, shall be finally effected ; " and, as I have often told you, so I still fear, in such a man- " ner as may make you wish, too late, that you had come " into an early dutiful compliance."

THE house of representatives, in answer to this speech, quoted the governor's own letters to the general assembly, when he was employed by them as their agent against their granting any fixed salary, in which there were expressions importing, that such a salary could not be granted without the highest prejudice to the public. In the mean while, the house was far from denying to their governor an honourable support ; for on the first of *January*, being the very day before the governor dissolved them, they entered the following minute in their books, " After the most serious consideration " of his majesty's instruction for fixing a salary on his ex- " cellency and his successors, together with the rights and " privileges of the people, we apprehend the house ought " not to accede thereto ; but at the same time, we esteem it " the duty of this house, as well as their honours, willingly " and unanimously to give their votes in passing acts for the " ample and honourable support of his majesty's governor."

*Proceed-
ings of the
assembly.*

THE assembly which met upon the above dissolution, being as refractory as that which was dissolved, it met with the same fate, and a new assembly was called, to whom the governor afresh urged the necessity of their complying with his majesty's 27th instruction, relating to his salary. At last, after various expedients had been proposed and rejected, the governor was prevailed on to accept of 1000*l.* a year, but in such a manner, as that the payment of it should not be obligatory upon future assemblies. Other matters of great moment to the peace and prosperity of the colony happened about the same time, particularly a dispute between the province of *Massachusetts Bay* and that of *New Hampshire*, about

about the white pines, already mentioned to be so essential to the shipping of *Great Britain*. It is almost impossible, considering the vast extent of territory, where the white pines grow, to ascertain those several boundaries between the king and the private subject. It is certain that *Ralph Gulton*, Esq; who was contractor for the ship-timber for the royal navy, met with such difficulties in executing his contract, that he was forced to have recourse to the governor's authority, who referred the affair to the assembly. After some deliberation, a proclamation was issued by desire of the house, to prevent any kind of molestation being given to Mr. *Gulton* or his agents; and Mr. *Dunbar* the surveyor-general gave the following publication.

" WHEREAS a number of people, who call themselves proprietors of lands in *Sheepscot River*, and other parts to the eastward of *Kennebeck River*, have, by their agent Mr. *Waldo*, petitioned his majesty upon their said claims, and are, as I am informed, providing to send thither and take possession of the said lands, without waiting for his majesty's pleasure and determination thereupon: I do hereby give notice to all persons concerned, that I am directed, by his majesty's royal instructions, to lay aside 300,000 acres of land, bearing the best timber, as contiguous as may be to the sea-shore and navigable rivers within the province of *Nova Scotia*, to be reserved as a nursery of trees for the royal navy: I have, in obedience to my said instructions, made choice of several places from the east-side of *Kennebeck River*, and more especially in *Sheepscot River*."

THE reader here is to observe, that by the charter granted to the colony, all trees of the diameter of twenty-four inches and upwards, twelve inches from the ground, growing in the province, were reserved to the crown. This reservation, however, tho' wise and necessary, had often very pernicious consequences, as it gave a handle for the servants of the government to be very troublesome to the planters, by visiting and searching their estates: Besides this inconvenience, it discourages the growth of white pines near navigable rivers; as men are too often fond of preferring their private interest to the public good, and the expence of the carriage of such as grow at a distance from those rivers, exceeds the value of the timber.

It is foreign to the intention of this history to pursue all *Belcher's* the private heats and animosities that happened in this colony under Mr. *Belcher's* administration. He had the fate of *Stratton*, his predecessors; for notwithstanding all his public spirited

endeavours for the good of the colony, letters were sent over to the government of *England*, complaining of his administration, his tyranny, and his being an enemy to the dissenting interest in *New England*. Those letters, most of which were written in the incendiary strain, would have had very little effect, had not the government of *England* resolved to adopt a new system, with regard to their *American* affairs. They were provoked to this, by a dispute raised by the assembly of *New England*, about the disposal of public money, which they pretended, because they granted it, ought to be vested solely in them. This was talking in a very high strain of independency; and upon its being checked by the governor, a complaint was carried over to *England*, where it was voted in parliament, "That the complaint, contained in the "*New England* memorial and petition, was frivolous and "groundless, an high insult upon his majesty's government, "and tending to shake off the dependency of the said colony "upon this kingdom, to which, by law and right, they are, "and ought to be, subject." The assembly even ventured to censure Mr. *Dunbar*, for giving evidence before the house of commons in a bill relating to the better securing and encouraging the trade of the sugar-colonies in *America*; upon which that house voted, *nem. con.* "That the presuming to "call any person to account, or pass a censure upon him, "for evidence given by such person before that house, was "an audacious proceeding, and an high violation of the "privileges of that house." The government of *England*, not willing to encourage the heart-burnings of the colony, nominated *William Shirley*, Esq; to succeed Mr. *Bulcher*, in *August* 1741. As we shall have occasion, in the course of this work, often to mention that gentleman's conduct and actions, and likewise the noble spirit of the *New England* men exerted in the war with *France*, which broke out in the year 1742; we shall here avoid particulars, which it will be necessary for us to mention in the history of *Canada*, where, as in one common center, the merits and spirit during that war, of all our *North American* colonies, will appear in their full and true light, and thereby prevent numerous repetitions, which must happen, should we give separate details of their conduct. It is sufficient to say here, that, in the year 1748, the colony of *New England* gave peace to *Europe*, by raising, arming, and transporting four thousand men, who took *Louisbourg*, which proved an equivalent at the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, for all the successes of the *French* upon the continent of *Europe*. In the late war with *France*, which was concluded in the year 1762, they exerted the same glorious spirit

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spirit against the common enemy, and greatly contributed to that extension of territory in *North America*, that probably in a few years hence will make the crown of *Great Britain*, if it is not already, the most powerful of any in the world. It now remains that we give some account of the constitution and trade of this flourishing colony, in as concise a manner as is consistent with perspicuity.

THE general assembly of *New England*, is the supreme legislative body in the colony. In concurrence with the governor it imposes taxes, makes grants, enacts laws, and redresses public grievances of every kind. It consists of the land-magistrates, and a certain number of representatives, which form two chambers so nearly resembling our lords and commons, that the consent of the majority of both is necessary before any bill can be presented to the governor for his assent. But as we have an authentic representation from the commissioners of trade to the house of lords in *January 1733-4*, we cannot do better than to repeat their sense of the general government of *New England*, viz. "That there are likewise three charter governments, of which the chief is the province of *Massachusetts Bay*, commonly called *New England*; the constitution whereof is of a mixed nature, the power being divided betwixt the king and the people, in which the latter have much the greatest share; for here the people do not only chuse the assembly, but the assembly chuses the council also; and the governor depends upon the assembly for his annual support, which has too frequently laid the governors of this province under temptations of giving up the prerogative of the crown, and the interest of *Great-Britain*."

"*CONNECTICUT* and *Rhode Island*, are the other charter governments, or rather corporations, where almost the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people, who make an annual election of their assembly, their council, and their governor likewise; to the majority of which assemblies, councils and governors respectively, being collective bodies, the power of making laws is granted; and, as their charters are worded, they can, and do make laws, even without the governor's assent, and directly contrary to their opinions, no negative voice being reserved to them as governors in the said charter: And as the said governors are annually chosen, their office generally expires before his majesty's approbation can be obtained, or any security taken for the due observance of the laws of trade and navigation, and hold little or no correspondence with our office. These colonies have the power of

“ making laws for their better government and support,
 “ provided they be not repugnant to the laws of *Great Britain*, nor detrimental to their mother-country. And these
 “ laws, when they have regularly passed the council and
 “ assembly of any province, and received the governor’s
 “ assent, become valid in that province, yet remain repeal-
 “ able by his majesty in council upon just complaint, and
 “ do not acquire a perpetual force unless they are confirmed
 “ by his majesty in council. But there are some excepti-
 “ ons to this rule in the proprietary and charter-govern-
 “ ments. Thus, in the *Massachusetts Bay*, if their laws are
 “ not repealed within three years after they have been pre-
 “ sented to his majesty for his approbation or disallowance,
 “ they are not repealable by the crown after that time : and
 “ the provinces of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* are not under
 “ any obligation by their respective constitutions to return
 “ authentic copies of their laws to the crown for approba-
 “ tion or disallowance, or to give any account of their pro-
 “ ceedings. There is also this singularity in the govern-
 “ ments of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, that there, laws
 “ are not repealable by the crown, but the validity of them
 “ depends upon their being not contrary, but as near as
 “ may be agreeable, to the laws of *England*.”

Its laws,

THE laws of the greatest consequence in this colony, are thus specified by Mr. *Dummer*, “ There has been from the
 “ beginning, an office erected by law in every county,
 “ where all conveyances of land are entered at large, after
 “ the granters have first acknowledged them before a justice
 “ of peace, by which means no person can sell his estate
 “ twice, or take up more money upon it than it is worth.
 “ Provision has likewise been made for the security of life
 “ and property, in the election of juries, who are not re-
 “ turned by the sheriff of the county, but are chosen by the
 “ inhabitants of the towns ; and this election is under the
 “ exactest regulation that human prudence can suggest, for
 “ preventing corruption.” Our author observes, “ That
 “ sheriffs in the plantations are comparatively but little
 “ officers, and therefore not to be trusted like ours. Re-
 “ dreds in the *New England* courts of law, says he, is very
 “ quick and cheap, all processes are in *English*, and no spe-
 “ cial pleadings or demurrers are admitted ; but the gene-
 “ ral issue is always given, and special matters brought in
 “ evidence ; which saves time and expence : and in this
 “ case a man is not liable to lose his estate for a defect in
 “ form, nor is the merit of the cause made to depend on
 “ the niceties of clerkship. By a law of the country, no
 “ writ

“ writ may be abated for a circumstantial error, such as a
 “ slight misnomer, or any informality. And by another
 “ law, it is enacted, that every attorney taking out a writ
 “ from the clerk’s office, shall indorse his surname upon it,
 “ and be liable to pay the adverse party his costs and charges
 “ in case of non-prosecution or discontinuance, or that the
 “ plaintiff be non-suited, or judgment pass against him. And
 “ it is provided in the same act, That if the plaintiff shall
 “ suffer a non-suit by the attorney’s mislaying the action, he
 “ shall be obliged to draw a new writ without a fee, in
 “ case the party shall see fit to receive the suit: for the
 “ quicker dispatch of causes, declarations are made parts of
 “ the writ, in which the case is particularly set forth. If
 “ it be matter of accmpt, the accmpt is annexed to the
 “ writ, and copies of both left with the defendant, which
 “ being done fourteen days before the sitting of the court,
 “ he is obliged to plead directly, and the issue is then tried.
 “ Nor are the people of *New England* oppressed with the
 “ infinite delays and expence that attend proceedings in
 “ chancery. But as in all other countries, *England* only
 “ excepted, *jus & æquum* are held the same, and never
 “ divided; so it is here, a power of chancery being vested
 “ in the judges of the courts of common law, as to some
 “ particular cases, and they make equitable constructions
 “ in others. The fees of officers of all sorts, are settled
 “ by acts of assembly at moderate prices.”

THE reader may easily conceive that the *New England* people originally were more than commonly strict in their morals and religion. The same strictness continues to this day, and renders their laws in some cases very rigorous, but in others most equitable. Adultery, blasphemy, striking or cursing a parent, is by them punished with death; as is perjury, where life may be affected. No person can be arrested if he has the means of making any satisfaction. Quakers, Jesuits and Popish priests are to be banished, but if they return they are to suffer death. Great care is taken by their laws of the morals of the *Indians*, and to prevent drunkenness, swearing and cursing; and one of their laws ought to be mentioned to their everlasting honour, which is, that Christian strangers flying from tyranny are to be maintained by the public, or otherwise provided for.

EVERY town, if it contains thirty burgesses, can send two *Govern-* representatives to parliament; if twenty, one; but *Boston ment*, nominates four. There is in the assembly the peculiar privilege of selecting the members of the council, or what we may call their house of lords, who act as assistants to the

Boston
described.

governor; but he must approve of the election. The prudence of the colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* served them in great stead when their charters were called in by *Charles II.* for they surrendered only that which had been granted them by the crown; but, when the revolution took place, they produced that which they held from the *Massachusetts* company, which never had been revoked, and which entitled them annually to elect their own governor, and to command their own militia. They went so far in asserting this last privilege, that when king *William* appointed *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esq; who was governor of *New York* and *Pennsylvania*, to command the *Connecticut* forces, the province refused to obey him. *Boston* itself is well fortified. The approach to it by shipping is narrow, but its basin is said to be large enough to contain five hundred sail. Few cities in *Europe* enjoy more public conveniencies than it does. It is populous and well built, beyond any in *England*, *London* excepted; and two gazettes are regularly printed here every week; the town containing no fewer than five printing presses. The progress the inhabitants are daily making in the arts, sciences, and polite literature of every kind, is amazing, and the measures taken by the government for the advancement of learning in *New England*, will put the colleges there on a footing with any in *Europe*. With regard to their commerce, the people of *New England* are the greatest traders on the continent of *America*. They acquire vast profits by ship-building. Their soil produces every fruit that is to be found in *Europe*; apples particularly, from which they export excellent cyder to the *Antilles*. They have a race of little horses peculiar to themselves, whose hardiness and swiftness are almost incredible. Their inland trade, besides masts, yards, and provisions of all kinds, consists chiefly of furs, and the skins of beavers and martins. The furs are brought in by the *Indians*, who find their account in hunting, which they would not do were it not for the *English* markets. The greatest part of the skins are furnished by the *Indians* upon the rivers *Penobscot* and *St. John*; the former bring in bear and elk skins, and the latter beaver and otter skins. Those of *St. John* send in, one year with another, three thousand martins skins, and those of *Penobscot* double that number.

Trade.

THE foreign trade of *New England* consists of various articles. At the mouth of the river *Penobscot* there is a mackerel fishery; from which the inhabitants supply *Barbadoes*, and other *British* islands in *America*. They likewise fish in winter for cod, which they dry in the frost. Their salt works

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are upon the improving hand; and it is said they will soon have salt sufficient to serve themselves. Rich mines of iron of a most excellent kind and temper have been discovered in *New England*, and if improved, in a short time they may supply *Great Britain*, without having recourse to the northern nations for that commodity. Besides mackarel and cod, they send to *Barbadoes* and the other *British* islands, biscuit, meal, salt, provisions, sometimes cattle and horses, planks, hoops, shingles, pipe-staves, butter, cheese, grain, oil, tallow, turpentine, bark, calf-skins, tobacco, apples and onions; and of these merchandizes *Barbadoes* takes annually to the value of 100,000 *l.* sterling. From *Barbadoes* and those islands they bring in return, sugar, cotton, ginger, and various other commodities. From *Europe* they import wine, silks, woollen cloth, toys, hard-ware, linen, ribbons, stuffs, laces, paper, house-furniture, husbandry tools of all kinds, cordage, hats, stockings, shoes, and *India* goods, to the value of above 400,000 *l.* a year. In short, there is no *British* manufacture that serves the purposes of use, luxury or ornament, which the people of *New England* do not import. Their money, till lately, was all paper, struck into what they call province-bills, which occasioned many inconveniencies, and their manufactures are but few; nor are they much encouraged by their mother-country, for obvious reasons. They are however daily improving, and the two last wars with *France* and *Spain* have introduced abundance of hard money.

WITH regard to religion, before the year 1740, the province of *Massachusetts Bay* contained above one hundred English congregations, besides thirty assemblies of Indian Christians. But of all those congregations not above three or four of them followed the forms of the church of *England*. Every particular society amongst them is independent of all other ecclesiastical jurisdiction; nor does there lie any appeal from their punishments or censures. Their church-government admits of synods, but those synods have no power to enforce their own acts, or to establish any thing coercive: all they can do is, to deliberate on general matters, which are to be laid before the several churches, who have power to reject or approve of them as they see proper. The magistrates have power to call a synod upon any particular exigency, and even to give their opinion in it. The ministers of *Boston* depend entirely on the generosity of their hearers for their support; a voluntary contribution being made for them by the congregation every time divine service is celebrated. The police of the inhabitants of *New England*,

Religion.

land, with regard to their morals, is preferable perhaps to that of any in the world. Every town of fifty families is obliged to maintain a school for reading and writing, and of 100 families a grammar school for the instruction of youth. Thus vices that are common in all other parts of the world, are unknown in *New England*, if their great increase of power and riches has not introduced them. Their children being early habituated to industry of every kind, have no ideas of expensive pleasures or enervating debauches. Their constitution in church and state confirms them in this sobriety of habit. They have no holydays but that of the annual election of the magistrates of *Boston*, and the commencement at *Cambridge*. Thus an uninterrupted course of industry and application to business prevails all the year round. *New England* is divided into 12 counties, each county-town containing a guild-hall, and the whole consists of 61 market-towns, 27 fortified places upon eleven navigable rivers, and 2 colleges. Before the year 1743, their shipping was said to have consisted of at least 1000 sail, exclusive of their fishing barks; but since that time their shipping has been so greatly increased, that it is on a moderate calculation thought, that, during the late war, the privateers of *New England* were equal to all the royal navy of *England* in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*.

NEW YORK.

Dutch inhabitants of New York.

IT is difficult, and indeed immaterial, to settle the claims of prior possession amongst the colonists of *America*. Capt. *Hudson* an *Englishman* is said to have been the first who discovered this country; and about the year 1608 he sold it to the *Dutch*. This transaction was certainly very questionable, as it had not the sanction of *James* the First, without which it was thought it was not in the power of a private subject to dispose of so important and so fine a track of country. The *Dutch* however proceeded to settle it: the court of *England* complained of this settlement, and of the *Dutch* placing a governor over it. The *Dutch* however kept possession, tho' *James* I. protested against the settlement. Sir *Samuel Argal*, in his way from *Virginia* to *New Scotland*, attacked and destroyed their plantations, by order, it is to be presumed, from the court of *England*, while he was governor of *Virginia*. Upon this, the *Dutch* applied to king *James* for a confirmation of *Hudson's* conveyance; but all they could obtain was, leave to build some cottages for the convenience of their ships, touching for fresh water, in their way to *Brazil*. This permission afforded them pretexts for enlarging their settlements, till

till at last, *New Netherlands*, as the province was then called, became a flourishing colony, and carried on a very considerable trade with the neighbouring *Indians*, and even with those of *Canada*. In process of time they built the town of *Amsterdam* in *Manhattan* island, at the mouth of *Hudson's*, or as they called it, the *Great river*, *Nassau* bay lying towards the east. About 150 miles up the river they built *Orange-fort*, which was their great staple for their commerce with the *Indians*, as will be seen in the history of *Canada*.

THE extent of the province-government or jurisdiction of *Douglas's New-York* is as follows; from N. to S. that is, from *Sandy Hook*, in lat. 40 d. 30 m. to the supposed *Canada* line in the parallel of 45 d. lat. are 313 *English* miles; the extent from west to east is various. 1. From the E. southerly termination of the boundary line, between the *Ferseys* and *New York*, in lat. 41 d. upon *Hudson's* river, to *Byram* river, where the colony of *Connecticut* begins, are 100 miles. 2. From the W. northerly termination of the said boundary line between *Fersey* and *New York*, on the north branch of *Delaware* river, in lat 41 d. 40 m. to *Connecticut* W. line, including the oblong, are 82 miles, whereof about 60 miles from *Delaware* river to *Hudson's* river, and 22 miles from *Hudson's* river to the present *Connecticut* W. line, oblong included. 3. From 41 d. 40 m. on *Delaware* river, *New York* runs 20 miles higher on *Delaware* river to the parallel of 41 d. lat. which by *Pensylvania* royal grant divides *New York* from the province of *Pensylvania*. Upon this parallel *New York* is supposed to extend west to *Lake Erie*; and from thence along *Lake Erie*, and along the communicating great run of water from *Lake Erie* to *Lake Ontario* or *Cataraqui*, and along *Lake Cataraqui*, and its discharge *Cataraqui* river, to the aforesaid *Canada* supposed line with the *British* colonies. We shall instance the breadth of *New York* province from *Oswego*; as being a medium in this line. *Oswego* fort and trading place, with many nations of *Indians* upon the *Lake Ontario*, *Cataraqui* or *Oswego*, in lat. 43 d. m. lies W. northerly from *Albany* about 200 miles, and 20 miles from *Albany* to the west line of the province of *Massachusetts's* Bay, in all about 200 miles. *Montreal* lies N. by E. of *Albany* above 220 miles.

SEVERAL islands belong to the province of *New York*, such as *Long Island*, which the *Dutch* call *Nassau*, and is about 120 miles long from east to west, but no more at a medium than 10 broad. The eastern part of this island was settled from *New England*, but two thirds of the island is a barren sandy soil. *Staten* island is about 12 miles in length N. and 6 in breadth, and is inhabited by *Dutch* and *French*, as well as *English*. *Tan-*
tucket,

tucket, *Martba's* vineyard, and *Elizabeth* islands, formerly belonged likewise to *New York*, but were by the new charter of *Massachusetts Bay* granted at the revolution, annexed to that colony. *New York* contains four incorporated towns, which have several exclusive privileges, and send representatives to the general assembly. The names of the towns are as follow: 1. *New York* and its territory, which was established by colonel *Dungan*, and sends four representatives to the general assembly. 2. The city of *Albany*, which sends two representatives. 3. The town of *West-Chester*; and 4. that of *Schenectady*, each of which sends one. The climate and soil of *New York* are greatly superior even to those of *New England*, which made it an object greatly desirable by the *English*. The history of *New York*, during the time the *Dutch* held it, affords little or nothing material, but what will be found in that of *Canada*. Its first *Dutch* governor was *Henry Christian*, who discovered *Martba's* vineyard, and he was succeeded by *Jacob Elkin*, who was appointed to that government by the *Dutch West India* company, to whom the country belonged. When the *Dutch* war became inevitable in the year 1664, King *Charles II.* made a present of vast tracks of land in those countries to his brother the duke of *York*, in which *New York* was included, and the duke let it out in other subdivisions to other proprietors. To render those gifts effectual, Sir *Robert Car*, an *English* commander of great courage and spirit, before the declaration of the first *Dutch* war, was sent with a strong squadron, and three thousand land-troops, the greatest armament that had been ever sent from *Europe* to *America*, with orders to dispossess the *Dutch* of this fine country, and to put the duke of *York* in possession of it. He was attended, as we have already seen in the history of *New England*, by colonel *Richard Nicholls*, Esq; *George Carteret*, Esq; and *Samuel Meverich*, Esq; and he landed his land-forces on *Manabattan* island, towards the end of the year 1664, and he and *Nicholls* marched directly against the town of *New Amsterdam*. The *Dutch* governor, tho' a brave man, being unprovided to receive them, was obliged to capitulate, and to deliver up the place. The capitulation was wise and honourable; for all the *Dutch* subjects who were willing to submit to the *English* government were at liberty to reside in the place, and protected in their persons and effects. The town, at that time, was one of the handsomest in all *North America*; and above half of the *Dutch* inhabitants chose to submit to the *English* government, while others were at liberty to carry off their effects; and were succeeded by the *English*, who gave the colony the name of *New York*. The first *English* governor of *New York* was colonel *Nicholls*, who 13 days

Nicholls
governor.

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days after the surrender of *New Amsterdam*, marched to *Orange* fort, which was likewise surrendered to him; and all the straggling plantations in that country fell under the power of the *English*. The correspondence, in point of religion and morals, between the *Dutch*, the *New England* men, and the chief *English* planters of *New York*, render the subjection of the former very easy, and even desirable to themselves. *Nicholls* acted as governor under the duke of *York* to the year 1683, and seems to have been a wise provident person. It was he who concluded the useful treaty between the *Indians* of the five nations and the *English* inhabitants, which subsists to this day. The *Dutch* however recovered *New York* in 1672, but restored it a few months after by the treaty of peace. *Nicholls* was succeeded in this government in 1683 by Sir *Edmund Andros*, whom we have had occasion to mention in the history of *New England*, and *Andros* by colonel *Dungan*, afterwards earl of *Limerick*.

DUNGAN, though a papist, and devoted to king *James*, *Dungan* had a just sense of the interests of *England*, and was an irreconcilable enemy to the *French* in *America*. While king *James* was on the throne, an order came to him from *England*, to admit *French* missionaries from *Quebec*, to make converts to popery in *New York*. The colonel could not dispute the order; but he kept so strict an eye upon the missionaries, that he soon perceived their main intention was to debauch the five *Indian* nations from their friendship with *England*; upon which he turned them out of the colony, telling them that they came there not to serve the religion, but the trade, of *France*. The *French* king complained to the court of *England* of *Dungan's* honest proceeding, and it was thought he must have lost his government had king *James* continued much longer upon the throne. When the revolution took place, his religion disqualified him from continuing in the government of *New York*; but king *William* had so just a sense of his merit, that he offered to procure him a considerable command in the *Spanish* army, which *Dungan* refused to accept of, on account of his obligations to king *James*. After the revolution the *French* found means to spirit up the *Hurons* against the inhabitants of *New York*; and colonel *Benjamin Fletcher*, the next governor, was ordered to carry over from *England* thither some land-troops for the protection of the colony. In the mean while, viz. 1690, colonel *Peter Schuyler*, an inhabitant of *New York*, raised 300 *English* and 300 friendly *Indians*, with whom he marched against *Quebec*. This seems to have been an ill-digested expedition, as it was easy to foresee that the *English* force, which was destitute of heavy

Fletcher
governor,

his arbi-
trary pro-
ceedings.

heavy artillery, was insufficient for mastering any strong place. It appears however, from the *French* historians themselves, that it was necessary^a, because a formal plan had been laid by the *French* of *Canada* for conquering *New York*. *Schuyler* advanced into *Canada* with great intrepidity, and was opposed by a superior army of *French*, which, according to the *English* accounts, he defeated, and after killing 300 of them, perceiving his strength to be too small to attempt any thing of greater consequence, he returned home. Soon after this, the *French* invaded the province of *New York*, took and burnt the town of *Schenectady*, and murdered the inhabitants. It was thought with some appearance of truth, that this invasion was favoured by certain creatures of *Andros*, all of them papists, who had, under his government, been introduced into this province. The truth is, *Fletcher* not arriving, the government of *New York* was at this time in a state of anarchy, when one colonel *Lesley* put himself at the head of the affairs of the province, in conjunction with one Mr. *Jacob Milbourn*. This was a wise, and, perhaps, necessary step, had not the two associates been wrong-headed enough to imagine, that they would be continued from *England* in their government, and that they were even strong enough to hold out against the governor named by king *William*. In the mean while, *Fletcher* arrived with his troops, and summoned *Lesley* and *Milbourn* to give up the fort of *New York*; which they not only refused to do, but killed one of *Fletcher's* soldiers. *Fletcher* however soon got possession of the fort, and ordered *Lesley* and *Milbourn* to be tried for high treason, which they accordingly were, condemned, and executed. This was thought to be a cruel and arbitrary proceeding in *Fletcher*, and it was believed, that, had he not died at *New York*, he would have been sent prisoner to *England*.

AFTER this, the fort of *New York* was provided with a regular garrison, to prevent surprises from the *French* or their *Indians*. During *Fletcher's* government, *Frontenac*, the *French* governor of *Canada*, invaded *Albany*, the *English* barrier of *New York*, with 2000 *French* and *Canadians*. He advanced by *Hudson's* river, and, after a march of 300 miles, he fell into the country of the *Orandaguese*, one of the five nations in friendship with the *English*, where the count destroyed their habitations, corn, and provision. *Fletcher* hearing of this invasion, advanced against the count, and was joined by several of the friendly *Indians*, who were highly exasperated against the *French* and the *Hurons*. Upon this the count

^a CHARLEVOIX, vol. ii. pag. 409.

retreated,

retreated, but with considerable loss, the *English* and the *Iroquois* falling upon his rear, and killing a great many of his men. Colonel *Slaughter* succeeded *Fletcher* in this government, as *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; did him. In the year 1697 the earl of *Bellamont*, as we have already seen, was named to the joint governments of *New York* and *New England*, and Mr. *Nanfan* acted as his deputy for the former. In 1700 Mr. *Nanfan* refused admittance, by orders from *England*, to the *Scotch* ships from *Darien*; a proceeding which was thought to be inhuman. The lord *Cornbury*, eldest son to the earl of *Clarendon*, upon lord *Bellamont's* death, was appointed governor of *New York*, and carried over thither his wife and family. His lordship is said to have carried matters with a very high hand; but the affairs of the colony were under him in excellent order. In 1710 five of the friendly *Indian* kings were sent to *England*, where they were kindly received at court; and they addressed queen *Anne* in the following terms:

Five Indian chiefs
in Eng-
land.

“ Great Queen,

“ WE have undertaken a long voyage, which none of our predecessors could be prevailed with to undertake, to see our great queen, and relate to her those things which we thought absolutely necessary for the good of her and us her allies, on the other side of the water.

“ WE doubt not but our great queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the *French*; and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men. We were mightily rejoiced when we heard our great queen had resolved to send an army to reduce *Canada*; and immediately, in token of friendship, we hung up the kettle, and took up the hatchet, and, with one consent, assisted colonel *Nicholson* in making preparations on this side the lake: but at length we were told, our great queen, by some important affairs, was prevented in her design at present, which made us sorrowful, lest the *French*, who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think us unable to make war against them. The reduction of *Canada* is of great weight to our free hunting; so that if our great queen should not be mindful of us, we must, with our families, forsake our country, and seek other habitations, or stand neuter, either of which will be much against our inclinations.

“ IN token of the sincerity of these nations, we do, in their names, present our great queen with the belts of wampum, and, in hopes of our great queen's favour, leave it to her most gracious consideration.”

*Expedition
against
Canada.*

IN consequence of this address, the expedition under colonel Hill and Sir Hovenden Walker against Canada, which we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, was undertaken. General *Nicholson* was to command in chief the *New York* forces; of which, besides *Indians*, three regiments were raised, under the command of the colonels *Ingoldsbys*, *Schuyler*, and *Whiting*. They accordingly marched towards *Quebec*; but, upon *Walker's* miscarriage, they returned to *New York*. After this, great numbers of *Palatines* and German protestants arrived, and were settled in the colony, which brought an additional strength to it. This was generally reckoned a Whig measure, and therefore a vote of the house of commons passed against it, as being an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, tending to the increase and oppression of the *English* poor, and of dangerous consequence to the church. Nothing could be more false or ridiculous than (especially the last) those exceptions. But the new colonists were settled on both sides *Hudson's* river, between 80 or 100 miles above the city of *New York*. Lord *Cornbury*, at the same time he was governor of *New York*, was appointed governor of the *Ferseys*; and, when recalled from his government, he was succeeded by lord *Lovelace*, who arrived at *New York*, November 13, 1708, but died in *May* following. He was succeeded by colonel *Ingoldsbys*, a captain of one of the independent companies, as lieutenant-governor; from which post he was removed by a letter from the queen to the council of *New York*. In 1710 colonel *Hunter* was appointed to the government of *New York*, where he arrived on the 14th of *June* that year, carrying with him 2700 *Palatines* to settle in that province. The Whig interest being then low in *England*, no more than ten acres were allowed to one family; upon which they were obliged to go to *Pennsylvania*, where they settled, and became part of that flourishing colony. As to Mr. *Hunter*, it is generally allowed that his abilities and integrity were equal to those of any governor that ever went from *England* to *America*. Having a true sense of the interest of the colony, he renewed the treaty, or, as it is called, the covenant-chain, with the five friendly nations of the *Indians*. Having lost his lady at *New York*, he returned in the year 1719 to *England*; and so well was he beloved by his government, that the assembly took leave of him in the most moving terms of gratitude and respect, as if he had been the common father of the province. This gentleman was afterwards governor of *Jamaica*.

*Mr. Burnet
governor.*

MR. *Hunter* was succeeded in his government by *William Burnet*, Esq; son to the famous bishop of *Salisbury*. This gentleman

gentleman has been already mentioned in the history of *New England*. The fatal *South Sea* year had affected his fortune; so that he found it expedient to change his place of comptroller-general of the customs at *London*, which was given to Mr. *Hunter*, for the government of *New York* and *New Jersey*. Before his arrival, advice came to *New York*, that the friendly *Indians* were meditating an expedition against some distant savages, and that they entertained amongst them one *Cæur*, a *Frenchman*. The government of *New York* thought that such an expedition would be detrimental to the interests of the colony; and *Peter Schuyler*, Esq; then president of the council, and commander in chief of the province, appointed the following gentlemen, viz. *John Riggs*, *Hend. Hanson*, *John Schuyler*, *Robert Livingston junior*, and *Peter Van Brugh*, Esqrs; to repair to *Albany*, as plenipotentiaries of the province, to treat with the *Indians*, and to dissuade them from their purposes, especially from entertaining *Cæur*. The *Indians* accordingly met those gentlemen at *Albany*; and it appears, from the minutes of the conference, that the gentlemen of *New York* were very desirous that the savages to the southward should trade with their province; while the deputies of the five nations endeavoured to evade the question, as excluding themselves from that commerce; they offered, however, to treat with their southern brethren, if the latter would come to *Albany*, but not else. As to the affair of *Cæur*, they fairly told the gentlemen, that they could not take it upon themselves, but that the *English* might do it if they pleased, or complain of him to the governor of *Canada*. As to the expedition they were about to undertake, they owned that they had such an intention, but that they could say nothing further concerning it, till they consulted at home with their young men and their sachems that were to head them; and thus the conference broke off. The state of affairs between the *English* and the five nations occasioned another conference with the latter; at which, besides the governor of *New York*, were present the governors of *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia*. This conference ended to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. It is allowed on all hands, that governor *Burnet* understood extremely well the interests of his government. The building of *Oswego*, a fortified warehouse for the conveniency of trading with the *Indians*, was owing to him; and he, at last, succeeded in making the people of *New York* fully sensible, that it was not for their interest, to encourage the great trade carried on between them and the *French* in *Canada*. The latter indeed supplied the *English* with furs; but Mr. *Burnet* proved, that it was very

practicable for the people of *New York*, by improving the superior advantages of situation they possessed, to secure to themselves all the skin-trade of the *Indians* to the south of *St. Laurence* river, and all the north trade to *Hudson's Bay*; there being a much easier conveyance from *Albany* to *Oswego*, than from *Montreal* to *Frontenac* on the *Lake Ontario*; which last was likewise called *Oswego*; and was the *French* warehouse. In the year 1720, the governor obtained from the assembly, an act, prohibiting, for three years, all trade betwixt *New York* and *Canada*. Upon the expiration of this act, the *London* merchants who supplied the *New York* men with the commodities that they used to send to *Canada* (nine hundred pieces of woollen cloth having been carried from *Albany* to *Montreal* in one year) finding themselves deprived of this beneficial commerce, applied to the king and council against the continuance of the law; chiefly, on pretence, that the *French* could be supplied otherwise; and that if they were deprived of the *English* commodities, the *French Canadians* would apply themselves to woollen and other manufactures. This petition was by the council referred to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who transmitted a copy of it, with the reasons on which it was founded, to governor *Burnet*; but his reply proved so satisfactory, that the act was continued, and in 1727 it was, by the assembly, made perpetual, and afterwards confirmed by the king and council in *England*. The good effects of this measure were soon seen:

Advantages of Oswego.

THE distant *Indians*, who came to traffick, instead of pursuing a long fatiguing journey to *Montreal*, stopt at *Oswego*, which had been built at the governor's private expence, on *Lake Ontario*, and was always garrisoned by twenty soldiers and a lieutenant. There the savages furnished themselves from the *English* at half the price they used to pay the *French*, with all the commodities they wanted. This naturally increased the trade of *New York*, and brought great numbers of *British* subjects into that province; so that it was no longer monopolized by a few overgrown merchants, but divided into many channels, to the immense profit of the colony. The consequence of this was, that the *Indians* became more familiar with the *English*, and entertained much higher ideas of their power than before: so that at the end of the war in 1748, the trade of *New York* was five times greater than it was under Mr. *Burnet's* government, and is likely, in a short time, to rival that of any of our colonies in *America*.

In 1727, on the accession of his majesty George II. to Douglas the crown of Great Britain, Mr. Barnet being promoted to summary the government of New England, was succeeded in that of New York by colonel Montgomery. Under this gentleman some doubts arose concerning the validity of their charters, obtained from former governors, in whose names they ran, and not in those of the kings and queens of England. They therefore petitioned their governor to procure them a royal charter, which he accordingly did, not only confirming their privileges, but enlarging their bounds. This charter, dated January 5, 1730, is in substance as follows, " They are incorporated by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and commonality of the city of New York.—The city to be divided into seven wards, viz. West ward, South ward, Duck ward, East ward, North ward, Montgomery ward, and the Out ward, divided into the Bowry division and Harlem division.—The corporation to consist of one mayor, one recorder, and seven aldermen, seven assistants, one sheriff, one coroner, one common clerk, one chamberlain or treasurer, one high constable, sixteen assessors, seven collectors, sixteen constables, and one marshal. The mayor, with consent of the governor, may appoint one of the aldermen his deputy. The governor yearly to appoint the mayor, sheriff, and coroner, and the freeholders and freemen in their respective wards, to chuse the other officers, excepting the chamberlain, who is to be appointed in council by the mayor, four or more aldermen, and four or more assistants. The mayor to appoint the high constable; all officers to take the proper oaths, and to continue in office till others have been chosen in their rooms. When any officer dies, the ward is to chuse another; upon refusal to serve in office, the common council may impose a fine not exceeding 15 l. for the use of the corporation. The mayor, or recorder, and four or more aldermen, with four or more assistants, to be a common-council to make bye-laws, to regulate the freemen, to lease lands and tenements, &c. but to do nothing inconsistent with the laws of Great Britain, or of this province; such laws and orders not to continue in force exceeding twelve months, unless confirmed by the governor and council. May punish by disfranchising, or fines for the use of the corporation. The common council shall decide in all controverted elections of officers. The common council may be called by the mayor, or, in his absence, by the recorder; fine of a member for non-attendance, not exceeding 20 s. for the use of the corporation. The corporation may establish as many ferries as they may see fit, and let the same. To hold a market at

Colonel Montgomery governor.

New Charter.

At more different places, every day of the week, excepting Sunday; to fix the assize of bread, wine, &c. The mayor, with four or more aldermen, may make freemen, fees not to exceed 5*l.*; none but freemen shall retail goods or exercise any trade, penalty 5*l.*; no aliens to be made free. To commit common vagabonds, direct work-houses, goals, and almshouses. The mayor to appoint the clerk of the market and water bailiff; to licence carmen, porters, cryers, scavengers, and the like; to give licence to taverns and retailers of strong drink for one year, not exceeding 30*s.* per licence; selling without licence 5*l.* current money *toties quoties*. The mayor, deputy mayor, recorder, and aldermen, for the time being, to be justices of the peace. The mayor, deputy mayor, and recorder, or any one of them, with three or more of the aldermen, to be named in all commissions of *oyer and terminer*, and goal delivery. The mayor, deputy mayor, recorder, or any one of them, with three or more of the aldermen, shall and may hold every Tuesday a court of record, to try all civil causes, real, personal, or mixed, within the city and county. May adjourn the mayor's court to any time, not exceeding twenty-eight days. The corporation to have a common clerk, who shall be also clerk of the court of record, and sessions of the peace, to be appointed during his good behaviour, by the governor; eight attorneys in the beginning, but as they drop, only six to be allowed, during their good behaviour, for the mayor's court; the mayor's court to have the direction and cognizance of the attorney, who, upon a vacancy, shall recommend one to the governor for his approbation. The mayor, recorder, or any alderman, may, with or without a jury, determine in cases not exceeding 40*s.* value. No freeman inhabitant shall be obliged to serve in any office out of the city. A grant and confirmation to all the inhabitants of their hereditaments, &c. paying the quit-rents reserved by their grants. The corporation may purchase and hold any hereditaments, &c. so as the clear yearly value exceed not 3000*l.* *per* *ann.* and the same to dispose of at pleasure. To pay a quit-rent of 30*s.* proclamation money *per ann.* besides the beaver skin, and 5*s.* current money in former charters required. No action to be allowed against the corporation, for any matters or cause whatsoever prior to this charter. A pardon of all prosecutions, forfeitures, &c. prior to this charter. This grant, or the inrollment thereof (record) shall be valid in law, notwithstanding of imperfections; the imperfections may in time coming be rectified at the charge of the corporation."

The History of America.

There have been the more particular upon this charter, as it is by far the most complete of any of our North American colonies; and its good effects are daily seen in the flourishing state of that province. Colonel *Montgomery*, during the short time he acted as governor there, was charged with making judges without the advice of the council; but he died in July 1731, and his government in general has been greatly applauded. He is particularly mentioned, as having been a great promoter of mathematical knowledge in the colony. At the time Mr. *Montgomery* died, *Rep Van Dam*, Esq; being president of the council, acted in the capacity of governor and commander in chief of *New York*. It unfortunately happened for our American provinces at the time we now treat of, that a government in any of our colonies in those parts, was scarcely looked upon in any other light than that of an hospital, where the favourites of the ministry might lie till they had recovered their broken fortunes, and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors. Upon the death of colonel *Montgomery*, the *French* and their *Indians* became extremely troublesome to the people of *New York*, and the president gave notice accordingly to Mr. *Bellasher* at *Boston*, who took the proper methods for obviating the danger. It was in the year 1732, when colonel *Cosby* arrived at his government at *New York*; and in the mean while, the president *Van Dam* had, at the colonel's request, advanced several sums on his account^a, which, on the governor's arrival, he not only refused to repay, but commenced actions for arrears of perquisites and fees belonging to him, which he alledged had been received by *Van Dam*. These altercations were attended with very bad consequences to the civil and commercial state of the colony; for the governor availed himself of his superior authority in the colony to oppress *Van Dam*; but the chief justice *Morrice* gave his opinion flatly in contradiction to the governor, whose daughter was married to lord *Augustus Fitzroy*, then captain of a man of war upon that station. It was during the government of that gentleman, that the *French* and their *Indian* allies grew extremely troublesome to the people of *New England*, which drew from the pen of the very intelligent Mr. *Dummer*, the *New England* agent, the following reproaches against the government of *New York*; " *New York* has always kept itself in a state of neutrality, contributing nothing to the common safety of the *British* colonies, while the *Canada* Indians, joined by parties of the *French*, used to make

^a *British Empire in America*, vol. i. pag. 257.

their route by the borders of *New York*, without any molestation from the *English* of that province, and fall upon the out-towns of *New England*. This behaviour was the more unpardonable in that government; because they have 400 regular troops maintained them at the king's charge, and have five nations of the *Iroquois* on their confines, who are entirely dependent on them, and might easily, had they been engaged in the common cause, have intercepted the *French* in their marches, and thereby have prevented the depredations on his majesty's subjects of *New England*. Solemn and repeated applications were made to the government of *New York* by the governors of the *Massachusetts*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, in joint letters on this subject, but in vain. The answer was, They could not think it proper to engage their *Indians* in actual war, lest they should endanger their own frontiers, and bring upon themselves an expence which they were in no condition to provide for. And thus the poor colonies, whose constitution was charter-government, were left to bear the whole burthen, without any help from those provinces, whose governors held their commissions from the crown."

By this change, it appears, that the people of *New York* in general thought they were by no means obliged to involve themselves in inconveniencies on account of their neighbours; and, to say the truth, the prosperity of their colony was, in a great measure, owing to their cultivating a good understanding with the native *Indians* of all nations, not to mention, that, by the situation of their country, their frontier was more exposed than that of any other colony to the inroads of those barbarians. This appeared in the year 1734, when the motions of the *Indians*, under the *French* influence, made them apprehensive of an invasion. Upon this occasion, the assembly, without entering upon any offensive measures, came to several resolutions for their own defence. Six thousand pounds were voted for fortifying the city of *New York*; 4000 for erecting a stone fort, and other conveniencies for soldiers and artillery at *Albany*; 800 for a fort and block-houses at *Schenectady*, and 500 for managing the *Senecas* and *Indian* nation, and, if practicable, for building fortifications in their country.

In the mean while, the conduct of the governor, *Cosby*, became every day more obnoxious to the independent and spirited part of the inhabitants. He had altered the chief justice *Morrice* out of his place, for opposing him in his dispute with *Van Dam*, and he had turned the courts of law into a court of chancery; against which the best lawyers of the

the province had flatly given their opinions; because the constitution of the courts in that colony were originally the same with those in *England*. Those proceedings rendered *Trial and* the governor and his administration so unpopular, that one *acquittal* *John Peter Zenger*, a printer, was privately encouraged by *of Zenger* the inhabitants to publish a weekly journal, wherein the political affairs of the colony, and the governor and his council, were very freely treated, particularly on account of their arbitrary innovations in the courts of law; their depriving the subjects of the privilege of trials by jury, and, in short, of all kinds of oppressive proceedings; so that the colonists were leaving the province, where they could call nothing their own. About two months after the first publication of this paper, *De Lancey*, the new chief justice, charged the grand jury to find a bill against *Zenger*, which they refused to do. Upon this, a committee of the council and the assembly conferred together, and the former required the latter to join with them in a vote for burning, by the hands of the common hangman, three numbers of the said journal. But when the committee of assembly reported the conference, it was resolved to take no concern in the matter, and they returned the papers left with them by the committee of the council. The latter, upon this, ordered, by their own authority, the papers in question to be burnt, which was executed by the hands of the sheriff; for so unpopular was the government, that none of the inferior people could be prevailed on to act on the occasion as common hangman. At last *Zenger* was imprisoned by a warrant from the governor, and the council assembled on a *Sunday*; and after 35 weeks severe imprisonment, he was ordered to be tried the 4th of *August* 1735. His council had prepared objections to the commission of the judges, but they were over-ruled, and forbidden to practice in the *New York* courts. A council, however, was allowed for *Zenger*; and a lawyer, *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; of *Philadelphia*, though aged and infirm, hearing of the distresses of the prisoner, and the importance of the trial, came to *New York* on purpose to plead *Zenger's* cause.

It is on account of *Hamilton's* spirited and sensible behaviour, as well as to give our readers an idea of the oppressions the colony lay under at this time, that we are so particular as to this trial. A jury was struck out of the freeholders book; and, upon the trial, *Hamilton* offered to prove the contents of the journal to be true, which obliged the attorney-general to have recourse to that ridiculous doctrine of the law, that *truth, far from justifying a libel, aggravates it*. This argument was combated with such learning as well as vivacity by *Hamilton*,

*Pleading
of Hamil-
ton.*

whose pleading on this occasion was very fine; that the jury, as did that of the seven bishops in *James II.* same, looked upon themselves to be judges of the law as well as the fact, and brought in the prisoner not guilty. This acquittal was so much the more mortifying to the governor, as the common council of the city of *New York*, to the great satisfaction of their fellow citizens, presented Mr. *Hamilton* his freedom of their corporation in a gold box, with many classical inscriptions upon it, greatly to his honour. Mr. *Cosby*, after a most unpopular and iniquitous government, was succeeded in the administration in 1736, by *George Clarke*, Esq; and in May 1741, the honourable *George Clinton*, Esq; uncle to the earl of *Lincoln*, and afterwards admiral of the white, was nominated to the government of *New York*. Nothing remarkable happened with regard to this colony during the twolast administrations, till the breaking out of the late war with *France*, of which we shall treat in its proper place, that we may avoid repetitions as much as possible, as the history of all the *British* empire in *America* will then come under our view.

Legislature
and laws
of New
York.

THIS is a crown-government, administered by a governor, who has his commission under the broad seal of *England*. The legislative power and authority is lodged in the governor; the council, who are 12 in number, appointed by the king, but are filled up by the governor when vacancies happen, and 27 representatives elected by the people. In other respects the government is as conformable to the laws of *England* as that of a colony can be. The exercise of the government is in the governor and council; of whom five is a quorum, and upon the death or absence of the governor, the first in nomination in the council is to preside. The people chuse their representatives, the numbers of whom are fixed by the crown; and those representatives have much the same privileges with the members of the *British* parliament. All modes of the christian religion not detrimental to society are tolerated in this colony, the *Roman Catholic* excepted.

Trade of
New
York.

As to the trade of *New-York*, it consists in wheat, flower, skins, furs, oil of whales, and sea-calves, iron and copper, of both which very rich mines have been discovered there. We have already mentioned the great intercourse between this colony and the *Indians*. The industry of the inhabitants is equal to that of any people on the face of the globe. They trade not only with *England* but with *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Africa*, and all the *W^{est}-India* islands, not excepting the *French* and *Dutch*, and even with the *Spanish* continent in *America*, by which they

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are enabled to pay in gold and silver for the manufactures they bring from their mother-country. The soil of the province is fertile almost beyond belief. All kind of black cattle are more numerous here than in any *European* country, and they have a breed of excellent horses. Eight years ago the houses of *New York* city were computed to be about 5000; but they are since that time greatly encreased; and few cities in *Europe* can vie with it in regularity and neatness. The trade of the inhabitants is chiefly carried on by water-carriage, and ships of 500 tons may come up to the wharfs of the city, and be always afloat. *Hudson's* river, where it runs by *New York*, is above three miles broad, and proves a noble conveyance for the goods of the counties of *Albany*, *Ulster*, *Dutchess*, *Orange* and *Winchester* to that city. It contains six markets, said to be better supplied with all kinds of provision than any in *Europe*. The facility of the voyage from *New York* to *England* and the *West-Indies*, has been of infinite service to this colony; for by the lowness of the freight, they purchase furs at a very cheap rate for strouds, (a woollen manufacture established at *Stroud* in *England*;) and other woollen goods; all which are sure of a ready vent with the *Indians*. *Bristol* is the chief place in *England*, which the colonists of *New York* trade with, and they generally perform, at least, two voyages in a year with so much safety, that the insurance upon shipping in time of peace is no more than two *per cent*. As to the amount of their trade with their mother-country, it was seven years ago computed that their imports from it was annually about 150,000*l*; but they are since so much increased with the trade of the colony, that we cannot venture to assign them a value.

NEW JERSEY.

THIS province naturally comes to be treated of after *New York*, as both were formerly under the same governor, and it formed part of *New Holland* when conquered from the *Dutch*. The *Senecas* and the *Maquas* were amongst the native *Indians*, who originally inhabited this territory, which is said to have been discovered first by Capt. *Hudson*. It is certain however, that it was not inhabited by the *English* long after the discovery, and the first *Europeans* we find settled here were the *Swedes*, who chiefly seated on the south-side of the river *Raritan*, now called *Delaware* river, towards the frontiers of *Pensylvania*. Here they had three towns, *Christina*, *Gottembourg* and *Elfsimbourg*, which last retains its name to this day.

Discovery of New Jersey.

day. Notwithstanding this, it was afterwards found, or pretended, (when *Charles II.* perceived it convenient for his purpose,) that *Sebastian Cabot* had formerly taken possession of all this coast in the name of *Henry VII.* of *England*. Be this as it will, it is certain that the *Suedes* in general, having no great turn for commercial affairs or territorial improvements, suffered their settlement here to languish; so that the *Dutch* almost entirely planted the north parts of *New Jersey* by the name of *Nova Belgia*, and, about the year 1665, Rizing the *Swedish* general sold to them all the *Swedish* possessions. After this, *New Jersey*, with the three lower counties of *Pensylvania* upon *Delaware* river, became part of the *New Netherlands* or *Nova Belgia*. When the reduction of this province was resolved upon by *Charles II.* he made a previous grant of both the property and government of it to his brother the duke of *York*, by a deed, dated *March 12*, 1663-4; and that duke assigned the government of that part, which is called *New Jersey*, to the lord *Berkley* and *Sir George Carteret*. This last grant was posterior to the duke of *York*'s commission granted to governor *Nichols*. The first lieutenant governor of *New Jersey*, so called from the great property *Sir George Carteret* had in the island of *Jersey*, was *Philip Carteret*, Esq; who entered on his government in *August* 1665. The duke of *York*'s grant was from the *Noorde Rivier*, now called *Hudson's* river, to the *Zuyde Rivier*, now called *Delaware* river; and up *Hudson's* river to 41 d. N. lat. and up *Delaware* river to 41 d. 40 m. and from these two stations headed by a strait line across. It does not appear, that, when this grant was made, the *Dutch* opposed it, or the settlement that was made by the proprietors under the duke of *York*. When the *New Netherlands*, in the manner we have seen in the history of *New York*, was conquered from the *Dutch*, it was thought proper, that king *Charles* should renew his grant to his brother, who by lease and release, *July* 28 and 29, 1674, conveyed to *Sir George Carteret* the eastern division of *New Jerseys*, divided from the western division of the *Jerseys* by a strait line from the S. E. point of *Little Egg Harbour* on *Barnegate Creek*, being about the middle between *Sandy Hook* and *Cape May*, to a kill or creek a little below *Rencokus Kill* on *Delaware* river, and thence (about 35 miles) by a strait course along *Delaware* river up to 41 d. 40 m. N. lat. the north divisional line between *New York* and the *Jerseys*.

WHEN *Mr. Carteret* entered upon his government, which comprehended the joint concern of both the proprietors, the people of *Elizabeth-town* were extremely unmanageable, and upon the commencement of the quit-rents, *March* 25, 1670, they refused to pay them, under pretence that they held their pos-

Granted
to Lord
Berkley,
and Sir
George
Carteret.
Doug-
lass's sum-
mary.

sessions

cessions by Indian grants, and not from the proprietors. This mutiny went so far, that they in fact displaced their governor, and chose a new one, a dissolute son of Sir George Carteret, so that the governor was obliged to go to England with his complaints. In the mean time, the conquest of the New Netherlands happening, every thing grew more quiet, and governor Carteret returned in November 1674, with new concessions as they were called, which confirmed the public tranquillity. Sir George Carteret, as we have seen, having obtained East Jersey, the West Jersey, which borders upon Pennsylvania, remained to Lord Berkeley; and he, in 1676, resigned his right therein to William Pen, Esq; Mr. Gawen Laurie, of London, merchant; Mr. Nicholas Lucas, of London, merchant; and Mr. Edward Bylling; who agreed upon a new partition with Sir George Carteret, which was confirmed by the duke of York, and afterwards by a general assembly of the Jerseys. On December the 25th, 1678, Sir George Carteret made over East Jersey to certain trustees, who were to sell it at his death; and accordingly, February 2, 1681-2, they assigned it to the following twelve persons, William Penn, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groom, Thomas Hart, Richard Mevo, Thomas Wilcox, Ambrose Riggs, John Haward, Hugh Hartshorn, Clemens Plumsted, and Thomas Cooper. These twelve proprietors conveyed one half of their interest to twelve other persons separately, viz. Robert Berkley, Edward Bylling, Robert Turner, James Brien, Arent Soumans, William Gibson, Gawen Laurie, Thomas Barker, Thomas Evarner, James earl of Perth, Robert Gordon, and John Drummond. This conveyance was afterwards confirmed by the duke of York. Soon after this, the proprietors sold shares of East New Jersey to James Drummond, earl of Perth, John Drummond, Esq; Sir George Mackenzie, Robert Barclay, and David Barclay of Ury, Esqrs. Robert Gordon, Esq; Mr. Robert Burnet, Mr. Gawen Laurie, Mr. Thomas Nairn, Mr. James Braine, Mr. William Dockwra, Mr. Peter Soumans, Mr. William Gibson, Thomas Cox, Esq; Mr. Barclay Walter Benthall, Mr. Robert Turner, Mr. Thomas Barker, and the quaker Mr. Edward Bylling. The conveyances to those gentlemen governor. were likewise confirmed by the duke of York in 1682. A governor and lieutenant governor was then provided, the nomination of the former, falling upon Robert Barclay the famous quaker, and of the latter upon Gawen Laurie.

It must be confessed that the mixture of proprietors in this settlement was very extraordinary. They consisted of very high prerogative men, especially those from Scotland, of dissenters, papists, and quakers. It perhaps is not too bold a conjecture to say, that this heterogeneous mixture of religions

was privately encouraged by the duke of York, that he might make an experiment of that favourite toleration, which he afterwards, so fatally for himself, attempted to introduce into England. It is remarkable, that tho' all the patentees of lord Berkley's division of *West New Jersey*, excepting one, were proprietors of *East New Jersey*, yet their governments still continued to be distinct. The Scots, however, who were the principal settlers, were ill fitted for such an undertaking; and the settlement of *East New Jersey* languished most miserably. The proprietors chose Mr. *William Dockwra* for their register and secretary, and one *Lockhart* for their marshal; they then proceeded to schemes of partition, and laid out counties, parishes, and towns, reserving to themselves one seventh. The terms of purchase were, that every master of a family was to have fifty acres set out, and twenty-five for his wife; and each of his children and servants, paying 12*d.* a head to the register; servants, when their times expired, were to have thirty acres. All persons to pay 2*d.* an acre quit-rent, or purchase their freeholds at 50*s.* for every twenty-five acres taken up. Mr. *Laurie*, who had a considerable interest in *West New Jersey*, was thought to be partial to that division; for while he held the government before Berkley's arrival, he refused to obey the proprietors in removing the courts from *Elizabeth town* to *Perth Amboy*, the situation of which pointed it out as the capital of the province: but had every thing else succeeded with our new settlers, they were under one capital defect, that must have overthrown all their schemes; we mean, the want of industry and inhabitants. Berkley, after his arrival, did not continue long in *New Jersey*, and was succeeded in his government by lord *Neil Campbell*, of the *Argyle* family. After the revolution, in 1696, colonel *Andrew Hamilton* was appointed governor, and was succeeded next year by *Jeremiah Basse*, Esq; who being recalled, colonel *Hamilton* was reinstated in the government, which a few months after was given to *Basse*. The latter was succeeded by colonel *Andrew Brown*, who held it at the time that the proprietors surrendered the sovereignty of it to queen *Anne* in 1701.

Andros
governor
of West
Jersey.

SUCH in general is the history of this insignificant province, while it continued a separate government; nor can it admit of a more particular detail. As to *West Jersey*, or lord Berkley's division, the history of it is equally unimportant. From the year 1674, Sir *Edmond Andros*, whom we have spoken of in the history of *New England*, under colour of a commission from the duke of York, wrested the government from lord Berkley's assignees; but they recovered it, and having

having obtained a new grant in 1680, they chose *Edward Bylling*, Esq; for their governor. In 1690, *Dr. Daniel Cox*, of the college of physicians in London, having purchased the greatest part of the property of *West Jersey*, appointed himself governor, but never went over thither, and at last sold all his interest there for 9000*l.* to *Sir Thomas Lane*. All this while, the contentions amongst the *patrons* of both the *Jerseys*, both about matters of property and the right of appointing a governor, had reduced the two provinces to a most lamentable condition; and the proprietors wisely resolved to resign its government to the crown, reserving all its charter their other rights. Accordingly, on the 22d of April 1702, *Sir Thomas Lane*, in the name of the proprietors of *West New Jersey*, and *Mr. William Dockwra*, in the name of those of *East New Jersey*, having resigned the governments of these respective provinces to queen *Anne*, her majesty immediately appointed the lord *Cornbury* for their governor, and his secretary was *Mr. Basse* the late governor. At the same time, the proprietors obtained of the crown, in favour of themselves and the people, a set of standing instructions, which were to serve as rules for the conduct of future governors. The heads of these instructions were well calculated for the good of the colony. The first was, that the governor should consent to no tax upon lands that were vacant or unprofitable. The second, that no lands should be purchased of the *Indians*, but by the general proprietors; and the third, which was a most excellent provision, was, that all lands purchased should be improved by the possessors. The government of the two *Jerseys* was then held by a governor, council and assembly. The council was to be chosen by the governor, who had power to appoint his lieutenant governor; and tho' the price of lands was still very low, yet after the two provinces came into one government, the affairs of the colony took a very favourable turn. It then appeared that the two provinces of the *East* and *West New Jersey*, had in fact been made jobs of by different proprietors, who had bought them without the least regard to the good of the colonies, but that they might sell them again. For many years the governors of the province of *New Jersey* (for so it was called) was vested in the governor of *New York*; and before the peace of *Utrecht*, it was thought to contain above sixteen thousand inhabitants; but at present, three times that number. Upon the death of colonel *Casby*, whom we have already mentioned, the government of the *Jerseys* was detached from that of *New York*, and was given to *Lewis Morrice*, Esq; who had been chief justice of *New York*, and died May

Instructions.

14. 1746. He was succeeded by *Jonathan Billorey*, Esq. whose first meeting with the provincial Assembly was on the 22d of *Augst* the same year. The history of *New Jersey* now falling in with that of the other *British* colonies of *America*, during the two last wars with *France*, we shall therefore proceed to its civil history.

Constitu-
tion

In the civil constitution of *New Jersey*, we find there are three negatives, 1. That of the governor, who is likewise vice-admiral and chancellor of the province. 2. That of the council, which, with the governor, forms a court of error and chancery. 3. Of the house of representatives, 20 of whom serve for counties, and the remaining four for the two towns, or cities, as they are called, of *Perth Amboy* and *Burlington*. This house, though no court of judicature, has the privilege of enquiring into the mal-administration of the courts of justice. Upon the duke of *York's* granting the two *Jerseys* to lord *Berkley* and Sir *George Carteret*, *Nicholls*, who was then governor of *New Jersey* for that duke, apprehending that he might be superseded in his government, took advantage of the instructions of his patent, and gave leave to certain persons to purchase lands from the *Indians*, subject to certain quit-rents; and the like was done by *Carteret*, the first governor under the assignees. Such purchases being expressly against the spirit of the duke of *York's* grant, and yet good in law, created inexpressible disturbances and confusion in this government; but the *Indian* purchasers seems to have had the better in the dispute, which, we apprehend, is not yet quite decided.

and trade
of New
Jersey.

NEW JERSEY, according to the common maps, is bounded on the south-east by *Delaware-bay*; and by that river on the south and west; and on the north by *New York* and unknown countries; and by the *Atlantic Ocean* on the east. It lies betwixt north lat. 39m. 10d. and 41m. 35d. and betwixt west long. 73m. 46d. and 75m. 15d. It is in length on the sea-coast, and along *Hudson's* river, that is, from south to north, about 140 miles, and about 80 where broadest; but this mensuration is all conjecture. *East Jersey* is divided into four counties, viz. those of *Monmouth*, *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and *Bergen*. It contains a town called *Middleton*, which is 26 miles south of *Piscataque*; but its principal town is *Shrewsbury*, which is the most southern town in the province, and contains about 30,000 out-plantation acres. Between *Shrewsbury* and *Middleton* is an iron-work. The chief town of *Essex* county, and indeed in both the *Jerseys*, is *Elizabeth* town, which lies opposite to the westward of *Staten* island. The greatest part of the trade of the province is here carried on:

Newark

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Newark is another town in *Essex* county, and has annexed to it about 50,000 acres; but great part of them remains still to be cultivated. *Middlesex* county has for its chief town *Perth Amboy*, which, in reality, ought to be the provincial town of *East Jersey*. It stands near the mouth of *Delaware* river, as it runs into the mouth of *Sandy Hook-bay*, which is never frozen, and is capacious enough to contain 500 ships. It is generally allowed that this might have been rendered one of the finest towns in all *North America*, had it not been for the mismanagement of the *Scotch* planters, and the practices of *Gawen Laurie*, the deputy governor before mentioned. *Bergen* county lies upon *Hudson's* river, and is extremely well watered; but in general it is but thinly inhabited. *Brunswick* is another town in this province, where a college for the instruction of youth was established *October 22, 1746*, by governor *Belcher*. The trustees of this college are generally presbyterians, and it is governed by a president.

As to *West Jersey*, it was intended by *Dr. Cox* to be laid West out into seven counties; but this project never took effect. *Jersey*. It is not now so well planted as *East Jersey*, though it lies equally commodious for trade. The only spot of ground that retains the name of a county is that of *Cape May*, which lies at the mouth of *Delaware-bay*, dividing the two *Jersys*. *Burlington*, which lies in an island in the middle of *Delaware* river, opposite to *Philadelphia*, is the capital of the province, the courts and the assemblies of *West Jersey* being held here. It is well situated for trade, the town is well built, with town-houses, and two bridges. *West New Jersey* has an easy communication by the river *Æsopus* with *New York*, and with *Maryland* by another river, which comes within four miles of *Chesapeak-bay*. A project was once on foot for joining this river and the bay by an artificial canal; but it met with such opposition from the inhabitants of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, that it came to nothing.

Notwithstanding the inexpressible disadvantages under which *Its vast* *New Jersey* so long laboured from the nature of its constitution, the multiplicity of its owners, and the uncertainty of *improve-* *ments.* their tenures; yet the inhabitants have made a most surprising progress, both in trade and agriculture, since they were under the government of the crown. This is owing to their commodious situation, which in a manner invites commerce to reside amongst them, and from their being less exposed than many of their neighbours are to the insults of the savages. The people of *New Jersey* had their share of the trouble and expence of the *Canada* expedition in 1710; but since that time they have recovered their credit so greatly, that

that their paper currency, to the amount of 60,000 *l.* has more credit than that of either *Pennsylvania* or *New York*, for the *Pennsylvania* bills are not received at *New York*, nor those of *New York* at *Pennsylvania*; but the *New Jersey* bills circulate through both those provinces. Before the peace of *Utrecht* the inhabitants of the *New Jerseys* were computed at 16,000, and at present they amount to above 60,000. During the war before the last, they contributed very considerably towards carrying it on; and in the year 1746, when there was a scheme for invading *Canada*, they raised and victualled five companies of an 100 men each. As to the trade of *New Jersey*, it is an excellent corn country; and it is said to raise more wheat than any of our other colonies; they likewise raise some flax and hemp. They chiefly trade with *New York* and *Pennsylvania*, where they dispose of their grain; but of late they have come into a considerable trade for provision with the *Antilles*; and they send to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Canaries*, tobacco, oil, fish, grain, and other provisions. By means of employing negroes, as their neighbours do, in cultivating their lands, they have of late more than double their value; and they now work a copper ore mine, and manufacture iron ore into pigs and bars. To give the reader some idea of the present value of this country, the property of half of which some years ago was thought dear at 9000 *l.* and, indeed, was deemed not worth holding, we shall here insert some articles of their imports and exports from the 24th of *June*, to the same day next year. Exported. Flower 6424 bar. Bread 168,500. Weight, beef and pork, 314 bar. Grain 17,941 bush. Hemp 14,000 wt. Some firkins of butter, some hams, beer, flax-seed, bar iron, some lumber, Imported. Rum 39,670 gall. molasses 31,600 gall. sugar 2,089 Ct. wt. pitch, tar and turpentine 437 bar. wines 123 pipes, Salt 12,759 bush. We shall conclude the history of *New Jersey*, by observing, that the inhabitants of *New Jersey* are so industrious as to manufacture those articles of life which they cannot procure to themselves by commerce.

C A N A D A.

The boundaries.

AS *Canada* is now both by conquest and cession become part of the *British* empire in *America*, an account of it from the best authorities is a work not only of entertainment, but of importance to an *English* reader. But in this part of our history, he is not to expect the amazing exploits that fill those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, they being reserved to the final conquest of it by the *British* arms. Great part of our information consists

confists in the natural history of the country, the adventures of those who discovered and settled it, and its last amazing catastrophe, when its capital surrendered to the *British* forces.

THE boundaries of *Canada* are, perhaps, yet undiscovered; of *Canada* but the great bank of *Newfoundland*, is said to begin on the south in the 41st degree of north latitude, and to terminate towards the north in 49 deg. 25 minutes; its breadth from east to west being about 90 leagues. As to the bank itself, it is no other than a prodigious mountain under water, and, being unequal in its extremities, many mariners have supposed it to consist of separate banks. The numbers of cod-fish upon this bank are incredible; and, notwithstanding the prodigious quantities taken and sent to *Europe*, they are not sensibly diminished. We are told * that not only cod, but shell and other fishes of all kinds and sizes, abound on this bank, and that their number seems to equal that of the grains of sand. The same author adds, that the gulph of *St. Laurence*, and the river for more than 60 leagues, with the coast of *Acadia* and *Cape Breton*, are equally well replenished as that bank is with cod. Voyagers know when they approach the bank, which may be called the empire of the cod-fish, by the air being impregnated with a cold thick fog, and the sun scarcely ever shining; tho' the island of *Newfoundland* enjoys a pure air and a serene sky in all other places, but on the side where the great bank is; a phenomenon which puzzles naturalists to account for. This bank is likewise subject to most violent storms of thunder and lightning, which however do not last very long.

THE fishing for and preparing of cod is a matter of the utmost importance both to the *English* and the *French*. The cod itself, when fresh, is said to be a most exquisite repast; but this, perhaps, may be owing to the tediousness and discomforts of the preceding voyage. The head, the tongue, and the liver, which are the most delicious parts of the fish, can be enjoyed in perfection only on the spot. The largest of the cod is seldom three feet in length, but its throat is prodigiously wide, and is so voracious, that pieces of earthen ware; iron and glass, have been found in its belly. This gives occasion for believing that its stomach is of the nature of a pocket, and turns outside in, by which it disburdens itself of whatever offends it. That kind of cod which in *Holland* is called the *cabelou*, is smaller than the *American* cod; and that of the great bank, which is commonly called *white* or *green* cod, is salted only; but the dry cod, which the *French* call *la Merluche*; are taken on the coasts only, and requires great care and art

* Father CHARLEVOIX, p. 70.

to prepare it, and it is carried on only from the beginning of *May* to the end of *August*. It is therefore chiefly profitable for those who reside in the country only.

BESIDES the great bank there are several lesser ones in those seas, abounding with other species of fish, particularly whales, blowers, sword-fish, porpoises, and threshers, not to mention others of less note. The sword-fish and the whale are declared enemies to each other; and the former takes its name from a kind of sword, that projects about three feet from his snout, which he endeavours to bury in the body of the whale, whose only defence is his tail. The battle between them is extremely curious, and lasts for some time. It is not uncommon for two sword fishes to attack the whale, in which case he is demolished; but one stroke of his tail proves mortal to his antagonist, who is as thick as a cow, and in length between seven and eight feet, his body tapering towards the tail. When killed, he is said to be excellent food, especially his head, which is larger than that of a calf, but much finer eating. The fléttau, otherwise called theresher, is a large plaice, his length being generally from four to five feet, his breadth above two, and his thickness one. Voyagers and travellers into that country highly extol the deliciousness of this fish's head and gills, but his body is commonly thrown into the sea, to fatten the cod, to which he is so great an enemy, that he is said to devour three or four of them at one meal; a juice is extracted from his bones, which is said to be preferable to the finest marrow. The navigation upon all that coast is extremely difficult and dangerous, it being almost impossible to keep a reckoning on account of the fogs, and sometimes mariners meet with shoals of ice bigger than the largest cathedral.

FROM the isle of *Miquelon* on the south of *Newfoundland*, *capé Ray* next presents itself. The mariner passes between the island of *St. Paul* and *capé St. Laurence*, which is the most northerly point of the isle of *Cape Breton*. *St. Paul's* island is so small, that it is hardly discernible through the fog, and the passage being very narrow, it never is attempted but in clear weather, though there is another broader between that island and *Cape Ray*. The gulph of *St. Laurence* is fourscore leagues in length, and, with a good south-east wind, may be passed through in twenty-four hours. About half way lie the bird islands, or rather two rocks, so called from the prodigious quantity of sea-fowls which haunt them; so that the soil is entirely covered with their dung. The rocks themselves rise to a sharp point about sixty feet from the surface of the water, but the largest of them is only between two and three hundred

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dred feet in circumference. The number of nests upon those islands are incredible, and are built by birds of various kinds, insomuch that when they are alarmed by a cannon shot they *rise so as to obscure the air with a thick cloud two or three leagues in circumference. The mariner then doubles *Cape Rose* or *Rosieres*, that he may enter the river *St. Laurence*, which runs north-east and south-west. At the mouth of the river the cold is intense, and the sea boisterous. The river itself at its opening is about thirty leagues in breadth; and towards the southward lie the bay and point of *Gaspé* or *Gachepé*. Below this bay is a steep rock, which has obtained the name of the Bored-island from an aperture in its middle thro' which a chaloup may pass with her sails up. At a leagues distance from this Bored-island lies the island *Bonaventure*; and at a like distance from that the island *Miscon*, which has an excellent harbour, and is eight leagues in circumference. A spring of fresh water spouts up to a considerable height in the offing, not far from this island. Perhaps it was the happiness of *Great Britain*, that when the *French* were possessed of the *Newfoundland* fishery and *Canada*, they were so intent upon their fur trade, that they neglected those important posts, which are every where surrounded with good anchoring ground, and, if improved, must have been excellent magazines, and, as they are capable of being fortified, they might even have shut the *English* out of that river.

THE next object that presents in the river *St. Laurence*, is the island of *Anticosti*, and the current setting strongly in upon it, renders the navigation here in case of a calm extremely dangerous, as the island is lined with breakers. This island is narrow, but lies in the middle of the river, and extends about forty leagues from north-east to south-west. The *French* have represented it as being absolutely good for nothing, so that no care has been taken to improve it. The *English*, however, may be of a different opinion, as the coasts of the island are well stored with fish. After passing this island the navigation becomes more tolerable, but still great precaution must be used. The mounts *Notre Dame* and *Lewis*, which lie on the larboard side, are formed by a chain of hills, where the vallies between them have been formerly inhabited by *Indians*, and some *French* plantations are now to be found near *Mount Lewis*. A very noble settlement might be made in this neighbourhood for the relief of ships, which, as is commonly the case, are in want of provisions after a tedious, uncertain, navigation. It is likewise said to be proper for the whale fishery. The next point is called *Trinity point*, and must be avoided with great care, and then the ship comes

and the river *St. Laurence*:

Isle of Anticosti.

Navigation
uncertain.

Tadoussac.

Bay of St.
Paul.

to an anchor a little above the paps of *Montani*, so called from the appearance of the mountain, which is situated about two leagues from the river. The land in the neighbourhood is said to be not only unprofitable but frightful, being covered with rocks, sands, and impenetrable thickets. It contains, however, great plenty of excellent game. On the other side of the river, and advancing two leagues into its bed, lies the shoal of *Manicouagau*, which is the most dangerous in the river for shipwrecks. It is named from a river, that falls from the mountains of *Labrador*, and forms a considerable lake, which empties itself across the shore. Some call this river that of *St. Barnabas*, and others the *Black River*. From this to the *Green-island*, the navigation is slow and uncertain. On the last mentioned island is plenty of provisions, and about five miles farther, at a place called *Moulin Baude*, from a small rill which is sufficient to make a mill go. The country in this neighbourhood is entirely uninhabited, and as uncomfortable as can be well conceived. The river of *Saguenay*, which lies somewhat higher, carries ships twenty-five leagues above its mouth; and, on the right hand of the entrance, lies the port of *Tadoussac*. Some geographers have here fixed a city; but *Charlevoix* says, that it consisted only of one *French* house, and a few moveable huts of *Indians*, who came to trade there at certain seasons. It appears, however, that *Tadoussac* is provided with an excellent harbour, where twenty-five ships of war may be sheltered from all winds; that its anchorage is sure and its entry very practicable. *Charlevoix* affirms, that it is excellently well-situated for a whale fishery, and that it stands upon marble. Those conveniencies made it for many years the rendezvous both of the *French* and *Indian* traders, and the missionaries never failed to repair to the same market for the purchase of souls. In sailing from *Tadoussac*, great care must be taken to avoid the *Red Island*, which is a dangerous rock of that colour, whose surface is equal to the water, and often proves fatal to shipping. About fifteen leagues distance, that is, mid-way between *Quebec* and *Tadoussac* lies the isle of *Coudres*, where the passage of the river is dangerous without a fair wind. This is said to have been occasioned by a dreadful earthquake in 1663, which plucked up a mountain by its roots, and whirled it upon the isle of *Coudres*, by which it became as large again as before; and in the place where the mountain stood appears now a dangerous whirlpool. Next appears the bay of *St. Paul*, where the plantations on the north shore begin. They consist of valuable woods of pine trees, amongst which are red pines, which are esteemed very beautiful; here likewise is a fine lead mine. About six

leagues above this is a very high promontory, which terminates a chain of mountains, that reach above four hundred leagues to the westward, and is called *Cape Torment*. Round the anchoring place here, which is good, lie a number of islands, the chief of which is that of *Orleans*, which forms a most beautiful prospect. • It is about fourteen leagues in circumference and populous. It forms two channels, of which the south is the most navigable; here the water becomes drinkable; for it is brackish at *Cape Torment*, though it is a hundred and ten leagues from the sea. The higher up the river the flux of the tide diminishes, and the reflux encreases, and twenty leagues above *Quebec* the tide is not sensible; but indeed the tides in this river, as well as the currents, vary greatly, according to different seasons and different positions of lands. When the island of *Orleans* was first discovered by *James Cartier*, it was covered with vines, on which account he called it the isle of *Bacchus*; but some *Normans*, who succeeded him, turned those vine-grounds into corn-lands and orchards; so that they now produce excellent wheat and fine fruits; and upon the whole the island itself is a most desirable spot.

WE are now arrived at *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*, *Descrip-* and, while it was in possession of the *French*, an episcopal *tion of* see. Though the river of *St. Laurence*, as high as the isle of *Quebec*. *Orleans*, which is above one hundred and thirteen leagues from the sea, is not less than four or five leagues in breadth, yet at *Quebec* it narrows so suddenly, that it is not above a mile broad; and this, is said, to have given that city its name, which, in the *Algonquin* language, signifies a streight or narrowing. The first object in the road of *Quebec* to be viewed from the westernmost point of the isle of *Orleans*, is a piece of water, which falls from a height of forty feet, and is about thirty in breadth, called the falls of *Montmorenci*. This, however, is to be understood of the lower fall; for the whole of the falls are said to be sent from the height of three hundred feet, and proceed from a kind of rivulet which has a constant supply of water from a fine lake at twelve miles distance. Between the isle of *Orleans* and *Quebec* is a bason, which is a full league in breadth, and receives the river *St. Charles*, which flows from the north-west, and between the mouth of this river and cape *Diamond*, stands the city of *Quebec*, with a fine anchoring place opposite to it. The great alterations, which time has produced in this river, appears from the following circumstance. In 1608, when *Champlain* founded *Quebec*, the tide rose to the foot of the rock on which that city is built, but has ever since gradu-

ally diminished; so that it has left dry a large piece of ground, on which a lower town has been built, the back part of which leans against the original rock, and with a large square between the houses and the water. The square is bounded by a church on the left, and a row of houses on the right, and between the church and the harbour is another row; the whole serving, in a manner, as the suburb of the city; and when the *English* made their last descent, very strongly fortified. An ascent cut out of the rock into steps leads to the upper town; but towards the right, going from the square, there is a communication by a gentle declivity. On entering the city, the bishop's palace lies on the right hand, and about twenty paces farther, two squares present themselves. That on the left contains a place of arms with the fort or citadel, which was the residence of the governor general, and a convent of recoleets, with other handsome buildings; the other square contains the cathedral, opposite to which is the college of jesuits, and on the other sides of the square are handsome houses; and indeed before the bombardment of the *English* all the houses of this city are said to have made a very fine appearance. To describe all the streets in this capital of *New France*, would exceed our design, and we shall only add, that it is built on a rock, partly of marble, and partly of slate.

Its building, fortifications,

and churches.

THE church of the lower town was built in 1690, in consequence of a vow which was made while the city was besieged. The episcopal palace is formed upon a very grand design, and stands upon one of the most magnificent situations in the world; for indeed nothing can exceed the idea that *Charlevoix* has given of it for the grandeur and beauty of its prospects. According to the same author, who was a jesuit, and possibly thought nothing could be too fine or sumptuous that related to the clergy, the cathedral is but a very ordinary building, and highly unworthy of the sole bishopric in all the *French empire in America*; an empire which he says was more extensive than that of the *Romans* ever was. It has been several times burnt down and rebuilt; but according to modern travellers it is far from being a contemptible edifice, and it commands a very extensive prospect over the road and the river. The fort or citadel is built on the brink of the rock, and is a fine work, being surrounded by a beautiful gallery or balcony, from whence a speaking trumpet may be heard to the middle of the road, which it commands. A pretty large esplanade, and a gentle declivity, the whole making a very fine platform, lies between the fort and the summit of *Cape Diamond*, which takes its name from a number of stones resembling diamonds, found formerly there; but

now

now they are very scarce. The church of the fathers recollects is greatly praised, by father *Charlevoix*, who informs us, that it is large and beautiful, and would do them honour even at *Verfailles*, which is saying as much as a *Frenchman* can say in the praise of any building. The house of the same fathers is answerable to their church, being large and commodious, and adorned with a spacious well cultivated garden. The ursuline nuns, from a poor establishment, have, by their industry and good œconomy, raised to themselves a handsome church with very commodious neat lodgings; and here is erected the tomb of the late *Monf. Montcalm*, who was killed at the battle of *Quebec*, where he commanded the *French* troops when the *English* conquered that city. The good nuns are particularly celebrated for their needle works in gold and embroidery.

ACCORDING to *Charlevoix*, the college of the jesuits is a paltry, ruinous building, and the fine prospect it originally had is intercepted by the cathedral and the seminary; but since *Charlevoix* wrote, those fathers have found means to erect a most sumptuous college from the very foundation, with a large well kept garden. The church has a handsome steeple, being entirely roofed with slate; all the rest of the buildings here in the time of *Charlevoix* being covered with shingles. It is very much ornamented in the inside: the gallery is very fine, and the iron balustrade, which surrounds it, is of excellent workmanship, painted, and gilt, as is the pulpit. All the other furniture and ornaments of the church are likewise in an admirable taste; and particularly it contains some good pictures. The hospital has two wards, the one for men, the other for women. It is served by nuns hospitallers of *St. Augustine* of the congregation of the mercy of *Jesus*, who originally came from *Dieppe* in *Normandy*. The house itself is pleasantly situated, and though it makes no great appearance, yet the substantial parts of charity are performed here by a due attendance upon the patients, and by keeping them in a neat, wholesome, manner. The intendant's house is, by way of distinction, called the palace, because the superior council meets in it. It is composed of a large pavilion ascended by a double flight of steps, and the garden front, which is the finest, facing the river. The king's magazines front the court on the right side, and behind them is the prison. About half a quarter of a league towards the country lies the hospital general, which is the finest house in all *Canada*, and would grace the best city in *France*. It was built by the fathers recollects, who owned the ground on which it stands; but it was purchased from them by *St. Vallier*, bishop of *Quebec*, who

A fine college.

Hospitals.

Grandeur
of them.

who removed the fathers into that city, and who had out upon the building 100,000 crowns. *Charlevoix*, however, finds fault with its marshy situation. This hospital is the residence of the bishop himself. It is filled with trades-people, and those who are past their days of labour, who are served by thirty nuns, each of whom wears a silver cross on her breast, and they are all of them subject to particular regulations.

Its strength

THE court of *France* from the time that *Quebec* was founded, till it fell into the hands of the *English*, spared no cost nor pains to render it a strong fortification, which it certainly is, though it does not admit of being regularly fortified. The harbour is flanked by two bastions, that are raised twenty five feet from the ground, which is about the height of the tides at the time of the equinox, so that, at such times, the bastions are level with the surface of the water. Above the bastion on the right, a half bastion is cut out of the rock, and on the side towards the gallery of the rock, is a battery of twenty-five pieces of cannon. Above that lies the citadel, and to the left of the harbour, quite along the road, as far as the river *St. Charles*, were erected strong fortifications, a bomb being drawn across the mouth of that river; and higher up, was a bridge of boats, the head of which was defended by a place of arms. In short, the fortifications of *Quebec*, at the time it was taken by the *English*, were as complete and as strong as the best engineers in the world could render them; and had it not been for the amazing good fortune, and the more amazing intrepidity of the *British* troops, they might have bid defiance to all the power of *Europe*.

Subsist-
ants.

WHEN *Charlevoix* was at *Quebec* he reckoned the inhabitants not to exceed 7000, but they certainly were above double that number when it was conquered by the *English*. Tho' the nature of the *French* government is not very favourable to commercial colonies, yet there surely never was a people who lived more agreeably than the *Canadians* did. Their little community at *Quebec* formed an epitome of a court; it contained a governor general, an *etat-major*, a body of nobility, officers and troops, an intendant, tribunals and jurisdictions of all kinds, a commissary of the marine, a grand provost, a surveyor of the highways, and a grand-master of the waters and forests, whose jurisdiction, says *Charlevoix*, is certainly the most extensive of any in the world. Besides those civil governors, here were found merchants who made a grand appearance, a bishop, a numerous seminary, and three communities of well educated women, besides recollects, and jesuits. The houses of the lady governess, and the lady intendant, were the rendezvouses of all their polite company,

pany, who there held brilliant assemblies. To have seen the *Canadians* one could not have thought that they ever entertained the least idea of business, or that any thing ever troubled them. In summer, they had their parties of pleasure in calashes and canoes, in winter on sledges, and scates on the ice, while card-playing went on all the year round. Even the politer arts are not excluded from their conversation, though, we may easily suppose, without any great depth of study; but above all, the *Canadians* were great politicians, as is generally the case with those who have much leisure, and very little information. The diversion of hunting is extremely well adapted to a *Canadian*, both as it is an agreeable amusement, and attended with profit: for furs and skins are the chief commodities of this country, and the tables of the inhabitants owe their principal delicacies to this manly exercise. A certain cast of politeness, superior even to any thing to be met with in *France*, distinguished the *Canadians*. Nothing rustic or illiberal was to be found in their behaviour, and they spoke with as much purity as the people of *Paris* or *Orleans* themselves. Fine cloaths are their favourite passion; and their belly often suffers, that their back may be apparelled, though, to do them justice, they eat and drink to the full as well as their circumstances can admit of. *Charlevoix* concludes his account of the *Canadians*, which seems to be a very candid one, with the following observations, "The case is very different, as I am informed, with respect to our *English* neighbours, and to judge of the two colonies by the way of life, behaviour, and speech of the inhabitants, no body would hesitate to say that ours were the most flourishing. In *New England*, and the other provinces of the continent of *America*, subject to the *British* empire, there prevails an opulence, which they are utterly at a loss how to use; and in *New France*, a poverty hid by an air of being in easy circumstances, which seems not at all studied. Trade, and the cultivation of their plantations strengthen the first, whereas the second is supported by the industry of its inhabitants, and the taste of the nation diffuses over it something infinitely pleasing. The *English* planter amasses wealth, and never makes any superfluous expence; the *French* inhabitant again enjoys what he has acquired, and often makes a parade of what he is not possessed of. That labours for his posterity; this again leaves his offspring involved in the same necessities he was in himself at his first setting out, and to extricate themselves as they can. The *English Americans* are averse to war, because they have a great deal to lose; they take no care to manage the *Indians*, from a belief that

Genius,
disposition,
and way of
living,

different
from the
English
planters.

they stand in no need of them. The *French* youth, for very different reasons, abominate the thoughts of peace, and live well with the natives, whose esteem they easily gain in time of war, and their friendship at all times."

*Descrip-
tion of the
Huron co-
lony of
Loretto.*

ABOUT three leagues from *Quebec*, lies a most awful place of retirement, which excites in all who approach it sentiments of reverence and sacred horror; and which are encreased by the company of its inhabitants, who are *Hurons*, or wild *Indians*, converted to christianity, simple in their manners, and fervid in their devotions. They have a chapel built upon the same model with that of the famous holy house of *Loretto* in *Italy*, and therefore it is called the *Huron* village of *Loretto*, and nothing can be more affecting than their worship, especially, the singing of the men on one side, and that of the women on the other. They are governed by a *French* missionary; but what makes this colony a greater rarity, is, that the *Hurons* were the most untamed and untractable of all the *American* savages; and yet the whole village seems to constitute but one family. Strong liquors, so pernicious to the manners of all those savages, are here prohibited under the severest penalties, and vows of abstinence from them. They therefore have no drinking songs, though music is their favourite diversion; as well as employment; but, though they are extremely solicitous to please their hearers, and, for that purpose, both men and women exert themselves to the utmost by exhibitions of music and dancing; yet both are very insipid on such occasions, which is the more extraordinary, as the women, in singing the christian hymns at church, shew some delicacy both of execution and ear. One observation, however, is to be made, that the accounts we have of this, and all the other christian societies of *Indians* come from jesuits or missionaries, whose interest, zeal, or vanity may prompt them to speak favourably of their own converts. The account we have given of this *Huron* society is taken from father *Charlevoix*, the most candid as well as most judicious of all those priests; but he owns that a great deal of interest is sometimes mingled with their conversions: that they are very apt to relapse into their former customs, and that strong liquors often prove too powerful for the most sincere convert amongst them. It was in the year 1721, that *Charlevoix* was at *Quebec*: but, by the most undisputed accounts we have from the *English*, the morals of the natives were far from being improved by those fathers; for our countrymen found the christian savages, in every respect, as treacherous and barbarous as the unconverted. The reason is plain: those missionaries were chiefly sent, at least in latter times, not so
much

much with a view to convert the natives to christianity, as to inspire them with an irreconcilable aversion to the *English*.

THE greatest animal curiosity which this part of the world *Quadrupeds of Canada* affords is the beaver, which produces one of its most valuable commodities. The beaver of *Canada* is an amphibious quadruped, which could live without water, if it had recourse to the convenient bathing-places. They are generally not quite *beavers* four feet in length, and about fourteen or fifteen inches in breadth over the haunches. Their colours are different, black, brown, white, yellow, and straw-colour; but it is observed that the lighter their colour is, they are clothed with the less quantity of furr; which philosophers attribute to a particular distribution of providence, because the lightest coloured beavers are found in the warmest climates. We shall not take up the time of our readers in describing the figure of the beavers, for it may be much better known by the prints of them, which are very common. We must not, however, forget that the flesh of the beaver is a most delicious food, when it is parboiled to take away a disagreeable relish, which *their flesh* it has naturally. Their tail is pronounced to be altogether piscine, and therefore the faculty of theology at *Paris* has put the whole of the beaver in the same class of fish as a mackarel, and have declared, that it may be lawfully eaten on meagre days. A most judicious decision for those good *furs*, *thurs*, who travel so often into wilds and woods, where no other food but beavers can be found. But, besides the fur, the beaver produces the true castoreum, which is contained in bags in the lower part of the belly, and are different from the testicles; the vast properties of this drug is well known in physic. The furs of the beaver are of two kinds, the dry *and pro-* and the green; the dry fur is the skin before it is applied to *perties* any use; the green are the furs, which are worn after being sewed one to another by the *Indians*, who besmear them with unctuous substances, which not only render them more pliable, but give the fine down, that is manufactured into hats, that oily quality, which renders it proper to be worked up with the dry fur. The *Indians* wear those furs day and night, and then they are fit for manufacturing. Both the *Dutch* and the *English*, however, since *Charlevoix* wrote, have found the secret of making excellent cloths, gloves, and stockings, as well as hats, from the beaver-fur.

THE oeconomy both public and private of this animal is *their* so wonderful, that it would be incredible were it not unquestionably well attested. As the situation of their dwellings *wonderful buildings* is a capital concern of the beaver, the states of the province are, as *Charlevoix* justly calls them, assembled to the number

Fortifica-
tions,

number of three or four hundred, to deliberate about the spot where they are to build, and in this consideration they are determined by the same circumstances that human beings are, that is, according to the plenty of provisions, water especially, and materials for building. When no spot proper for that purpose is to be found near a lake or pool, they stop the course of some stream, higher up than the place on which they resolve to build, by felling down trees, which always fall towards the water; and with which they make a dyke for damming up the course of the rivulet. Three or four beavers find means to cut down with their teeth the largest tree, which they afterwards cut into proper lengths, and drag them to the water, into which they are launched, and navigated by the beavers to the places, where they are to be employed. These pieces are exactly adapted to the situation of the ground, and the purposes they are to serve. Sometimes they are trunks placed upon their bases; sometimes they are piles as big as a man's thigh, supported by strong stakes, and interlaced with a kind of wicker-work of small branches; but all the interstices or void places are so artfully filled with a fat earth, that no water passes through them. The manner in which they prepare this plaister is very amazing; for they work it with their feet, they carry it to their work upon their tails, which likewise serves them for trowels with which they smooth it over, after applying it with their feet. Those dykes towards their foundations are generally ten or twelve feet thick; but they diminish, in a certain proportion, to the thickness of two or three feet at the top; though this slope is only on the side of the water, the wall on the land side being perpendicular. Some of those banks are said to be four or five hundred yards long, and twenty feet high; but perhaps the length is exaggerated by travellers, though all agree that those works of the beavers can scarcely be exceeded in strength and regularity by the best *European* workmen. Such is the outward fortification of their city; we are now to attend their domestic conveniencies or cabins.

and cabins.

THEIR figure is round or oval, and the roofs arched like the bottom of a basket. They are built either upon piles, in the middle of the lakes, which are formed by the dykes, or upon tongues of land advancing into the river. Their materials are not so strong, though of the same kind with those of the dykes, and their partitions are about two feet thick, but the whole so well wainscotted on the inside with clay, that no air can enter them. Two thirds of the edifice stand above water; and every beaver takes care to floor the apartment assigned him with leaves or twigs of trees. Those crea-
tures

tures are so cleanly, that they have several openings towards the water, (besides those which they have for the convenience of bathing, and for free ingress and egress) for the purposes of cleanliness, so that no nastiness is ever seen in their cabins, though each contains above eight or ten beavers. These form a family, and they have a common storehouse for the winter, which they begin to fill about the end of *September*, when their works are finished. In the summer-time, they live upon the fruit, bark, and leaves of trees; and fish for craw-fish and the like kinds. In winter-time, their stores consist of wood of soft textures, which, before they lay up, they cut into small pieces; and the quantity of their stores are always observed to be proportioned to the length of the winter. They are driven out of their cabins by the melting of the snows, and then, every beaver shifts for himself; but the females return to the cabins, where they lay their young. About *July*, their states re-assemble and deliberate upon repairing their former habitations, which they sometimes find impracticable; in which case, they fall to planning and building new ones. The great enemies of the beaver are the hunters, carnivorous animals, and travellers, who break down their banks for the convenience of encreasing their water-carriage. This is the substance of what is remarkable concerning the wonderful oeconomy of the beavers, whom some writers have exaggerated into rational creatures, and formed them into regular governments both civil and military. But, after all that has been said, it is certain, that their sagacity in providing against danger is far inferior to what they show in providing for subsistence. When their cities are discovered by the hunters, the beaver is easily destroyed or taken by opening the ice, and by employing nets and gins, and various other methods; so that in the time of *Charlevoix* they were very scarce, though found in great abundance when the *French* first settled in *Canada*.

THE musk-rat is a diminutive kind of beaver, which it *Account* resembles in every thing but its tail, which is like that of a *of the* common *European* rat, and its testicles afford a very strong *musk-ra* musk. Their living and food does not greatly differ from those of the beaver, but they seem to vary in some particulars; for, at the approach of winter, some lodge in holes and hollows of trees, where, the *Indians* say, they continue without any subsistence; while others lodge in cabins like those of the beavers, but not so well-built, and always standing by water-sides, so as not to require any dykes. Their furs are very useful along with those of the beaver in manufactures, and their weight is generally about four pounds each. It greatly

and the
elk;

greatly resembles the description, which *M^r. Roy*, and other naturalists give us of the *Mos Alpinus*, found upon the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, and in many places of his *Sardinia*: majesty's dominions. Before we leave this subject, it may be proper to give an account of some other animals, that are peculiar to this newly acquired empire of *Great Britain* in *North America*. One of the most remarkable is the elk, or original, which, *Charlevoix* says, would be as advantageous to the inhabitants for hunting, as the beaver; but that the first settlers of *Canada* had almost exterminated the species, at least in the more civilized parts of the country. This animal is known in the northern parts of *Europe*, and is of the size of a horse or mule. Its crupper is broad, its tail but a finger's breadth, and its feet and legs resemble those of a stag's. The hough, or joint of the hinder leg, is very high, its neck and withers are covered with long hair; but the creature would make a good appearance, were it not for the enormous length of its head, which he stretches out, and is above two feet long, with a thick muzzle, and very wide nostrils. Though his antlers resemble those of a doe, yet they spread much longer than a stag's horns. Many extraordinary medicinal qualities, particularly for curing the falling sickness, are ascribed to the hoof of the left hind foot of this animal. Its flesh is very agreeable and nourishing; the skin is strong, comfortable, warm, yet light for wear; and its colour a mixture of light-grey and dark-red; and mattresses and hair bottoms are made of its hair. They love the cold countries, and when the winter affords them no grass, they gnaw the bark of trees: and then is the season for hunting them, they being apt to founder in the incrustations of the snow. When wounded, if not entangled in the snow, he becomes furious, and attacks the huntsman, who commonly throws him his coat, which the elk treads upon, while the huntsman dispatches him from behind a tree. Many other particularities are told by travellers of this simple useful creature, but we forbear to mention them here. The elks, as well as other game, are most successfully hunted by the *Indians* in a body, whereby they drive a great number at a time, which they surround, either into the water or into nets, where they dispatch them by arrows, and other weapons.

their
hunting.

The car-
cass de-
scribed.

THE carcajou is a carnivorous animal, and of the feline or cat kind, and with a tail so long, that *Charlevoix* says he can twist it several times round his body; but others say it is only eight inches long. It commonly weighs from twenty-five to thirty-five pounds, and is about two feet in length, from the end of the snout to the tail. Its eyes are small; its head short

and

and thick; and its jaws, which are very strong, are furnished with thirty-two sharp teeth. The carcajou is strong and furious, but its motion is so slow, that it rather crawls than walks. It sometimes destroys the beaver, especially when the latter ventures to the woods to seek for fresh food. But the elk is the carcajou's favourite prey; for when the former seeks his food in the woods, the latter, discovering his tracks in the snow, is said to twist himself round a tree, from whence he darts upon the elk, and twisting his strong tail round his body, he cuts his throat in a moment (F). Father *Charlevoix* relates something of this creature, which is still more wonderful, which the reader will find in the note.

THE *Canadian* stag is the same with the *European*, but is not hunted with such avidity by the *Indians* as the game already described. The caribou is a species of the stag, and the best description we find of it is as follows. It is very light, and runs upon the snow almost as fast as upon the ground, because his nails, which are very broad and furnished with rough hairs in their intervals, hinder him from sinking, and serve him instead of the broad shoe or raquette of the savages. When it inhabits the thick woods, it make its roads in winter like the elk, and is, in the same manner, attacked there by the carcajou; but when it is in open places, where it has not need of making roads, and where it goes indifferently on all sides, the carcajou, which might wait too long without success, is not accustomed to lose his time, and therefore does not chase the caribou but in thick places, so ingenious is his ardor for prey. Prodigious numbers of those creatures are found between *Danish* river and *Port Nelson*, towards the northernmost parts of *America*.

The buffaloe of *Canada* are larger than that of *Europe*, *Buffaloes*. but their appearance are pretty much alike. His body is covered with a black wool, which is highly esteemed. They

(F) The elk has no means of shunning this disaster, but by flying to the water the moment he is seized by this dangerous enemy. The carcajou, who cannot endure the water, quits his hold immediately; but, if the water happens to be at too great a distance, he will destroy the elk before he reaches it. This hunter too, as he does not possess the faculty of smelling with the greatest acuteness, carries three foxes a hunting with him, which he sends on the discovery. The moment they have got scent of an elk, two of them place themselves by his side, and the third takes post behind him; and all three manage matters so well, by harrassing the prey, that they compel him to go to the place where they have left the carcajou, with whom they afterwards settle about dividing the prey. *Charlevoix*.

are naturally so timid that a dog will drive numerous herds of them before him. The buffalo is very shy, and if wounded, without being killed, will turn upon a single hunter; the general way of hunting them, therefore, is for the hunters to assemble in a great body to force the buffaloes, by means of fire, which they dread, to draw up so close together, that they are perfectly hedged in, so that every shot either from the guns or the arrows does execution. It is common upon such occasions to kill 1500 or 2000 buffaloes. The flesh of the female is very good; and the buffalo hides are as soft and pliable as chamois leather, but so very strong, that the bucklers, which the *Indians* make of them, are hardly penetrable by a musket-ball. The buffaloes in the neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay* differ in some respects from those mentioned here, though equally valuable; but they have such a flavour of musk, that at certain seasons of the year, their flesh is not eatable. The wool that grows upon them is longer than that of *Barbary* sheep, and, according to *Jeremie*, one of the *French* missionaries, when manufactured into stockings, is finer than silk. *Charlevoix* says, that their horns reach down by their eyes, almost as low as the throat, and that the ends afterwards bend upwards and form a kind of crescent, so that he has seen some of those horns, when separated from the skull, that weighed sixty pounds.

The roe-buck.

THE *Canadian* roe-buck differs little or nothing from the *European*, and is said to shed tears when hard pressed by the hunters. He is a domestic animal, and the female when in rut retires to the woods, and then returns home, but goes again into the woods, when her bringing-forth time approaches; and, having brought forth her young ones, returns home, but constantly visits them, and, when they are able to follow her, she brings them to her master's house. Wolves are scarce in *Canada*, but they afford the finest furs in all the country. Their flesh is white, and good to eat; and they pursue their prey to the top of the tallest trees, they having no other subsistence than the creatures they devour. The *French* missionaries, however, are of opinion they are rather cats than wolves, whom they resemble only in their howling. The black foxes are greatly esteemed, and very scarce, in *Canada*, but those of other colours are more common; and some in the *Upper Mississippi* are of a silver colour, and very beautiful. They live upon water-fowls, such as ducks, bustards, and the like, which they decoy within their clutches by a thousand antic tricks, and then spring upon them and devour them. The *Canadian* pole-cat has a most beautiful fur, and is of the size of a small cat; but, when pursued, he lets

fly

by his urine, which, according to *Charlevoix*, infects the air
 for a quarter of a league round, and is, therefore, called by
 the inhabitants the devil's brat, or the stinkard. The ermine is
 not so long as a squirrel, but its fur is of a beautiful white,
 and the tip of its tail, which is long, is as black as jet. The
Canadian martins keep in the middle of the woods, from *Martins.*
 which they never stir, but once in two or three years, and
 then in large flocks. When they emigrate, the *Indians* pro-
 nounce a large fall of snow, and consequently good hunting
 will follow. *Charlevoix* says, that a common martin's skin is
 worth a crown, and the brown ones worth seven shillings. A
 creature, called a pitoi, which is a pole-cat, is like it, a de-
 vourer of birds, especially hens and pigeons. The *Canadian*
 wood-rat is as big again as the *European*; and some of them *Wood-rat:*
 are of a beautiful silver colour; but all of them have bushy
 tails. The female has a most extraordinary property; for
 she carries under her belly a bag, which she opens and shuts
 at pleasure, and in that she places her young when she is pur-
 sued, and thereby saves them. *Canada* abounds with squirrels,
 of which there are three kinds; the red, which is of the size
 of the *European* ones; the swisses, which is of a smaller
 kind, and have long stripes of red, white, and black; and
 the flying squirrel, which has a dark grey fur, and takes its
 name from leaping from tree to tree, to the incredible distance
 of forty paces, and more, by a very particular construction of
 two membranes; "one on each side, says *Charlevoix*, reaching
 between their fore and hind legs, and which, when stretched,
 are two inches broad; they are very thin, and covered over
 with a sort of cat's hair or down. This little animal is
 easily tamed, and is very lively except when asleep, which is
 often the case, and he puts up wherever he can find a place,
 in one's sleeves, pockets, and muffs. He first pitches upon
 his master, whom he will distinguish amongst twenty per-
 sons." The porcupine of *Canada* is shorter, though not so
 tall as a middling dog, and is a most dreadful creature. Its
 hair is of the thickness of a small stalk of corn, and about
 four inches long, but very strong, and he darts them with
 wonderful efficacy against any creature that attacks him;
 when roasted he eats full as well as a sucking pig. The
Canadian hares and rabbits differ little from those of *Europe*.
Porcupine.
 In winter they are grey, and live in their warrens or holes
 upon the tenderest branches of birchen trees. We can add
 little more to our account of the animals of *Canada*, which we
 have been the more full upon, because the subject is now
 interesting to *Great Britain*; we shall therefore proceed to
 other particulars.

BETWEEN *Quebec* and *Montreal*, in sailing up the river *St. Laurence*, the eye is entertained with beautiful landscapes; and, after passing the *Richlieu Islands*, as they are called, the air becomes so mild and temperate, that the traveller thinks himself transported into another climate. The island of *Montreal*, in the river *St. Laurence*, is ten leagues in length, and almost four in breadth; and the city is built at the foot of the mountain, which gives it its name; about half a league from the south shore. While the *French* were in possession of it, both the city and island of *Montreal* belonged to private proprietors, who improved them so well, that the whole island became a most gainful spot, and produced every thing that could administer to the conveniencies of life. Nothing can be more beautiful than the neighbourhood of the city. The streets are laid out, and the houses built, in a very handsome manner. The fortifications of it, till of late, could be no defence against a regular force, but they were sufficient to protect it from the *Iroquois*. Such is the account *Charlevoix* gives us of this city and island; but, as we are now better acquainted with it, we are enabled to give our readers a more full description of both.

Account of Montreal. WHEN it was reduced by general *Amherst*, it was well peopled, and of an oblong form, being surrounded by a wall, flanked with eleven redoubts, which served instead of bastions. The ditch is about eight feet deep, and of a proportionable breadth, but dry. It has also a fort or citadel, the batteries of which command the streets of the town from one end to the other. The town itself is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, in which last, the merchants, and men of business, generally reside. Here, likewise, is the place of arms, the royal magazines, and the nunnery-hospital. The upper town, however, contains the principal buildings, such as the palace of the governor, the houses of the chief officers of the place, the convent of recollets, the jesuit's church and seminary, the free-school, and the parish church. The recollets are here numerous, and their convent is spacious, as is the parish church which is built of hewn stone. The house of the jesuits is magnificent, and their church well built, though their seminary is but small. Several private houses in *Montreal* make a noble appearance, and the governor's palace is a large fine building. The nunnery-hospital has a grand well-finished saloon, its church is neat, and well-built, and the sisters, who serve the hospital, come from *la Fleche*, a town of *Anjou* in *France*. In the neighbourhood of this town, a private gentleman, one *Charron*, formed a noble design of a general hospital, and associated with him several

several persons of piety and learning. This hospital was, at the same time, to be a seminary for furnishing the neighbouring country parishes with schoolmasters for instructing the *Indian* children. He persevered in this design with so much steadiness, that, though his fellow-labourers in the same good work either died or forsook him, he saw his hospital completed before his death, which happened in 1719. Besides this hospital, the neighbourhood of this city contains many elegant villas, and all the vegetables of *Europe* grow there. In short, when this island and city fell into the hands of the *English*, all the banks of the river from *Quebec* to *Montreal* were but one continued village, full of fine plantations, with gentlemen's seats at proper distances.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those natural advantages, such and its inhabitants. is the volatile nature of the *French Canadians*, such is their passion for shew, pleasure, and amusement, that they were rather a burden than a benefit to their mother country, and never could establish a staple commodity to answer their demands upon her. All their inland trade was with the *Indian* natives; and they sent to the *West-Indies* racoon, fox, and beaver furs, skins of deer, and other branches of the peltry trade, *India* corn, with what they call lumber, or wood. Their wine, brandy, cloth, linnen, and wrought-iron come from *Europe*; and the native *Indians* take from them toys and trinkets of all kinds, duffil blankets, guns, powder, ball, kettles, hatchets, tomohawks, brandy, and tobacco. The *French*, while possessed of *Montreal*, had a species of traders, called *Courreurs des bois*, who from levity, rather than industry, carry on trade with nations unknown to all the world besides. In *June*, a fair was always held at *Montreal*, while it was in possession of the *French*; and *Indians* resorted to it, from the distance of 1000 miles, with peltry, and other *Indian* commodities, as did the *French* likewise from all parts of *Canada*. This fair sometimes lasts three months, but great disorders often happen during it, chiefly occasioned by drunkenness. The *Indian* natives are not proof against brandy, and, for a dram, many of them will give to the *Coureurs de bois* all that they possess in the world. This ebriety sometimes fills the place with tumults; so that the governor himself is obliged to be present in person at the fair, which is opened with many solemnities, and to place guards at proper distances for the preservation of the peace. The resort of savage nations to this fair was incredible; and so thoroughly did the *French Canadians* possess the art of pleasing the *Indians*, that the natives, especially the *Huron* savages, will carry their commodities two hundred miles, rather than dispose of them

them to the *English*, even to equal, if not better, advantage. The *English*, however, receive some benefit from this humour; for they find it cheaper to take their commodities from the *French* planters, than to bring them from their native country.

The isle of
Jesus.

The isle of *Jesus* lies between the island of *Montreal*, and the continent on the north side, and is about eight leagues in length, and two in breadth. It belonged to the superiors of the seminary of *Quebec*, and the soil of it is excellent. One of the arms of the river here is called *St. John's River*, or *The river with a thousand islands*, on account of the great number it contains, some of them very fertile; and most of them, under the *French*, being the property of private gentlemen. The opening of the *Riviere des Outaouais*, or the *Great River* into that of *St. Lawrence*, forms the lake of the two mountains, which is two leagues long, and almost as many broad. That of *St. Louis* is somewhat larger, and the *French* themselves are but little acquainted with all to the westward. *Montreal* must have often been destroyed by the *Indians*, had it not been for two villages of *Iroquois* christians, and the fort of *Chambly*. One of those villages, called *Sault St. Louis*, lies on the continent three leagues above *Montreal*, on the south side of the river. This village proved a strong bulwark to *Montreal*, not only against the heathen *Iroquois*, but against the *English* of *New York*, and the church and missionary's house there, both which are delightfully situated, are two of the finest edifices in all *Canada*. The second village is called *la Montaigne*, which stands on the *Terra Firma* opposite to the western extremity of the island of *Montreal*. This village was remarkable for the christian heroes it produced till the *French* dealers furnished them with brandy and strong liquors, which rendered the inhabitants a race of fiends. The missionaries in vain had recourse to the secular, as well as spiritual, power to suppress this evil, but, says father *Charlevoix*, "even in the very streets of *Montreal*, are seen the most shocking spectacles, the never-failing effects of the drunkenness of these barbarians; husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, children, brothers, and sisters, seizing one another by the throats, tearing of one another by the ears, and worrying one another with their teeth like so many enraged wolves. The air resounded during the night with their cries and howlings, much more horrible than those with which wild beasts affright the woods." This degeneracy gave courage to the idolatrous *Iroquois*, and greatly diminished the number of *Indians* trading to *Montreal*. At last, it was found necessary to erect store-houses; those store-

houses improved into forts, each with a governor and a garrison; and these forts were multiplied so as to cut off all communication between the back settlements of the *English*, and the native *Indians* towards the west; which, in fact, gave rise to the late war between *Great Britain* and *France*.

FATHER *Charlevoix* is of opinion that the *Canadian* fishery *Fishery of Canada.* is more likely to enrich that country than the fur trade; and this brings us to treat of the marine productions of *Canada*. The sea-wolf, is so called from his howling, and is an amphibious creature. His head resembles that of a dog. He has four very short legs; the fore ones have nails, the hind terminate in fins. His skin is hard, covered with a short variegated hair, and in all other circumstances he is a fish. The largest are said to weigh about 2000 pound, and are of different colours; the young ones being very lively, but so tractable, that the *Indians* have been known to train them up to follow them like so many dogs. The instances of sagacity in those animals are wonderful; and they are so numerous, that a *French* author says eight hundred of the young ones have been taken in one day. Their flesh is good eating; but the great profit of it lies in its oil, which is proper for burning and currying of leather. Their skins make excellent coverings for trunks, and though not so fine as morocco-leather, they preserve their freshness better, and are less liable to cracks. The shoes and boots made of those skins let in no water, and, when properly tanned, make excellent and lasting covers for seats. The *Canadian* sea-cow is larger than the sea-wolf, but resembling it in figure. It has two teeth of the thickness and length of a man's arm, that, when grown, look like horns, and are very fine ivory, as well as its other teeth, each of which is four fingers long. The porpoises of the river *St. Laurence* give as much oil as the sea-wolf does; the white porpoise being said to yield a hog'shead. According to father *Charlevoix*, the skin of this animal is naturally an inch thick; and, at first, as tender as fat or lard; but the *Canadians* have a way of shaving it down till it becomes transparent, and then it may be manufactured into waistcoats, which, he says, are excessively strong, and musket-proof. While the *French* held *Canada*, some attempts were made to establish porpoise, as well as whale, fisheries; but the genius of the people could not accommodate itself to such laborious undertakings, and they fell to nothing. It is probable, however, that the *English*, a more hardy and persevering people, will cultivate those fisheries to the full, and save to their country, all that it expends upon the dangerous and, at present, unprofitable, trade to *Greenland*.

Fort

Chambly. HAVING already mentioned *Fort Chambly*, as being one of the principal bulwarks to *Montreal*, it is here proper to give some account of it, as we can hardly be too particular in treating of a country, that is so late and so valuable an acquisition to *Great Britain*. *Fort Chambly* lies upon the river *Sorel*, which takes its name from a *French* officer, and is built about seventeen leagues up the river. It first was built of wood, by *M. de Chambly*, who likewise was a *French* officer; but the situation being excellent, and the soil fertile, plantations were multiplied all around it; the wooden fort was converted into one of stone fortified by four bastions, and defended by a strong garrison. About eight leagues from *Fort Chambly*, to the southward, lies *Lake Champlain*, through which the river *Sorel* runs. No place in all *North America* is more proper for a populous settlement, than the banks of this lake, where the air is mild,* and the soil fertile. *Charlevoix* enumerates many resources, which the inhabitants of such a colony might have for living, particularly by their fisheries. Amongst other fishes, he mentions the *Lencornet*, which is a kind of a cuttle-fish. "It is, says he, quite round, or rather oval; it has above the tail a sort of border, which serves it instead of a target, and its head is surrounded with prickles half a foot long, which he uses to catch other fishes; there are two sorts of them, which differ only in size, some are as large as a hog'shead, and others but a foot long; they catch only these last, and that with a torch; they are very fond of light, they hold it out to them from the shore at high-water, and they come to it, and so are left a-ground. The lencornet roasted, boiled, or fricased, is excellent eating; but it makes the sauce quite black." The gobergue has the taste and form of a small cod. The sea-plaise is excellent eating, and they, as well as the lobster, are taken with long poles armed with iron hooks. The pools in the neighbourhood abound with salmon-trouts, and turtles, about two feet diameter. The *chaourafou*, with which *Lake Champlain* and the river that fall into it abound, is an armed fish, resembling a pike, but is covered with scales that are proof against a dagger. Some of them are said by the *Indians* to be eight or ten feet broad; but the largest that *Charlevoix* saw was not above five, and about the thickness of a man's thigh. Its colour is of a silver grey, "and, says he, from under its throat proceeds a bone, which is flat, indented, hollow, and pierced or open at the end, from which it is probable the animal breathes through. The skin, which covers this bone, is tender, and its length is in proportion to that of the fish, of which it is one third part. Its breadth is two fingers in those of the smallest

The animals in
its neighbourhood.

smallest size. We may well imagine, continues he, this to be a real pirate amongst the inhabitants of the waters; but no body could ever dream that he is full as dangerous an enemy to the citizens of the air; this is, however, one of his trades, in which he acts like an humble huntsman: the way he does it is as follows. He conceals himself amongst the canes or reeds in such a manner, that nothing is to be seen besides his weapon, which he holds raised perpendicularly above the surface of the water. The fowls which come to take rest imagining the weapon to be only a withered reed, make no scruple of perching upon it. They are no sooner alighted, than the fish opens his throat, and so suddenly makes at his prey that it rarely escapes him. The teeth, which are placed on the sides of the bone which he uses so dextrously, are pretty long and very sharp. The *Indians* pretend they are a sovereign remedy against the tooth-ach, and that, by pricking the part most affected with one of these teeth, the pain vanishes that instant.

MANY people imagine that the *Canadian* seas and lakes *The sturgeon* contain the true dolphin of the ancients, in the sturgeon, *geon*. which is both a fresh and salt water fish, and which is there from eight to twelve feet long, and of a proportionable thickness. The *Indians* catch them by darting them, and when wounded the sturgeon dies. The smallest sturgeons caught there have a flesh of a most delicate grain, and are excellent eating. The achigau and the gilt head are fishes peculiar to the river *St. Laurence*. The missionaries and others have given out, but with what degree of credibility, we must leave to our readers, that there have been seen in the seas and rivers of *Canada* fishes that have a human appearance. We should not have mentioned this assertion, had not many writers of great authority spoken of the like monsters appearing in the *European*, and other, seas; though, after all, if the matter was closely examined by, one of those monsters being produced, there would be found very little correspondence between it and the human species.

THE forests of *Canada* are not so well stocked with birds *The birds of Canada* as its rivers are with fishes. They contain two kinds of eagles, one, which is the largest, has a white head and neck, and chase hares and rabbits, which they carry up in their talons to their nests and airies. The other eagles are grey, and prey on birds or fishes. The falcon, the goshawk, and the tercel, are the same as in *Europe*, and they often live upon fish. The *Canadian* partridges are grey, red, and black; they have all long tails, which they spread out as a fan, like a turkey-cock, and make a very beautiful appearance. Wood-cocks

cocks in *Canada* are very scarce; but snipes, and other water game, plentiful. A *Canadian* raven is, by some writers, said to eat as well as a pullet; and an owl, better. Blackbirds and swallows are birds of passage there, as well as in *Europe*; and three kinds of larks are found there, one species little different from *European* ones. No fewer than two and twenty different species of wild ducks are enumerated in this country; of them the bough species is best for the spit, and, when alive, is finely variegated. Great numbers of swans, turkeys, geese, bustards, teal, water-hens, cranes, and other large water-fowl, are to be here found, but always at a distance from houses. The cranes, of which some are white, and others light-grey, are said to make excellent soup; and the *Canadian* wood-pecker is a beautiful bird. The thrushes and gold finches of *Canada* differ little from those of *Europe*; but the chief *Canadian* bird of melody, that is mentioned, is the whitebird, which is a kind of ortolan, very shewy, and remarkable for announcing the return of spring. The fly-bird, which is found in *Canada*, is thought by some to be the most beautiful of any in nature; with all its plumage, it is no larger than an ordinary cock-chaffer, and he makes a noise with his wings, like the humming of a large fly. Its legs, which are about an inch long, are like two needles, and from its bill, which is of the same thickness, a small sting proceeds, with which he pierces the flowers, and thereby nourishes himself with the sap. "The female, says *Charlevoix*, has nothing striking in her appearance, is of a tolerable agreeable white under the belly, and of a bright grey all over the rest of the body; but the male is a perfect jewel, he has, on the crown of his head, a small tuft of the most beautiful black, the breast red, the belly white, the back, wings, and tail of a green, like that of a rose-bush; specks of gold, scattered all over the plumage, add a prodigious *elal* to it, and an imperceptible down produces on it the most delightful shadings that can possibly be seen." "This bird, continues he, has an extremely strong and an amazingly rapid flight; you behold him on some flower, and in a moment he will dart upwards into the air almost perpendicularly: it is an enemy to the raven, and a dangerous one too. I have heard a man, worthy of credit, affirm, that he has seen one boldly quit a flower he was sucking, launch upwards into the air like lightning, get under the wing of a raven, that lay motionless on his extended wings, at a vast height, pierce it with his sting, and make him tumble down dead, either of his fall or the wound he had received." The same writer recounts several other curious particulars of this remarkable bird, which he thinks

to be a bird of passage, and that they go in the winter time to *Caroline*.

RATTLE SNAKES are found in *Canada*; some of them as *Rattle-thick* or thicker than a man's leg, with a small head, and *snakes*. a flat broad neck. Their tail is covered with rows of scales, and their age may be known by the number of those rows, of which one grows every year. When he moves, his tail rattles, from whence he has his name. Its bite is mortal, but an herb grows wherever this reptile is found in this country, called the rattle snake plant, which is an infallible antidote to the poison of his bite, by chewing it and applying it, in the nature of a plaister to the wound. "This plant is beautiful and easily known. Its stem is round, and somewhat thicker than a goose-quill, rises to the height of three or four feet, and terminates in a yellow flower of the figure and size of a single daisy; this flower has a very sweet scent, the leaves of the plant are oval, narrow, sustained, five and five, in form of a turkey-cock's foot, by a pedicle, or foot-stalk, an inch long." This reptile seldom bites passengers, unless he is provoked or trod upon. The *Indians*, however, pursue them, and greatly prize their flesh, which they eat.

THE forests of *Canada* present a most beautiful and awful Great appearance, and contain a vast variety of trees. The pines consist of are of two sorts, the white and the red, but both of them are trees in the resinous, and fit for making pitch and tar. A kind of a forest of mushroom, called guarigua, shoots out at the upper end of *Canada*. some of the white pines, and is held by the *Indians* to be medicinal, in dysenteries and pectoral disorders. The *Canadian* fir trees are of four sorts: the first is like the *European*; the second and third are called the white and red prickly firs; and the fourth is called the perusse, which, with the white prickly fir, grows to a vast height, and are fit for masts and carpenter's work. Upon the white prickly fir, there grows in small blisters of the size of kidney-beans, a kind of turpentine called the white balsam, which is reckoned a specific for wounds, fevers, and pains in the breast and stomach, by the patient taking two drops of it, in some kind of broth. All those firs require different soils to thrive in, and each has its peculiar properties. The *Canadian* cedar is of two sorts, the white and the red. The most sensible difference between them is, that the fragrance of the former lies in its leaf, and of the latter in its wood. The oaks here are likewise distinguished into the white and the red; but the white is most esteemed. The maple is distinguished into male and female; it grows on high grounds, and is very serviceable for household furniture; the female maple is streaked and clouded. The cherry-

cherry-tree, which grows along with the maple, is likewise fit for household furniture, and the *Indians* use its bark as a medicine. Their ash-trees are of three sorts, the free, the mungrel, and the bastard; the first is most useful, both for carpenter's work, and dry cask staves; they require low and good soils to thrive in. The *Canadian* walnut-trees are of three kinds likewise, the hard, the soft, and the smooth; the first bears a small nut, but very costly, and the wood is only good for fuel; the soft produces an excellent walnut, with a very hard shell, the wood of this tree is not to be affected by water; the smooth, or thin-rinded walnut tree, yields a small bitter-kernel'd walnut, of which excellent oil is made; and all of them grow upon the best soil. The *Canadian* woods produce vast quantities of beach trees, which grow on all kinds of soil, and yield nuts, which serve as nourishment both for beasts and birds; the wood is tender, and fit for oars. The white wood, which grows here to a great thickness and very strait, is likewise very common, and may be manufactured into planks and staves for dry-ware casks; the *Indians* cover their cabins with the bark, which they peel off. The elms of this country are white and red, and the wood very lasting. The *Iroquois* hollow the red elms into canoes; some of which made out of one piece, will contain twenty persons. About *November*, the bears and wild cats take up their habitations in the hollow elms, and remain there till *April*. The poplar-tree is found in *Canada*, on the banks of rivers, and on the sea-shore.

Shrubs.

PLUMB trees, bearing a very sour fruit, are found in their thickest woods; and the vinage tree, which is a kind of shrub, produces a red clustering fruit, which, when infused in water, becomes vinegar. The *Canadian* goose-berry trees differ little or nothing from those of *Europe*. The atoca is an aquatic plant, which creeps along the ground, and produces its fruit, which is of the size of a cherry, in water: this fruit is sharp, and may be made into a confection. The fruit of the white thorn is the food of several wild beasts. The cotton tree, which grows here like asparagus, to the height of three feet, is a most curious plant; upon its top grow several tufts of flowers, which, when shaken in the morning, before the dew falls off, produce honey, that may be boiled up into sugar; the seed of this plant is a pod containing a very fine kind of cotton. The sun plant resembles the marigold, and grows to the height of seven or eight feet; the *Indians* anoint their hair with an oily extract from it. *Canada* produces great quantities of turkey-corn, french-beans, gourds, and melons; their common melons are excellent

cellent. Capillaire and the hop-plant are natives of Canada, the former excels that of Europe, and grows to a much greater height. Having thus given a concise account of the animals and vegetables of Canada, we shall now proceed to the history of the human native, which is very proper at this time for the study of every British subject.

WE have already mentioned the *Esquimaux*, which is an *Account of* Indian word signifying an eater of raw-flesh; they are, of all *the Esqui-* Indians, the fiercest, the most mischievous, and untameable, *maux In-* By their beards they are thought originally to proceed from *dians*; *Greenland*, and they have something excessively shocking in their air and mien; their stature is advantageous and their skin is white, because they never go naked; they wear a kind of shirt made of bladders, or the intestines of fish, neatly sewed together; above this, they wear a surtout made of a bear or some other skin. To the shirt is fixed a cowl or hood which covers the head, and terminates in a tuft of hair that hangs down over their foreheads; their shirt falls no lower than their loins, and their surtout hangs lower behind, but that of the woman descends to her mid-leg; the men wear breeches made of skins with the hair inwards, and faced on the outside with furs or ermine. They likewise wear pumps or shoes made of skins, and boots of the same above them, and, over those, other pumps and boots, with the hairy side always inwards, and they are sometimes shod three or four times in that manner. Their weapons are arrows, pointed with the teeth of a sea-cow, or, when they can procure it, iron; they are very active, and all the summer live in the open air, and in winter they lie promiscuously in caverns. On the south of *Hudson's Bay*, being the western part of Canada, lies a vast tract of unknown countries, inhabited by nations to which we are strangers. *Charlevoix* mentions the *Matassins*, the *Monsonis*, the *Christinaux*, and *Affiniboils*. The latter have a dialect of their own, and are thought to inhabit a very distant country; the other three speak the *Algonquin* language. The *Christinaux* live to the northward of *Lake Superior*. The *Indians* in the neighbourhood of the river *Bourbon*, and those on the river *St. Teresa*, differ entirely in their language; but it is said, that a hundred leagues from the mouth of this river, it is unnavigable for fifty more; but that a passage is found by means of rivers and lakes which fall into it, and that afterwards it runs through the middle of a very fine country, *and the* which continues as far as the lake of the *Affiniboils*, from *other na-* whence the river takes its rise. Those *Indians* are extremely *tives.* superstitious, and, like the other *Indians* of Canada, they have notions of a good and an evil genius; and believe the sun to be

be the great divinity of the world. They have even a special of sacrifices, and when they deliberate upon any matter of importance, their councils are attended with several solemnities. They assemble at the house or cabin of some of their chiefs, by break of day, and the master of it, after lighting his pipe, presents it three times to the rising sun; he then turns it with both his hands, from the east to the west, and invokes the favour of the deity. After this, all the assembly smokes in the same pipe. Those nations, though various and distinct from each other, go under the common name of *Savannas*, because of the savannahs, or low lying grounds, which they inhabit. The most curious and most probable account, however, that we have of those unknown regions is given us by *M. le Page du Pratz*, in a memoir laid before the French academy.

The propo-
sition of
Canada.

THIS learned man is of opinion, that *America* in general is not peopled from any one single nation, but from sundry nations remote from each other. According to him, the *Mexicans*, and the inhabitants of the western coasts of *South America*, are originally *Chinese* or *Japonese*; and that those of the country we are now treating of, come from the north-east parts of *Asia*. Mention is even made of a *Chinese* book in the French king's library, asserting that *America* was peopled by the inhabitants of *Creta*. The famous passage of *Diodorus Siculus*, which mentions a great western island discovered by the *Phenicians*, confirms the same opinion; even the *Canadians* themselves seem to have a tradition that their ancestors came from the north-east parts of *Asia*: for when they are asked concerning their origin, they constantly point to the regions which lie between the north and west; and by what can be gathered from them, it seems that the country they mean, should lie in about fifty-five degrees north latitude. Besides this, some time ago, the skeletons of two large, and two small, elephants, were found in a morass upon the banks of the river of the *Outaches*: now there are no elephants in *America*, they are not natives of the country, and consequently these four must have come there at the time when the continents of *Asia* and *America* were joined, and it is probable not many years ago since they were separated by an earthquake; as *Sicily* is supposed to have been from *Italy*, *Asia Minor* from *Europe*, and *England* from *France*. *M. le Page du Pratz* confirms this opinion by the travels of *Montesquieu*, a civilized *Indian* of *Canada*, to the north-west parts of *America*, which tend to shew that the north-east part of *Asia*, and the north-west part of *America*, are only separated by a narrow strait, or arm of the sea, and give the most authentic

authentic and satisfactory account of these unknown regions, yet published. This account is so great an *American* curiosity, and so important to our history, that we shall make no apology for giving to our readers a translation of the whole of it in a note (E).

THE

(E) M. *Le Page du Pratz*, extremely desirous to inform himself of the origin of the *American* nations, was continually enquiring of the old *Indians* concerning it, and was at last so fortunate as to meet with an old man, belonging to the nation of the *Jaxous*, called *Moncachtape*, who was a man of sense and genius, and having been possessed with the same curiosity as himself, had spared no pains nor fatigue, to get information of the country from whence the *North American* nations came. With this view he travelled from nation to nation, expecting to discover the country from whence their fathers had come, or to approach so near it, as to get some surer intelligence and more particular traditions concerning their origin. In this expedition, he spent eight years, and M. *Le Page du Pratz*, having insinuated himself into his good graces, by all sorts of kindness, had from him the following account.

Having lost my wife and children, I resolved to travel in order to discover our original country, notwithstanding all the persuasions of my parents and relations to the contrary.

I took my way by the high-grounds that are on the eastern bank of the river *St. Louis*, that I might only have the river *Ouabache* to cross, in order to join the *Illinois*, at the village of

Tamaroua, a considerable settlement of the *Canadian French*. As the grass was short, I arrived there in a little time. I stayed there eight days to rest myself, and then continued my rout along the eastern bank of the same river *St. Louis*, till I was a little above the place where the river *Missouri* falls into it.

I then made a raft of canes or reeds, and crossed the river *St. Louis*, and when I was near the opposite side, I suffered my raft to be carried down the stream, till I came to the conflux of the two rivers. Here I had the pleasure of seeing the rivers mix, and of observing how clear the waters of the river *St. Louis* are, before they receive the muddy streams of the *Missouri*. I landed here, and travelled along the north side of the *Missouri*, for a great many days, till at last I came to the nation of the *Missouris*; with them I stayed a considerable time, not only to repose myself after my fatigue, but also to learn their language, which is spoken or understood by a great many nations. In this country, one scarce sees any thing but large meads, above a day's journey, and covered with large cattle. The *Missouris* seldom eat any thing but fish, they only cultivate as much maize as may serve for a change, and prevent their being cloyed with beef and game, with which their country abounds.

THE *Savannois* are often at war with a kind of *Indians* inhabiting the banks of the *Danish* river and the sea-wolf river

bounds. During the winter, which I spent with them, the snow fell to the depth of six feet.

As soon as the winter was over, I resumed my journey along the banks of the *Missouri*, and travelled till I came to the nation of the west. There I was told, that it was a long journey to the country, from whence both they and we came; that I must yet travel during the space of a moon [a month] towards the source of the *Missouri*, that then I should turn to the right, and go directly north, and, at the end of a few days, I should meet with another river, which ran from east to west, quite contrary to the course of the *Missouri*; then I might fall down this river at my ease upon rafts, until I came to the nation of the *Loutres*, or *Otters*, where I might rest, and receive more ample and particular instructions.

In pursuance of these directions, I travelled up the *Missouri* above a month, being afraid of turning off to the right too soon; when one night after I had lighted my fire, and was going to rest, I perceived some smoke at a distance, towards the place where the sun set; I immediately concluded, that this was a party of hunters, who proposed to pass the night there, and that probably they might be of the nation of the *Loutres*. I immediately made towards them, and found about thirty men and some women. They seemed to be surprized, but re-

ceived me civilly enough. We could only understand each other by signs. After I had been with them three days, one of the women being near her delivery, she and her husband left the company, in order to return home by the easiest road, and took me along with them.

We travelled yet up the *Missouri* seven easy days journey, and then went directly north for five days, at the end of which time we came to a river of very fine clear water. When we came to the place where the hunters had left their canoes, we all three embarked in one of them, and fell down the river till we came to their village. I was very well received by them, and soon found that this was indeed the nation of the *Loutres*, which I was in quest of. I spent the winter with them, and employed myself in learning their language, which they told me was understood by all the nations, which lay between them and the great water [the sea]

The winter was scarce ended, when I embarked in a canoe with some provisions, a pot to cook them, and something to lie on, and descended the river. In a little time, I came to a very small nation, whose chief happening to be upon the banks, bluntly demanded, who art thou? what business hast thou here with thy short hairs? I told him my name was *Montachi-ape*, that I came from the nation of the *Loutres*, that though my hair was short, my heart was good, and then hinted the design of my

ver to the north of *Hudson's bay*, which go by the name of flat sided dogs; but it is observed that such wars are not attended

my journey: he replied, that though I might come from the nation of the *Loutres*,* he saw plainly I was not one of that nation, and wondered at my speaking the language. I told him that I had learned it of an old man, whose name was *Salt-tear*. He no sooner heard the name of *Salt-tear*, who was one of his friends, than he invited me to stay in his village as long as I would. Upon this I landed, and told him, that *Salt-tear* had ordered me to see an old man, whose name was the *Great Roebuck*. This happened to be the father of the chief: he ordered him to be called, and the old man received me as if I had been his own son, and led me to his cottage.

The next day he informed me of every thing I wanted to know, and told me that I should be very hospitably received by all the nations between them, and the great water, on telling them I was the friend of the *Great-Roebuck*. I only staid two days longer; I then put on board my canoe a stock of provision, prepared from certain small grains, less than *French* pease, which afford an excellent food, and immediately embarked, and continued to sail down the river, not staying above a day with each nation I met with in my way.

The last of these nations is settled about a day's journey from the sea, and about the race of a man, [near a league] from the river. They live concealed in the woods for fear of the beard-

ed men. I was received by them as if I had been one of their own countrymen. They are continually upon their guard,* on account of the bearded men, who do all they can to carry off young people, without doubt, to make them slaves. They told me these bearded men were whites, that they had a long black beard, which fell down upon their breast, that their bodies were thick and short, that their heads were large, and covered with stuffs, that they were always clothed, even in the hottest seasons, and that their clothes reached to the middle of their legs, which, as well as their feet, were also covered with red or yellow stuffs; that their weapons made a great noise, and a great fire, and that when they saw the red men [the natives] were more numerous than themselves, they retired to a great canoe [a small ship without doubt] which contained about thirty of them. They added that these strangers came from the place where the sun sets [the west] in quest of a soft yellow wood, which yields a yellow liquor of a fine smell, and which dyes a fine yellow colour, and that observing they came every year as soon as winter was over to fetch this wood, they had, according to the advice of one of their old men, cut down and destroyed all the trees, since which time they had not been so often troubled with the visits of these bearded men: but that they still visited every year two adjacent nations, who could not imitate their

tended with those circumstances of horror and cruelty as amongst the other *Canadians*, for they are contented with keep-

their policy, because the yellow wood was the only wood their country produced, and that all the neighbouring nations had agreed to arm and join together the approaching summer in order to destroy these bearded men, at their next coming, and rid the country of them.

As I had seen fire arms, and was not afraid of them, and as the route they purposed to take was the way to the nation I was in quest of, they proposed my going along with them: I readily agreed, and as soon as summer came, I marched with the warriors of this nation to the general rendezvous. The bearded men came later than usual this year: whilst we waited for them the natives shewed me the place where the bearded men laid their great canoe [the ship]. It was between two high and long rocks, which formed the mouth of a shallow river, the banks whereof were covered with yellow wood. It was agreed to lie in ambush for the bearded men, and that when they had landed, and were busy cutting the yellow wood, we should rise, surround them, and cut them off. At the end of seventeen days two great canoes [ships] appeared; they came to their usual place between the rocks; the first thing the bearded men did after their arrival (for there were two men privately placed upon the rocks to observe them) was to fill certain wooden vessels with water. At the end of the fourth day they armed and landed, and went to

cut wood. They had no sooner begun to cut than they were attacked on all sides, but notwithstanding our utmost efforts, we killed but eleven, all the rest gained their little canoes [boats], and fled to their great ones [ships], which soon launched into the great water, and disappeared.

Upon examining the dead, I found them to be less than we are, and very white; their bodies were thick, and their heads large: about the middle of their head their hair was long. They wore no hats as you do, but had their heads bound about with a great deal of some sort of stuff; their cloaths were neither of wool nor bark, but of something like your old shirts, very soft and fine, and of different colours, [silk without doubt.] The covers of their legs and feet were all of a piece: I endeavoured to put on one of them but my feet were too large. Of the eleven that were killed, only two had fire-arms, powder, and ball. I tried these pieces, and found they did not carry so far as yours: their powder was mixed of three sorts of grain, large, middle, and fine, but the large made the greatest part.

These were the remarks I made upon the bearded men, after which, leaving the warriors, with whom I came, to return home, I joined those nations, who were settled upon the coast further towards the west; we followed the course of the coast, which is directly between the north and the west.

When

keeping one another's captives in prison. The *Savanois* have a notion of a future state; they think that a man who dies old is born again in the other world at the age of a sucking child, and that if a man goes young out of the world, when he arrives at the country of souls he becomes old. Either their natural indolence, or the barrenness of their country renders the life of the *Savanois* so miserable, that when their hunting season is over, being destitute of all kind of provisions, they often eat one another, on which occasions they always begin with the weakest. Their doctrine of transmigration has a very singular effect, for when a man grows as to be a burden both to himself and his family, he fixes a rope about his neck, and presents the two extremities of it to the son he loves best, who instantly strangles him with the utmost alacrity. The son-in-law is obliged to live with the father-in-law in *Manners of* a kind of servitude till he has children; and their marriages *the na-* are always made with the consent of their parents. They *tives.* burn their dead bodies, and, after wrapping the ashes in the bark of a tree, they bury them in the ground, and raise a monument to the deceased, to which they affix tobacco, and

When we came to their settlements, I observed that the days were a great deal longer than with us, and the nights very short. I asked them the reason of it, but they could give me none. I rested with them a considerable time. Their old men told me, that it was in vain for me to proceed any further; they said that the coast extended itself yet a great way between the north and west; that it afterwards turned short to the west, and having run for a considerable distance in that direction, it was cut by the sea directly from north to south. One of them added, that when he was young he knew a very old man, who had seen this tract of land, before the sea broke thro' it, and that to this day at low water one might see rocks and shallows in the channel, which had formerly been dry land. They all joined to dissuade me from travelling any farther, af-

furing me, that the country was cold and desert, destitute of animals and inhabitants, and advised me to return to my own country. I accordingly took their advice, and returned by the way that I came.

Such is the account *Moncachtape* gave of his travels. *M. le Page du Pratz* observes, that the conformity of this account with the late discoveries of the *Russians*, and the good sense and probity of the man, left him no room to doubt of the truth of it. He thinks it probable that the bearded men are the inhabitants of some isles in the neighbourhood of *Japan*. The distance in a straight line from the *Yazous* to the farthest nation *Moncachtape* visited, upon the shores of the north western ocean, according to the best estimate *M. du Pratz* could make, from the number of his days journeys, and rate of travelling, seems to be about eight hundred leagues.

if he was a hunter, his bow and arrows; for, with all the barbarians in almost every part of the globe, they believe that the deceased are fond of the same enjoyments in the next world, that gave them delight in this. The character of a hunter is higher with them than that of a warrior, and the candidates take a degree in it much in the nature of that of the ancient knights errant. To qualify themselves for this degree, the candidate's face must be painted with black, and for three days he must taste nothing; a feast is then prepared, and a morsel of each of the animals, commonly the tongue and muzzel, which on other occasions is the perquisite of the hunter himself, is offered up as a sacrifice to the great spirit. As to the character of those *Indians* they are held to be a faithful, disinterested, kind of people, and hate nothing so much as a lie.

The three
Indian
languages.

In all the vast extent of *Canada*, there are but three radical or mother tongues, the *Sioux*, *Algonquin* and *Huron*. As to the first, it is impossible to say how far it extends; and neither *French* nor *English* are much acquainted with those who speak it. In their manner of life, all we know, is, that they greatly resemble the *Tartars*; for they wander from place to place, but generally dwell in meadows, under large tents of well wrought skins. Their food is wild oats, and the flesh of the buffalo. It is thought, by their situation, and their roving disposition, as well as the commerce they carry on, that the *Sioux*, which by the bye is only a contraction of the word *Nadoccefioux*, know more than any other people do of the western parts of *North America*, to which the *Europeans* are as yet so much strangers. They cut off the tips of their noses, and part of the skin upon the top of their heads, and some imagine that they greatly resemble the *Chinese* in their accent and language. Before the *Iroquois* forced the *Hurons* and *Outawais* to take refuge amongst the *Sioux*, the latter were a harmless people; and though the most populous of all the *Indian* nations, till they became warlike by their intercourse with those two people, they knew little of the use of arms.

Their cha-
racters.

THE *Astinebolls* inhabit the borders of a lake of that name, of which *Europeans* know very little. This perhaps is the reason why to many wonders are reported of it. It probably is the reservoir or source of the greatest rivers and lakes in *North America*; but it is certain that it is next to inaccessible by the mountains and woods which surround it; though its circumference is said to be six hundred leagues. Though it lies to the north west of lake *Superior*, the climate is said to be mild. The natives say that men are settled in their neighbourhood resembling *Europeans*, and in a country where gold
and

and silver is put to the most common uses, but all those reports are very uncertain. As to the *Astiniboils* themselves, they are remarkably phlegmatic, and in this they differ from their neighbours the *Christinaux*, the most volatile and talkative nation of all the *Indians*, being perpetually dancing and singing. The *Astiniboils* are great travellers, formed for fatigue, tall and robust in their persons.

A MAN by an acquaintance with the *Algonquin* and *Huron* languages can travel 1500 leagues in this country without an interpreter; for though he may visit above one hundred different nations, each of which has a particular idiom, yet he can make himself understood by all; and even amongst the *Indians* of *N. w. England* and *Virginia*. It is not our intention to trace out all those different tribes or nations; many of them are hardly known, even by name, to *Europeans*. Some of them mentioned in the most early accounts are now not to be found; for those barbarians often carry on wars to the extermination of one another. Towards the north of the island of *Montreal* the country is thinly peopled; but a few villages belonging to the old inhabitants are still to be met with. Mention is made, particularly, of the *Nipissings*, so called from a lake of that name, who are the true descendants of the *Algonquins*, and still preserve the purity of that language. As to the *Outaouais*, though formerly a numerous nation, few of them are now to be met with. The *French* established some posts on the banks of lake *Superior*, where they carried on trade with the *Christinaux* and *Astiniboils*. In short, a traveller can know very little more of this country than any man may learn by an inspection of the map. He may wander over thousands of miles on the banks of the finest lakes and rivers in the world, without meeting with a human creature; and those he does meet with, are generally so stupid, so cruel, so barbarous or shy, that they scarcely deserve that denomination. The few *Algonquin* nations still to be seen, appear to be void of all notions of agriculture, and subsist upon fishing and hunting; and they daily decrease in populousness, though they allow themselves a plurality of wives. Few or none of their nations contain above 6000 souls, and many of them not 2000.

THE *Indians* to the southward of the river *St. Laurence*, *Conjecture* as far as *Virginia*, speak the *Huron* language, or, as some about the call it, the *Iroquois*, though a different dialect is used in every village; even the five nations or cantons, which form the *Iroquois* commonwealth, have, each, a different pronunciation. *Charlevoix* observes, that the three radical languages we have mentioned have annexed to them three different original properties. The *Sioux*, so far as the *Europeans* are acquainted

quainted with it, is rather a hissing than an articulation of words. The *Huron* language has great energy, pathos, and elevation. The missionaries do not even scruple to compare it with the finest language that is known. Many have imagined, that it has a common origin with the *Greek* tongue, and many words of a similar sound and signification occur in both. This, if true, bids fair to derive the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* from the ancient *Celts*, whose language was the mother of the *Greek*. The *Algonquin* tongue excels that of the *Hurons* in smoothness and elegance; but the nature of this undertaking does not admit of any criticism upon language. It is agreed by all, that not only the sound of their voice is elevated and expressive, but every part of their body is thrown into the noblest and most graceful attitudes, when they speak in public. As to the great precision, the purity, the correctness, equal to those of the *Greek* and *Latin*, of those *Indian* languages, we must take them upon the credit of the missionaries, who are unanimous in reporting them. There is, however, an evident partiality in the *French* missionaries in favour of the *Huron* nation. According to them the true *Hurons*, who are called *Tionnontatez*, and who appear to have been a prerogative tribe amongst those *Indians*, have an hereditary chieftainship answering to the *European* royalty, and their police and form of government is more rational and regular than those of the other *Indian* nations, who likewise fall short of them in fortifying and improving their land, and in their buildings. They did not admit of polygamy; and yet they were more populous than any of their neighbouring sects, and they are in every respect more social and better polished than their neighbours. But in vain have all *European* authors searched for the maxims, and even the forms by which the *Hurons* govern themselves. According to *Charlevoix*, the true *Hurons* are now reduced to two middling villages at a great distance from each other, and yet they govern the councils of all the *Indian* nations round them; but, notwithstanding all that the good fathers say of this favourite race, they seem to have been inferior in war to the *Iroquois*; and this makes it necessary to give some account of those two nations immediately before the *French* settlement at *Quebec*; for, as they have no historical monuments, the reader cannot expect any particulars of them farther back.

Rise of the SOME years before the time I speak of, the *Iroquois* had
war be- made a league with the *Algonquins*, who possessed great tracts
tween the of land between *Quebec*, possibly from *Tadoussac* to the lake
Hurons *Nipissing*, and all along the north shore of the river *St. Law-*
and the
Iroquois,

rence. The *Algonquins* had no rivals in all *North America*, as hunters and warriors, the only two manly characters that those barbarians have any idea of. In the alliance between those two people the *Algonquins* were obliged to protect the *Iroquois* from all invaders, and to let them have a share of their venison. The *Iroquois*, on the other hand, were to pay a tribute out of the culture of the earth to their allies, and to perform for them all the labours of agriculture and the menial duties, such as slaying the game, curing the flesh, and dressing the skins. By this compromise it is plain, that the *Algonquin* nation had the post of honour, but the *Iroquois* at last came to be piqued at the small esteem in which they thought their neighbours held them. By degrees they associated in the hunting matches and warlike expeditions of the *Algonquins*, who, at first, were far from having any jealousy of them; but in process of time the *Iroquois* began to fancy themselves as well qualified as the *Algonquins* were, both for war and hunting. One winter, a large detachment of both nations went out a hunting, and when they thought they had secured a vast quantity of game, six young *Algonquins*, and as many *Iroquois* were sent out to begin the slaughter. The *Algonquins* by this time probably had become a little jealous of their associates, and upon seeing a few elks wanted them to go back, on pretence that the *Iroquois* would have employment sufficient in slaying the game they should kill. The six *Algonquins*, however, after three days hunting, killed none, on which the *Iroquois* exulted, and in a day or two they privately set out to hunt by themselves, being provoked by the reproaches of the *Algonquins* for their inferiority. The *Algonquins* finding the *Iroquois* gone, and seeing them at night return laden with game, conceived against them so violent a hatred, that, before morning, they butchered all the *Iroquois* who were in the expedition. This bloody massacre was the effect of that capricious jealousy, of which those barbarians in general are so susceptible. In vain did the *Iroquois* demand satisfaction, for they received nothing but insults; so great was the contempt the *Algonquins* had for them. Exasperated by this treatment, and yet afraid to try their strength with the *Algonquins*, they stifled their resentment; and to enure themselves to war, they fell upon other less powerful nations. In a short time, they became so well practised in the art of blood (for war it ought not to be called) that they thought themselves a match for the *Algonquins*, and fell upon them with a fury, which shewed that they could be satiated with nothing less than the extermination of the *Algonquin* race.

no defeat
their ene-
mies.

THE Hurons could not be neutral, for their country was environed by those of the two belligerent powers; they therefore, took part with the *Algonquins*, and the war was carried on, on the part of the exasperated *Iroquois*, with diabolical fury. The *Iroquois*, it is true, were generally victorious: but no quarter being given on either side, the war threatened an utter extinction of all the three nations. Amongst those barbarians no victory can be decisive: for the numbers in which they fight are seldom above three or four hundred of a side, and every thing being done by surprize, the inhabitants of a whole village, even of the conquering party, may be cut off all at once. Bloodshed and losses serve only to exasperate them, and the victors seek death and danger at such distances from their own homes, that conquest itself is sure to diminish their numbers. It is at this period, however, that we are properly to take up the history of *Canada*, which begins with its first discovery, while those wars between the *Iroquois*, the *Algonquins*, and *Hurons* were raging.

History of
French
Canada.

It is past dispute, that *Cubot*, the famous *Italian* adventurer, who sailed under a commission from *Henry* the seventh of *England*, discovered that vast extent of country, that now goes under the name of *Canada*; but the fugal maxims of that prince probably hindered his making any regular settlement there. The discovery however took air, and we find the *French* fishing for cod on the banks of *Newfoundland*, and along the sea-coast of *Canada* in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nay, about the year 1506 one *Denys*, a *Frenchman*, drew a map of the gulph of *St. Laurence*, and two years after one *Aubert*, a ship master of *Dieppe*, carried over to *France* some of the natives of *Canada*. A few years after, the *Spanish* conquests in *South America* began to make a vast noise all over *Europe*; but the discovery of this new country not promising the same amazing mines of gold and silver that *Peru* and *Mexico* contained, the *French*, for some years, seem to have neglected the discovery. *Francis* I. of *France*, a sensible and enterprizing prince, at last in the year 1523, sent four ships under the command of *Verazani*, a *Florentine*, to prosecute discoveries in that country. We are in the dark as to the particulars of *Verazani's* first expedition. All we know, is, that he returned to *France*, and next year he undertook a second, in which he touched at the island of *Madaira*, from whence he directed his course to the *American* coast. In approaching it he met with a violent storm; but came so near the coast, that he saw natives on the shore, and could discern them making friendly signs inviting him to land. This being found impracticable by reason of the surf upon

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upon the coast, one of the sailors threw himself into the sea; but, endeavouring to swim back to the ship, a surge threw him on shore without signs of life. He was however treated by the natives with such care and humanity, that he recovered his strength, and was suffered to swim back to the ship, which immediately returned to *France*; and this is all we know of *Verazani's* second expedition. *Verazani*, after this, embarked on the third expedition, but was no more heard of, and it is thought that he, and all his company, perished before he could form any colony.

THOUGH *Canada* gave the *French* no assurance of gold, silver, or diamond mines, yet they knew enough of the country to be sensible of the vast importance to which it might arrive. Not discouraged, therefore, by *Verazani's* want of success, one *Jaques Cartier*, a native of *St. Malo*, in *April*, 1534, set sail under a commission from the *French* king; and on the 10th of *May* thereafter, he arrived at *Cape Bonavista* in *Newfoundland*. He had with him two small ships, containing one hundred and twenty-two men, and he cruized along the coast of *Newfoundland*, on which he discerned inhabitants, probably the *Esquimaux* in the dress we have described. But though he found many commodious harbours, yet the land was so uninviting, and the climate so cold, that he set sail for the gulph, and entered the bay of *Chaleurs*, or *Heats*, as he called it, on account of the sultry weather he then met with. This bay is, by some called, *Spanish bay*. Leaving this bay, *Cartier* landed at several places along the coast of the gulph, and took possession of the country in the name of his most Christian majesty; a cheap method of obtaining dominion. Returning to *France*, that monarch, upon his report in 1535, gave him a commission, and sent him out with a large force. After meeting with various storms and separations, the three ships he had with him rendezvoused in the gulph; but he was compelled by a fresh storm to take refuge in the port of *St. Nicholas*. From thence he sailed on the 10th of *August*, and gave the gulph the name of *St. Laurence* from his entering it on the day of that festival; and the river now retains the same name. Passing by the isle of *Anticosti*, to which he gave the name of *Assumption*, he sailed up the river *Saguenay*, and anchored by a small island to which he gave the name of *Coudres*, or *Hazels*, from the numbers of those trees growing upon it. Returning from thence, and proceeding up the river *St. Laurence*, he came to an island so full of vines, that he called it the isle of *Bacchus*; but it now goes by the name of *Orleans*. He had, the last time he was in *Canada*, the precaution to carry two *Americans* with him to *France*,

Jaques Cartier sent this letter.

His discoveries.

France, where they learned as much of the language as enabled them to serve as interpreters between him and their countrymen. Sailing up a small river he had an interview with an *Indian* chief called *Donnacana*, and he then heard of an *Indian* town, called *Hochelaga*, which was as it were the metropolis of the whole country, lying on an island, now known by the name of *Montreal*, provided with some kind of palisadoes, and other works sufficient to defend it against a sudden attack. The inhabitants probably were the *Hurons*, whom we have already mentioned, to have been the most tractable of all the *Indian* nations, and who treated *Cartier* and his attendants with an equal degree of hospitality and astonishment at their persons, dress, and accoutrements. He had at this time with him only one ship, and two long boats, having left the rest at *St. Croix*, to which he returned, and there spent the winter, which proved so severe, that he and his people must have perished of the scurvy, had they not, by the advice of the natives, made use of a decoction of the bark and tops of the white pine already described. *Cartier* was ungenerous enough to kidnap his *Indian* friend *Donnacana*, and to carry him in the spring to *France*. But not being able to produce gold and silver, all he said about the utility of the settlement, and the fruitfulness of the country, was despised by the public; so that in the year 1540 he was obliged to serve as pilot to *monf. de Roberval*, who was by the *French* king appointed viceroy of *Canada*, and who sailed from *France* with five vessels. Arriving in the gulph of *St. Laurence*, they built a fort, and *Roberval* left *Cartier* to command a garrison in it, and went back in person to *France*, from whence he returned with additional recruits to his new settlement. He afterwards sailed up the river *St. Laurence*, as far as that of *Saguenay*, where, by means of a *Portuguese*, he endeavoured, but in vain, to find out the north west passage to the *East Indies*. The expeditions and captivity of *Francis J.* for some time, diverted the attention of the *French* from improving this settlement; but in 1549, *Roberval* and his brother, of whom we have a great character, with a numerous train of adventurers, embarked for the river *St. Laurence*, and never were heard of more.

La Roche
made lieu-
tenant ge-
neral of
Canada.

THIS fatal accident discouraged the public, and government of *France* so greatly, 'that for fifty years no measures were taken for supplying the few *French* settlers that still remained in *Canada*. At last *Henry IV.* appointed the *marquis de la Roche*, a *Breton* gentleman, lieutenant general of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Newfoundland*, *Labrador*, and the bay and river of *St. Laurence*. This gentleman set sail in a ship

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ship from *France*, in the year 1598, and landed on the isle of *Sable*, which lies about fifty leagues to the south east of *Cape Breton*, and thirty five east of *Canfo*. The marquis absurdly thought this to be a proper place for erecting a settlement, and left there about forty malefactors, the refuse of the *French* jails; but no place was ever more unfit for a settlement than this was, being small, and without any port, or product but briars. It is narrow, and has the shape of a bow. In the middle of it is a lake about five leagues in compass, and the isle itself is about ten. It has a sand-bank at each end, one of which runs north-east and by east, and the other south-east. It has sand-hills which may be seen seven or eight leagues off. The history of those poor wretches contains the history of this expedition. The marquis, after cruizing for some time on the coast of *Newa Scotia*, returned to *France*, without being able to carry them off the miserable island, and there he died of grief for having lost all his interest at that court. As for his wretched colony, they must have perished had not a *French* ship been wrecked upon the island, and a few sheep driven upon it at the same time. With *His injudicious settle-* the boards of the wreck they erected huts, with the sheep *ment.* they supported nature, and when they had eat them up they lived on fish, but their clothes wearing out, they made coats of seals-skins, and in this miserable condition they spent seven years, when *Henry IV* ordered *Chedotel*, who had been pilot to *la Roche* to bring them to *France*. *Chetodel* found only twelve of them alive, and when he returned *Henry* had the curiosity to see them in their seal-skin dresses, and their appearance moved him so much, that he ordered them a general pardon for their offences, and gave each of them fifty crowns to begin the world with anew.

THOUGH *la Roche*'s patent had been very ample and exclusive, yet private adventures had still traded to the river *St. Laurence*, without any notice being taken of them by the government. Amongst others was one *Pontgravé*, a merchant of *St. Malo*, who had made several trading voyages for furs to *Tadoussac*. Upon the death of *la Roche*, his patent was renewed in favour of *Chauvin*, a commander in the *French* navy, and he put himself under the direction of *Pontgravé*. In the year 1600 *Chauvin*, attended by *Pontgravé*, made a voyage to *Tadoussac*, where he left some of his people, and returned with a very gainful quantity of furs to *France*. Next year he renewed the same voyage with the like good fortune, but he died when he was preparing for the third. The many specimens of profit to be made by the *Canadian* trade led the public to think favourably of it: and *de Chatte*, the governor of *Dieppe*, *governor of Canada.*

Diappe, succeeded *Charvin*, as governor of Canada. *De Chatte*'s scheme seems to have been to have carried on that trade with France by a company of *Rouen* merchants and adventurers. An armament for this purpose was accordingly equipped, and the command of it given to *Pontgravé*, with powers to extend his discoveries up the river *St. Laurence*. *Pontgravé* with his squadron sailed in 1603, having in his company *Samuel Champlain*, afterwards the famous founder of *Quebec*, who had been a captain in the navy, and was a man of parts and spirit. Arriving at *Tadoussac* they left their ships there, and in a long boat they proceeded up the river as far as the falls of *St. Louis*, and then returned to France. By this time *de Chatte* was dead, and was succeeded in his patent by the *Sieur de Monts*, whose commission for an exclusive fur trade extended from forty to fifty-five degrees of north latitude, that is, from *Virginia* to almost the top of *Hudson's Bay*. He had likewise the power of granting lands as far as forty-six; and being lieutenant general of that whole extensive province, it may be said that it was at his disposal. The French merchants were now so well reconciled to the Canadian trade, that *de Monts* was soon enabled to form a company, more considerable than any that had yet undertaken it, and who resolved to avail themselves of their exclusive patent.

WITH this view they fitted out four ships; *de Monts* in person took the command of two of them, and was attended by *Champlain*, and a gentleman called *Pontrincourt*, with a number of volunteer adventurers. Another of the ships was destined to carry on the fur trade at *Tadoussac*, and the fourth was given to *Pontgravé*, who, after touching at *Canse* in *Nova Scotia*, was ordered to scour the sea between *Cape Breton* and *St. John's* island; and to clear it of all interlopers. It was the 7th of *March*, 1614, when *de Monts* sailed from *Havre de Grace*, and touching at *Acadia*, he there confiscated the *Nightingale*, an interloping vessel in the harbour, where he found her, to which he gave the French name of the ship, the *Nightingale*. He then steered for another haven, which he called *mutton-haven*, on account of a sheep, which tumbled over board there, and where he remained for a month. *Champlain* was, all this while, in search in a long boat, of a proper situation for a settlement, and at last he pitched upon a little island to which he gave the name of *L'isle de St. Croix*, about twenty leagues to the westward of *St. John's* river, and about half a league in circumference. He was followed to this island by *Monf. de Monts*; but it soon appeared that they had made a very injudicious choice of a situation for a settlement. For though the corn they sowed there produced very

Succeeded
by De
Monts.

very fine crops, and though they had been very successful in clearing the ground, they found themselves, when winter came on, without fresh water, without wood for firing, and, to crown their misfortunes, without fresh provisions. To save themselves the trouble of bringing fresh water from the continent, many of the new settlers drank melted snow, which filled the little colony with diseases, particularly the scurvy, and swept many of them off. Those inconveniencies determined *de Monts* to remove his settlement to *Port Royal*, which has since been called *Annapolis Royal*, and which, during the winter, had been discovered by *Champlain*. By this time, *Pontgravé* was returned to *St. Croix* from *France*; and found that colony almost ruined, but agreed with *de Monts* in settling at *Port Royal*. *Pontrincourt* was so much enamoured with this new situation, that *de Monts*, in virtue of his commission, made it over to him, and appointed him at the same time to be his lieutenant-general, upon *Pontrincourt* proposing to send for all his family to settle at *Port Royal*. *De Monts* then returned to *France*, where matters had taken a turn not at all in his favour; for the *French* court began to think they had gone upon very mistaken maxims in the exclusive privilege that had been granted him. The masters of the fishing vessels, the best trade which *France* then had, made the ministry sensible that *de Monts*, on pretence of preventing the trading with the natives, kept them from the necessities fit for fishing, and that they were upon the point of abandoning the fisheries; upon which *de Monts*'s patent was revoked, though ten years of it were still to run. This did not damp *de Monts*; he entered into new engagements with *Pontrincourt*, who was then likewise in *France*; and the latter again sailed for *America* in an armed vessel from *Rochelle* in 1606. By the time they had arrived at *Canso*, the settlement at *Port Royal*, which had been left to the care of *Pontgravé*, was reduced to such difficulties, that he was obliged to reembark all the inhabitants but two, whom he left to take care of the effects he could not carry off. Before he left the bay of *Fundy*, he heard of *Pontrincourt*'s arrival at *Canso*, upon which he returned to *Port Royal*, where *Pontrincourt* arrived about the same time. The relief which *Pontrincourt* brought to his infant colony, came so seasonably, that it again held up its head; but its prosperity was, in a great measure, owing to the spirit and abilities of *Le Carbot*, a *French* lawyer, who partly from friendship to *Pontrincourt*, and partly thro' curiosity, had made this voyage. At this time, *Pontgravé*, the ablest man by far of any concerned in the project, had resigned his command, and all concerns with *Pontrincourt*; and

Settlement
of Port
Royal.

de Monts, who had somewhat retrieved his affairs, abandoned all connexion with *Acadia*, and was applying himself to the fur trade at *Tadoussac*. His company, who never had forsaken him, fitted out two ships, which sailed for the river *St. Laurence* in the spring of the year 1608. The fur trade was now become very considerable, and the company, which was mostly composed of *St. Malo* merchants, thrived exceedingly; but *de Monts* finding their interests were hurt by his remaining at their head, entirely withdrew from the association; upon which the company was re-inflated in their privileges, all the use of which they made, was for their private emolument.

Cham-
plain
founds
Quebec.

VERY different were the views of *Champlain*, who, after examining all the most promising places in *Acadia*, and on the river *St. Laurence*, at last chose *Quebec* to settle in. He arrived there on the third of July, 1608, and after building some barracks for lodgings for his people, he began to clear the ground where they sowed wheat and rye, which produced vast returns. *Champlain* then returned to *France*, but revisited his colony in 1610, and found them in a healthful, prosperous condition. It was at this time that the *Iroquois* bade fair to exterminate the *Algonquins*, and the *Hurons*, in whose country *Quebec* was situated, and who, in hopes of the *French* assistance, were extremely complaisant to the new settlers. *Champlain*, on the other hand, did not fail to give them all the encouragement they could desire, and supplied them with provisions when the hunting season was over, and when they were reduced to the greatest distress. The *Hurons* in the spring of the year 1610, with their associates, prepared to take the field; and *Champlain*, ignorant of the great power and fierceness of their enemies, was persuaded to join the *Hurons*. This step was impolitic in *Champlain*, who did not foresee, that instead of humbling the *Iroquois*, and uniting all the *Indians* of that continent with *France* he was forcing the *Iroquois* to throw themselves under the protection of the *English* and *Dutch*. He embarked on the river *Sorel*, then called the river of the *Iroquois*, with his allies; but after advancing up the river about fifteen leagues, he was stopped by the fall of *Chambly*, and forced to send back his chaloup to *Quebec*. Though he had been assured that this fall would stop his chaloup, he continued to march, attended only by two *Frenchmen*, who refused to leave him. Having carried their canoes over the bearing places, as they are called, they launched them again above the fall, and they pursued their voyage through a lake to which he gave his own name, which it still retains, and where the river *Sorel* ends. They then found

His expedi-
tion and
victory

found a second fall at the farther end at the communication with lake *Sacrament*.

DURING this voyage, *Champlain* received great pleasure from the promising appearance of the islands by which he had passed, but was shocked by the superstitions of his new allies, and the impositions of their spiritual jugglers. One of those always attends upon their armies, and covering himself up with skins, from thence he emits various sounds, but such as do not resemble human, and which he pretends comes from the god of war. The same jugglers pretend to the spirit of divination, and when *Champlain* used to reproach them for their repeated failures, in what they had foretold, they had always some ready excuse. The tricks of those mountebanks, however, were attended with one very bad effect, that they inspired their votaries with a spirit of rashness and carelessness, by always predicting to them good success.

UPON the borders of the lake *Sacrament* stood the *Iroquois* ^{over the} in battle array, though the *Hurons* thought to have surprized *Iroquois*. them in their village. It being then late, it was agreed, on both sides, to defer the battle till next morning. *Champlain* in the mean while, attended by a party of his savages, and his two *Frenchmen*, withdrew to a neighbouring wood; so that the *Iroquois*, who were in number about two hundred, seeing but a handful of their enemies, made themselves sure of victory. They were commanded by three chiefs, who were distinguished by larger plumes of feathers on their heads, than those the others wore, and were pointed out by the *Hurons* to *Champlain*, who, as soon as the battle began, issued with his party out of his retreat, and, with the first discharge of his firelock, killed two of their chiefs, and dangerously wounded the third. The consternation and astonishment of the *Iroquois* at the appearance of *Champlain* with his two companions, as well as at the report and execution of his fire-arms, was inexpressible; and while he was recharging his musket his two companions having killed some more of the *Iroquois* with theirs, the enemy fell into a total rout, and fled as fast as they could before the victorious allies, who killed some, and took others prisoners. The allies then, having none killed, and only fourteen or fifteen wounded, fell upon the spoils of the field, consisting of some maiz, which they devoured, and it proved a very seasonable relief to them, their own provisions being now entirely exhausted.

AMONGST those barbarians, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, make their retreat with all the dispatch they can; and the victors, ^{His second expedition.} after their success, did not stop and intimated to one of their captives, that he must dis-

by the same cruel torments, that his nation had so often inflicted upon their brethren, who had fallen into their hands. *Champlain* strongly remonstrated against this inhumanity; but all he could gain, either by his authority, or his entreaties, was, that he should be master of the captive's fate, upon which he immediately shot him dead. The victors then opened the body, threw the bowels into the lake, cut off the head, the arms, and the legs, but without touching the trunk, though before they generally had used to feed upon it. They, however, preserved the scalp, and cut the heart in pieces, which they forced the prisoners to eat in small gobbets, but the brother of the deceased, who was amongst the captives, spit out his part after it had been crammed into his mouth. The nations of the allies in this expedition were the *Algonquins*, the *Hurons*, and the *Montagneux*. The first remained at *Quebec*; the second retreated to their own country; and the last to *Tadoussac*, where they were joined by *Champlain*. As they approached that village they tied the scalps to long poles, as the signals of their triumph. Their women no sooner saw them than they threw themselves into the river, swam to their canoes, and seizing upon the scalps, hung them round their necks by way of ornament. They offered one to *Champlain*, but he refused it, and they made him a present of some bows and arrows, which they had taken from the enemy, and which they begged him to present to the French king, he being now upon his return to *France*.

His farther
adven-
tures.

CHAMPLAIN, not meeting with a ship at *Tadoussac*, returned to *Quebec*, from whence he and *Pontgravé* once more embarked for *France*, leaving the command of their promising colony to *Peter Chauvin*. They waited upon his most Christian majesty at *Fontainebleau*; and then it was that *Canada* received the name of *New France*, by which the *French*, afterwards, affected to distinguish it. Two merchants, *le Gendre* and *Collier*, chiefs of the company, soon procured two new ships for *Champlain* and *Pontgravé*, and embarking on the 7th of *March*, 1610, they arrived the 26th of *April* at *Tadoussac*. There they put themselves at the head of the *Montagneux*, and proceeding up to *Quebec*, the allies again marched to the river *Sorel*, which was the place of rendezvous: but when *Champlain* arrived there, he was not joined by near so many *Indians* as he expected; and he was there obliged to abandon his chaloup. No sooner was he landed than all his *Indians* dispersed, and he was left alone with four *Frenchmen*, the rest of the crew remaining to guard his chaloup. He began now to be distressed by the swampiness of the ground over which he was obliged to march, and the continual bit-

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ings of the gnats and vermin that infested the air, when one of his savages came running to tell him that his allies were engaged with their enemies. Upon this he quickened his pace, and found that his allies the *Hurons* and *Algonquins*, having attacked their enemies in their entrenchments, had met with a repulse; but at the sight of *Champlain* and his *French* companions, they renewed the charge. The *Iroquois*, however, made a gallant resistance, *Champlain* and another *Frenchman* were wounded, but they plied their muskets so vigorously, that they killed many of the *Iroquois*, who at last took shelter against the shot. All the ammunition, that is, the arrows, of the *Hurons*, was, by this time exhausted, and they were preparing, by *Champlain's* advice, to storm the intrenchment, when they were reinforced by six or seven *Frenchmen*, who made so furious an attack, that almost all the *Iroquois* were killed or taken prisoners. The *French* stripped the vanquished of their beaver-skin coats, and the *Hurons* began to devour their prisoners. The *Hurons* despised the *French* for their avarice. The *French* abhorred the *Hurons* for their inhumanity, and each people considered the other as barbarians. While the victors were exercising their cruelties upon the vanquished, *Champlain* requested his allies to give him one of the *Iroquois* captives, which they did. He likewise prevailed upon them to receive a *Frenchman* into their society, that he might learn their language, and to send a young *Huron* to *France* to see that kingdom, and the glory thereof, that he might make a favourable report of the same to his countrymen upon his return.

HENRY IV was dead by this time, and *de Mont's* interest being thereby entirely ruined, *Champlain* was obliged to abandon, for that time, a settlement he had planned out at *Montreal*, and to go to *France*, which he did in 1611. By *de Mont's* advice *Champlain* applied to *Charles of Bourbon*, count of *Soissons*, to be the father of *New France*, an honour which that prince readily accepted of, and, having got a proper commission from the queen-regent, nominated *Champlain* to be his lieutenant with unlimited powers. The count dying soon after, the government of *Canada* or *New France* devolved upon the prince of *Conde*, who continued *Champlain* in his government. Some commercial differences that happened amongst the company detained *Champlain* in *France* all the year 1612, and on the 6th of *March* 1613, he embarked on board a vessel commanded by *Pontgrave* for *Quebec*, before which place he landed on the 7th of *May*. They found the *Quebec* colony in so thriving a state, that they immediately proceeded up to *Montreal*, and soon after *Champlain* returned to *France* with

*State of
Canada
under
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is XIII.*

Pont-

Pontgrat. The reason of those frequent voyages to, and from, *Old and New France* seem to have been occasioned by disputes that still subsisted amongst the company; but *Champlain*, in 1615, formed new engagements with the merchants of *Paris, Rouen, and Rochelle*; which were confirmed by the prince of *Conde*, who had now assumed the title of viceroy of *New France*.

Character of Champlain. *CHAMPLAIN*, whose character seems to have been a mixture of valour, vanity, perseverance, enthusiasm, and integrity, having thus established the temporal interests of his new colony, began now to think upon its spiritual ones, and procured four father recollects, who were fitted out at the charge of the company to attend him to *Canada*; and they accordingly arrived at *Tadoussac* the 25th of *March* 1615. It would perhaps be difficult to reconcile *Champlain's* making himself a party against the *Iroquois*, who never had offended him, and slaughtering them as he did, to the principles, either of humanity, religion, or policy. It were to be wished, that the same observation did not occur upon the conduct of other *European* nations, which is so much the more unjust, as no people in the world, perhaps, has so strong an affection for their native soil, as those *North American* savages. Be this as it will, *Champlain* leaving the recollects at *Quebec*, went up to *Montreal*, where he had another interview with his savage allies, and undertook to head them in a third expedition against the *Iroquois*. By this conduct, he made himself cheap in the eyes of the savages; but so strong was his propensity to action, that he left *Caron*, one of the recollect fathers, who had attended him, with the *Hurons*, and took their promise, that they would not set out on their expedition, till his return from *Quebec*, whither he was called by some business.

and of Caron, a missionary. *THIS Caron* was a thorough enthusiast, and aspired to the crown of martyrdom. The savages disregarded *Champlain* so much, that they set out for *Montreal* before he returned from *Quebec*, and carried *Caron* with them, and some other *Frenchmen*. *Champlain* dispatching his business at *Quebec*, he returned to *Montreal* with two *Frenchmen*, and was there joined by ten other *Frenchmen*, that had been brought by *Caron* from *Quebec*, but found no *Hurons*. Though the disregard shewed him by the savages might have excused *Champlain* from fulfilling his engagements, yet, pretending to be greatly concerned about *Caron*, he proceeded to the *Huron* village, where he met with his allies. *Champlain* being now at the head of twelve *Frenchmen*, besides rather *Caron*, who thrust to shed the blood of unbelievers, thought himself invincible, and setting

ting out at the head of his allies, found his enemies entrenched in a fort, of no mean construction for defence, with trees cut down to block up the passages to it: *Champlain* immediately led his party to the assault, but was repulsed with loss. He endeavoured to set fire to the fort; but the *Iroquois* foreseeing that, had provided plenty of water, which extinguished the flames. He then constructed a kind of a wooden stage to overlook the building, so as, that his musketeers being placed on it might fire down upon the enemy. Before this expedient had any effect, he was wounded in the leg and knee, which struck the savages with so much dejection, that they refused to follow him; and he was obliged to abandon the attack with loss and shame, but without being pursued or losing a man in the retreat, which continued for five and twenty leagues, the savages carrying their wounded all that way upon hurdles.

Champlain wounded.

AFTER *Champlain* was cured of his wounds, he demanded the guides that had been promised him to reconduct him to *Quebec*; but they were denied him in the harshest manner, and he was therefore obliged to spend the winter amongst the savages. He made the best use of his time he could. He visited all the *Huron* villages, and penetrated into those of the *Algonquins* as far as the lake *Nepissing*; and as soon as the river became navigable, having engaged some *Hurons* to be faithful to him, he secretly embarked with them, and arrived at *Quebec*, with father *Caron*, on the 11th of July 1616. Both of them were there received as risen from the dead. Having staid at *Quebec* for a month, *Champlain*, the superior of the mission, and *Caron*, took shipping for *France*, leaving only two of the recollects, *D'Olbeau*, and *Dupleissy*, in *New France*.

Conspiracy against the French.

DURING his absence, his *Indian* allies giving vent to the suspicions they entertained of the *French* intentions, formed a design of cutting the throats of all the *French* amongst them. *Champlain* had settled at *Trois Rivières*, a small *French* colony, and two of them were murdered by the natives, who assembled to the number of 800 near that place, to carry their bloody intentions into execution. The *French*, however, had made some friends amongst the barbarians, and father *Dupleissy* being secretly informed of their intention, not only diverted it, but found means to bring the barbarians to make advances for a reconciliation. By this time, *Champlain* had returned from *France*, and demanded to have the two murderers of the two *Frenchmen* delivered up to him. One of them was sent, and along with him a quantity of furs to cover the dead, which is an *Indian* expression for making satisfaction for murder; and *Champlain* was obliged to put up with that kind of atonement.

Canada
neglected.

By this time, the civil dissensions of *France* entirely employed the attention of the prince of *Conde*, and the public concerns of *Canada* were neglected. The merchants who enjoyed the benefit of the patent, neither minded the civil nor religious interests of the new colonists; all they attended to was their own profit, and *Champlain*, in vain, made several trips backwards and forwards between *France* and *Canada*, to arouse a public spirit both in the government and the company. At last, in 1620, the prince of *Conde* sold the viceroyalty of *New France* to his brother-in-law, the marshal *Montmorenci*, who continued *Champlain* in his lieutenancy, but intrusted all the other affairs of *Canada* to M. *Dubu*. *Champlain* then carried his family over to *New France*, where they arrived in the month of *May*; and so greatly was the company abused, that at *Tadoussac*, he found traders from *Rebelle*, not only trafficking with the savages, but bargaining with them for fire-arms, the most pernicious commerce that could be introduced for the colony.

The war
renewed.

IN the year 1621, the *Iroquois* assembled in three bodies, being determined, if possible, to exterminate the *French* from amongst them; not so much from any resentment against them, as to gratify that vindictive spirit which they entertained against the *Algonquins* and the *Hurons*. One of those bodies attacked the posts at the fall of *St. Louis*, but were repulsed; some of them were killed, and others fled, carrying with them *Poulain*, a *French* recruit. The *French*, in vain, endeavoured to rescue him; but they gave one of their captives liberty to repair to his countrymen, and to propose to exchange the recruit for one of the *Iroquois* chiefs, who had been made prisoner. The captive arrived at the *Iroquois* village, just as the fire was prepared, for putting the recruit to a miserable death; but the terms he proposed were accepted of, and the exchange was made. The second body of the *Iroquois* went down in 30 canoes to attack the convent of the recruits near *Quebec*; but finding the enterprise too hazardous, they fell upon a body of the *Hurons* in the neighbourhood, and, making some prisoners, they burnt them. We have no account of what became of the third body. *Champlain* attributed all those attacks to the attachment of the company to its own interest; and made such effectual representations on that head, that it was suppressed, its powers and privileges being vested in *William* and *Emeric de Caen*, uncle and nephew. *Champlain*, at the same time, received a letter from his most christian majesty, highly approving of his conduct, and confirming him in his command; while the vice-

vice-roy, by another letter, exhorted him to do all the service he could to the new patentees.

Let the reader should be misled in his ideas, we are to inform him that all the colony at *Quebec* at this time did not exceed 50 persons, men, women and children; but an establishment had been formed at *Trois Rivières*, and a brisk trade continued to be carried on at *Tadoussac*. *William de Caen*, a Calvinist, and one of the new patentees, visited *Canada* in person, and was well received by the new colonists. Here we cannot help observing, that had it not been for the impolitic introduction of the ecclesiastics into the new colony, they might have been in a flourishing condition. But, to bigotry and enthusiasm, they joined craft and avarice, and above all, an unbounded desire to enlarge the power and riches of their several orders. For this purpose, they formed parties amongst the natives, instructing them in all the refinements of European falsehood, in the practice of rapine, revenge, and every diabolical crime that heated fancy and selfish views can suggest. *Champlain* was not a man of a cast either to discover or to remedy those disorders, and *Pontgrave*, in whom *Caen* very deservedly reposed his greatest confidence, was by the bad state of his health forced to return to *France* in 1623.

THE *Hurons*, at this time, notwithstanding all the services *Champlain* had done them, began to suspect the views of the *French* upon their habitations, and to hate them even worse than they did the *Iroquois*, whom they invited to join them in an attempt to exterminate the *French* settlers in their common country. *Champlain* having undoubted intelligence of their design, dispatched father *Caron* and two other missionaries to keep the *Hurons* firm to their alliance with the *French*; but not trusting to this mission, he built the fort of *Quebec* all of stone, for the better protection of his colony. No sooner was it finished, than his volatile humour, to the amazement of the colonists, led him back to *France*, to which, at the same time, he carried his family. He there found *Montmorency* in a treaty with his nephew, the duke de *Vendôme*, who had taken holy orders, for the vice-royalty of *Canada*; and the bargain between them was quickly concluded. The views the duke had in this purchase were entirely religious, without the least mixture of secular considerations. He sighed for the conversion of the *Indians* to the gospel; and having given up his conscience to the jesuits, he resolved to employ them for that purpose, instead of the recollects, who, in general, were glad to have fellow labourers in the vintage of conversions. A mission of five jesuits was accordingly

appointed, and the duke de Ventadour obliged *William de Caen*, who conducted them in person to *Canada*, to promise they should wait for nothing. *Charlevoix*, who was himself a jesuit, pretends that he falsified his word, and that the jesuits were no sooner landed at *Quebec*, than he told them, that unless the fathers recollects would provide them in their house with lodgings, they must return to *France*. The same author pretends, that *Caen* put Calvinistical treatises against the jesuits into the hands of the inhabitants of *Quebec*, to prejudice them against that order; but that the good behaviour of those fathers effaced all prejudices against them.

Zeal of the jesuits. A few days after their arrival, as two of the most zealous of them were preparing to set out for the conversion of the *Hurons*, they heard of the death of *Viel*, and a young christian convert, who had been overset in a boat by those barbarians, seemingly with design, as they seized upon their baggage. The religious disputes that then prevailed in *France*, was probably the chief reason why, about the year 1626, *Quebec* began to assume the face of a city; but as it was under a *Huguenot* direction, the jesuits prevailed with the duke de Ventadour to write a sharp letter to *Caen*, whom they represented as being the author of all the difficulties they met with. This divided state of the colony had almost ruined it. The natives massacred the *French* wherever they could securely do it, and religious disputes in the colony came to such a height, that, in 1627, when *Champlain* returned to *Quebec*, he found no advances had been made either in building houses or clearing the ground. The jesuits, some of whom were not only men of interest but quality, made strong complaints on this at the *French* court, throwing all the blame upon *Caen* and his associates, who minded nothing but the fur-trade.

The colony tak nout of the hands of the protestants, and new modelled. *Richelieu* was then first and sole minister of *France*, and his character cannot be unknown to our readers. He hated the *French* protestants, and resolved entirely to alter the constitution of *Quebec*, by putting that colony and its trade into the hands of a hundred partners, under the following regulations. 1. That the partnership should next year (1628) send over to *New France* 2 or 300 workmen of all kinds; and before the year 1643 engage to augment the *French* inhabitants to the number of 16,000; to lodge, maintain, and find them in all necessaries for three years, and then make an equal distribution amongst them of the lands that should be cleared, according to their respective wants, furnishing each family with seed to sow them. 2. That no colonist, who was not a native *Frenchman*, should be admitted in *New France*; and that all *Huguenots*, as, well as, strangers, should be excluded. 3. That in every district, at least, three priests should be

maintained, whom the partnership was to supply with all necessaries both for their persons and missions for 15 years; after which time they were to live upon the cleared lands that were to be assigned them.

On the other hand, his most christian majesty, to indemnify *It's confi-* the partnership for those expences, gave up to them in perpe- *tuation,* tuity the fort and district of *Quebec*, with all the territory of *New France*, comprehending that part of *Florida* which had been settled by his predecessors, with all the course of the *Great River* till it discharges itself into the sea; with all the isles, ports, havens, mines, and fisheries contained in that vast extent of territory; his majesty reserving to himself only the faith and homage of the inhabitants, with a golden crown of eight marks weight, to be paid to every new king of *France*, together with the provisions for the officers of justice, who were to be named, and presented to him by the associates or partners as soon as it was found requisite to establish a civil government there. The partnership had, likewise, power to cast cannon, and to make all kind of arms, as well as to fortify places. The second article gives the partnership a power of conveying lands in such proportions as his majesty shall think proper, and to annex such titles, honours, rights, and powers to them as he shall prescribe, according to the merits of the persons, but with certain restrictions and conditions; but that the erection of duchies, marquisates, earldoms, and baronies, should require the royal letters of confirmation upon the presentation of cardinal *Richelieu*, great master, head and superintendant, of the navigation and commerce of *France*. The third article repeals all the former grants of the same nature, and gives the partnership for ever all the fur and peltry trade, and all other trades within the fore-mentioned limits for 15 years, except the fisheries, which his majesty intends should be in common to all his subjects. By the fourth article, the *French* settled in *Canada*, and not depending upon the partnership, might trade with the natives for furs, provided they disposed of their beavers only to the company's factors, who were obliged to take them at a certain price. The fifth article grants to the company two ships of war, each of 2 or 300 tons, to be victualled by the company, who are to replace them if lost, unless they are destroyed or taken by an enemy. By the sixth article, the company was to repay to his majesty the price of two ships, if, during the first ten years of their contract, they did not carry over 1500 *French* men and women, to *New France*; and their patent was to be void, if they did not carry over the same number during the last five years. By the seventh and last article, all military officers, and soldiers of whatever kind, sent to *Canada* in those two ships, were to be appointed by his majesty;

but the company had the power of appointing all the officers and soldiers of their own ships, and his majesty makes them a present of four culverins.

By another ordonnance, his most christian majesty gave still greater encouragement to the new colonists, viz. all tradesmen and machanics employed by the company, who should chuse to return to *France*, after residing six years in *Canada*, had liberty to practise their several professions in *Paris* or any place in *France*. Merchandises manufactured there, were to pay no imposts upon being imported into *France* for fifteen years; nor was any tax to be laid upon provisions of any kind exported to the new colony. Ecclesiastics, noblemen, and others, associating in the company, might do it without derogation to their rank or honours; and his majesty was to create twelve of the company nobles; and all the natives of *Canada* were, to all intents and purposes, to be reputed natives of *Old France*. And his majesty reserved to himself the qualification of the above articles, in case the company should meet with any obstruction from war, either civil or foreign.

We have been the more explicit with regard to the above articles, because, except what relates to religion, (and that perhaps was necessary at that time) they undoubtedly contain a most excellent system for forming a colony, and well worthy of imitation. They were signed the 19th of *April* 1627, and the duke de *Ventadour*, at the same time, resigned into his majesty's hands the post of vice-roy. The company was called that of *New France*, and its numbers soon rose to 107; at the head of whom were the cardinal *Richelieu* himself, the mareschal *Desfaut*, superintendent of the finances, and other persons of great distinction; but the bulk was composed of rich merchants and traders. It happened, however, at this time, that *Charles* the First quarelled with *France*; and *David Kirk*, whom *English* writers commonly call Sir *David Kirk*, a native of *Dieppe*, and a Calvinist, instigated probably by *Caen*, who was piqued at losing his exclusive privilege, received the command of three *English* ships, and came up the river *St. Laurence* as far as *Tadoussac*, where he set on shore some men, who destroyed all the houses, and took the cattle at *Cape Torment*; and he then proceeded to *Quebec*, with orders to summon the governor to deliver up the fort.

and miseries.

THE infant colony at that time was in a miserable situation, being reduced to seven ounces of bread a day for each man, and they had but five pounds of powder in the garrison. Notwithstanding this, *Champlain* and *Pontgravé*, who

who happened to be then at *Quebec*^a, after some consultation, returned for answer to the *English* officer, that they were determined to hold out the fort to the last extremity. This bravado, perhaps, would have been ineffectual, had not *Kirk* had intelligence from *Caen* of a squadron having entered the river under *Roquemont*, with provisions and all kind of necessaries for the new colony. This *Roquemont* had been governor and lieutenant-general of *New France* under his most christian majesty, and instead of avoiding *Kirk*, he sought and fought him, but was defeated, and his squadron taken. This misfortune encreased the distresses of the colony, which now had nothing to depend on but the labours of some missionaries, who had returned to *France* to solicit their friends for relief. They were so successful as to procure a ship laden with provisions of all kinds; but it was wrecked before it touched *Quebec*. This disaster reduced the colony to the utmost distress, which was aggravated by the divisions that prevailed amongst the colonists themselves, and the growing disrespect of the savages for the *French*; the cause of which *Charlevoix* attributes to the *Hugenots* introduced amongst them by *Caen*. In this extremity *Champlain* made war upon the savages out of mere necessity; and the colonists, who consisted but of one hundred people, were obliged to repair to the woods, and there to dig roots for their sustenance. Towards the end of *July* 1629, the *English* under *Kirk* again appeared off point *Levi*, and an officer was sent on shore to *Quebec* to summon it to surrender. *Champlain*, in the situation he then was, looked upon this summons as his deliverance, and the capitulation was soon made between him and *Kirk's* two brothers, the one of whom was to command the squadron, and the other to be governor of *Quebec*. It imported, that the *English* were to furnish a vessel, at the expence of the garrison, to carry it, and all the effects of the colonists that they could transport, to *Old France*, with other very favourable terms for the colony, which were punctually and honourably fulfilled by the *English*; even the *jesuits* themselves, contrary to their usual custom, extolled the good faith, humanity and politeness of the *English* upon this occasion. In short, their behaviour had so good an effect, that most part of the colony chose to remain with them rather than go to *Old France*.

Henne-
pin.
Charle-
voix.

^a HENNEPIN, in the particulars here related, agrees in the main with CHARLEVOIX, but is more minute.

Taken by
the Eng-
lish under
Kirk,

The capitulation being finished, *Champlain* went on board one of the *English* ships for *Tadoussac*, and it was met, and almost taken, by a *French* ship under the command of *Emery de Caen*; but his crew being composed of *Calvinists*, according to the *French* writers, did not chuse to exert themselves against the *English*. *Charlevoix* pretends that the peace between *England* and *France* was concluded before *Kirk* entered upon his expedition, and he attributes all his success to the intelligence given him by one *Michel*, a *French Calvinist*. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Kirk* was greatly disappointed when he took possession of *Quebec*, where he found nothing but want and misery. Upon *Champlain's* return to *France*, he perceived the public there divided with regard to *Canada*; some thinking that it was not worth the reclaiming, as it had already cost the government vast sums without bringing any return; and that it only served to depopulate the mother-country. But these considerations were over-balanced by the vast advantages of the fishery, and accordingly proving a nursery for seamen. *Champlain* supported his plan so well, that he carried his point; and not only *Canada*, but *Acadia*, and the isle of *Cape Breton*, were restored to the *French* by the treaty of *St. Germain's* in 1632. *Emery de Caen* carried the treaty to *Lewis Kirk*, who had been left governor of *Canada*, and who resigned his command to *Caen*. By this time, however, the *English* began to have some idea of the profits of the fur-trade; for tho', by the treaty of *St. Germain's*, none but the *French* were to exercise it, *Kirk* carried it on for a whole year after the surrender of *Quebec*.

but resto-
red.

PERHAPS had it not been for a dash of enthusiasm, which *Champlain* had in his composition, he never could have succeeded in supporting this unpromising colony; but no difficulties were unsurmountable by his zeal: and in 1633, the company of *New France* re-entered into all its rights in *Canada*, of which *Champlain* was made governor; and so indefatigably did he act, that in a short time he was at the head of a new armament, furnished with a fresh recruit of *jesuits*, inhabitants, and all kind of necessities for the welfare of the revived colony. It is almost incredible that *Champlain's* principal view was neither to advance his own, nor his country's temporal interests in this undertaking, but to convert the savages, by means of the *jesuits*, who now engrossed the whole of the mission, and whose views, perhaps, extended much farther than those of *Champlain*. They found, however, the task of conversions extremely difficult and discouraging. The natives were far from being so tractable as had been given out. They were invincibly obstinate in their dispositions,

dispositions, and their compliances in point of religion were either fictitious and intertitled, or so slight that the impressions soon wore off; so that the jesuits found amongst them few or no Christians. *Charlevoix* attributes their apostasy to the *English*; who, he says, tyrannized over the inhabitants. But the number of ecclesiastical missionaries, exclusive of lay-brothers, were now fifteen, the chief of whom were *Le Jeune*, *De Neve*, *Masse* and *Brebeuf*. In a short time, they prevailed with the *French* court to banish all protestants out of *Canada*, so that it was entirely planted with good catholics. *Cham-* The savages surround the jesuit
plain in 1634 endeavoured to settle a mission in the *Huron* country, but met with many difficulties. An *Algonquin* had killed a *Frenchman*, and *Champlain* had clapped the murderer into prison; the missionaries were then ready to depart for the country of the *Hurons*, but an *Algonquin* chief flatly refused to suffer them to embark in their canoes, (the only way by which they could travel) unless his countryman was set at liberty. The reason he gave for his obstinacy in this point, was, that the parents and relations of the criminal expected him, and that they durst carry no *Frenchman* into their country without him. It was in vain for *Champlain* to reason with the chief on this occasion; for tho' the *Algonquin* chief seemed to be single in his opinion, yet it soon appeared that all the others were in a concert with him, and that he spoke their sense; so that *Champlain* persuaded the missionaries to drop their journey for that time. Thus those savages outwitted even the jesuits themselves. We shall only on this occasion take notice, that the real name of the *Huron* nation was *Tindats*, and that *Hurons* is a word of *French* original, occasioned by the frightful appearance of their hair when first discovered.

CHAMPLAIN's zeal seems to have been increased by the difficulties been countered. The *Hurons*, tho' according to *French* writers, the most tractable and ingenious of all the *American* savages, could not be persuaded to admit a missionary into their country till they obtained their own terms; and even then, they appeared so reserved and dogged, that the fathers looked upon themselves as so many sheep in the midst of wolves. We shall not trouble our readers with the encomiums *Charlevoix* bestows upon the first *French* missionaries in the *Huron* country. It is very probable, their difficulties were so great that none but jesuits could have surmounted them. At last they gained footing in a village

* It seems when the *French* first saw them, they called out *Quelles Têtes !* what bristly heads are here !

called

called *Jesuites*, where they made half a dozen converts, and built a chapel which they dedicated to *St. Joseph*, whose name they likewise gave to the village; and they began to gain some footing by their inflexible perseverance. *New France*, all this while, was gaining inhabitants, and the colony was approaching to a degree of consistency. In 1635, *René Rochauk*, eldest son of the marquis de *Gamache*, having entered into the society of *Jesuit*, resumed the design he had before formed, but which had been interrupted by the conquest which the *English* had made of *Quebec*, of founding a college there. While this affair was in agitation, the indefatigable *Champlain* died in *December* 1635, at *Quebec*; and, notwithstanding the encomiums the *Jesuits* bestow on his memory, he appears to have been a weak brained enthusiast, excessively credulous, but very proper for executing what he undertook. Notwithstanding his death, the design of the college still went on, and was of infinite service to the colony. Many of the *French* were now encouraged to embark themselves and their families for *Canada*, and the savages themselves began to lose their reluctance to associate with *Christians*, as the good fathers, besides giving their children education, kept up good house-keeping in their college, which greatly reconciled the natives to their interest.

Succeeded
by Mont-
magny.

In the year 1606 *Monf. de Montmagny* succeeded *Champlain* in the government of *New France*; and *M. de L'Isle* commanded at the new settlement of *Trois Rivières*; both of them being knights of *Malta*, and zealous for the propagation of christianity, or rather jesuitism. *Montmagny* encouraged the *Hurons* to send their children to *Quebec*, where he had projected a seminary for them in the college of the *Jesuits*. But those barbarians studied nothing but their temporary advantage. While they were eating and drinking, and receiving presents, they seemed to be all compliance, but retracted when they had nothing more to expect. Five or six *Indians* agreed to send their sons to the seminary; but after they were put on board the canoes, they pursued and rescued them from the hands of the fathers. They soon found that the colony lay still under great difficulties. *Montmagny* proceeded upon *Champlain's* plan, but nothing was to be done with the savages without rewards. *Montmagny* found his funds deficient in this respect, and every day cooled the ardour of the natives, till at last they came to be almost estranged from the *French*. The *Iroquois*, who were still more intractable than the *Hurons*, or the *Algonquins*, courted their enemies to take part with them against the *French*; but the *Hurons* depending on *French* assistance, gave themselves
very

very little trouble, till the *Iroquois* surprised and massacred many of them. Whatever endowments the *French* may be possessed of as a people, they certainly acted most impolitically on this occasion; and their public was the dupe of the *European* jesuits, who thought to extend their power and influence at the expence of the company.

For this purpose they sent to *Canada* the most resolute enthusiasts they could pitch upon, who underwent incredible fatigues in their mission, and often employed even force in converting and baptizing the savages. It happened that *Old France* itself was at this time, viz. in 1637, not a little infected with the same spirit of enthusiasm that actuated the missionaries. The flame was kept up by those fathers, who from the wilds of *Canada* wrote over to *France* in the most affecting and pathetic terms, accounts of the difficulties, the dangers, and the unspeakable fatigues they daily underwent. The *Iroquois*, notwithstanding all that *Montmagny* could do to blind them, were sensible of the real weakness of the colony, and even insulted the governor of *Trois Rivieres*; so that the affairs of *New France* were in immediate danger of being ruined, when the *European* jesuits, who had the possession of the consciences of the *French* court and ministry, blew the flames of religion with such efficacy, as engaged the queen herself and the princesses of the blood in the support of the colony. In the beginning of the year 1628 a contagious distemper broke out in one of the *Huron* villages, and in a short time communicated itself to the whole nation. The savages, who never reason but from appearances, till this happened, had attributed all the calamities they met with to the incantations and witchcraft of the christians amongst them; but they were now undeceived. Those barbarians are as ignorant in treating inward maladies, as they are excellent in curing external wounds; and the Jesuits administered such effectual medicines as stopt the progress of the distemper, and greatly reconciled them to their company. The accounts of this animated the court of *France*; so that a scheme was formed of establishing a nunnery at *Quebec*, to which the Ursulins and the hospitallers offered their persons and their services with the most lively zeal. The commander of *Sylver* was indefatigable in seconding the views of the jesuits, for erecting a settlement composed only of Christians and proselytes, to be a bulwark for the colony against the insults of the *Iroquois*, and to promote the cultivation of lands. With this view he sent workmen to *Quebec*, and requested father *Le Fume* to pitch upon a proper spot for their settlement. The father chose one on the north-side of the

*Account of
the jesuit
missions.*

*Improvements of
Quebec.
river*

river *St. Laurent*, into which twelve christian families entered, whose numbers soon encreased, and the place at this time retains the name of the founder. A school for female children, and an hospital for the sick, were still wanting. The hospital was equally to serve the colonists as the natives, both being as yet very indigent; and the school was to be under the direction of *French* ursulins, who were to educate in it not only *French*, but savage, girls. The duchess of *Aiguillon* undertook the foundation of the hospital, and by her persuation the religious hospitallers of *Dieppe*, all of them females, offered to sacrifice all they had to the service of sick *Canadians*. It was therefore thought proper to make choice of no more than three, who accordingly departed for the colony. The ursulin foundation encountered new difficulties. It is possible that the company of *New France* by this time began to think that the good jesuits were engrossing too much power to themselves; and it must be confessed that the colony at that juncture wore the face rather of a religious seminary than a national undertaking. For that reason they had given no attention to the ursulin foundation. Nothing, however, could resist the ridiculous spirit of devotion that then obtained in *France*. A young widow of *Alençon*, *Madam de la Peltrie*, devoted her person and fortune to this establishment; and came to *Paris* to regulate her proceeding, and removed from thence to *Tours*. There she found two ursulins fit for her ends, viz. the illustrious *Mary of the Incarnation*, to speak in the terms of *Charlevoix*, who has written her life, and *Mary de St. Joseph*. From *Tours* this widow removed to *Dieppe*, where she found a third ursulin proper for her purpose. Nothing can exceed the absurdity of the miracles said to be worked by those holy sisters, who have been always looked upon by the *Canadians* as their tutelar angels. They embarked on the 4th of *May* 1639, along with *Madam de la Peltrie* and father *Vimond*, who had been appointed to succeed father *le Jeune*, as superior of the jesuit mission in *Canada*; and after a hazardous voyage they landed at *Quebec* on the first of *August*. This new kind of mission makes a great figure in the annals of *Canada*. The governor received the ladies on their debarkment at the head of his troops, who were drawn up under arms. They entered *Quebec* under a general discharge of the cannon, and proceeded in triumph amidst the acclamations of the people to the church, where *Te Deum* was solemnly sung for their arrival. This was a period of triumph to the jesuits. They held forth not only to the savages, but to the colony, the infinite merits of those ladies, who could exchange ease and affluence

Account of
madam de
Peltrie.

A new settlement at
Quebec.

affluence in Europe, for fatigue and indigence in America; and the behaviour of the ladies themselves confirmed all they said in their praise. Far from being shocked at the indigence, poverty, and squalid appearance of the Indian huts, they seemed to rejoice at their having an opportunity to manifest their zeal by their intense labours for propagating christianity. The enthusiasm of madam *de la Peltrie* went to extravagance. She not only stripped herself, that she might cloath the naked savages, but worked with her own hands in cultivating the ground for their subsistence. The ursulins and the hospitaliers strove to out-do one another in their zeal; and the former settled at *Quebec*, as the latter did at *Sylleri*, where the hospital was daily crouded with patients. According to *Charlevoix*, the labours of those good sisters, as well as the charities of the inhabitants of *Quebec*, were inconceivable; but the company failed on their part, and gave them little or no assistance. About the year 1640, the war broke out afresh between the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons*; and here we shall, once for all, exhibit a scene that may give the reader some idea of the manners of those infernal barbarians.

ONE day the *Hurons* having the advantage in a skirmish, made an *Iroquois* chief captive, and he was brought to one of the *Huron* villages, where the fathers were assembled. No sooner was he arrived, than it was decreed in an assembly of the antient savages, that he should be presented to one of their old chiefs, to replace his nephew, who had been killed in war, or to be disposed of as he should think proper. *Brebeuf*, one of the jesuits, immediately resolved to convert him to christianity. The captive was cloathed in a new beaver habit, with a curious necklace, and his temples were circled with a kind of a diadem. He was surrounded by a troop of triumphant warriors, and seemed to be quite unconcerned at his fate. When *Brebeuf* approached him, he perceived, that, before his fate was determined, he had been tortured. One of his hands had been crushed between two flints, and had lost a finger. His other hand had lost two, which had been cut off by a hatchet. The joints of his arms had been burnt, and a great gash appeared upon one of them. All this had been inflicted upon the poor wretch, before he entered the *Huron* village; for he no sooner arrived there, than he was treated with the greatest endearments, and a young woman was assigned him for his wife. Such was this barbarian's situation when he was converted by *Brebeuf*; and he is esteemed to be the first adult convert, that ever was made of the *Iroquois* nation; being baptized by the name of *Joseph*.

His resolution.

All this while the captive was loaded with caresses, and *Brebeuf* was suffered to take him to his tent every night; but his sores now became putrid and full of worms. To encrease his misery, he was carried in triumph from village to village, and wherever he came he was obliged to sing, so that sometimes his voice entirely failed him, nor had he the least respite, but when he was alone with *Brebeuf*, or some of the missionaries. At last, he was conveyed to the village where the chief lived, who was to be the disposer of his fate. The captive presented himself with an air perfectly unconcerned to his supposed uncle, who, after surveying him, talked to him in the following strain. "Nephew, said he, you cannot imagine the joy I conceived, when I understood that you was to supply the place of him whom I have lost; I had already prepared a mat for thee in my cabin, and it was with the utmost satisfaction, that I resolved to pass the rest of my days with thee in peace; but the condition I see thee in, forces me to alter my resolution. It is plain that the pains and tortures you suffer, must render your life unsupportable to yourself, and you must think that I do you service in abridging its course. They who have mangled you in this manner, have caused your death. Take courage, therefore, my dear nephew, prepare yourself this evening to shew that you are a man, and that you are superior to the force of torments." The captive heard this discourse with the greatest indifference, and only answered with a resolute voice, that it was very well. The sister of the deceased then served him with victuals, and caressed him in the most affectionate manner, while the old chieftain put his own pipe into his mouth, and wiped the sweat from his brows, with the most tender demonstrations of paternal love. Towards noon the captive, at the expence of his supposed uncle, made his farewell feast, and while the inhabitants of the village were all assembled around him, he harangued them as follows: "Brethren, I am about to die, divert yourselves boldly around me; be convinced that I am a man, and that I neither fear death, nor all the torments you can inflict." He then began a song, in which he was joined by the warriors who were present. He was then presented with victuals, and when the feast was ended, he was carried to the place of execution, which is called the cabin of blood, (or heads cut off) and always belongs to the head of the village. About eight o'clock in the evening, all the savages of the village being assembled, the young men, who were to be executioners of the tragedy, forming the first row round the prisoner, were exhorted by one of their infernal elders to behave well, meaning thereby to put him to the most excruciating tortures. The prisoner was then seated

on

on a mat, where his hands were tied, and then rising, he danced round the cabin, singing his death-song all the time, and then replaced himself upon the mat. One of the elders then took from him his robe, which he said was destined for such a chief (naming him) that such a village was to cut off his head, which, with an arm, was to be given to such another village, to feast upon it. According to *Charlevoix*, whose brethren the jesuits are all of them heroes, temporal as well as spiritual, father *Bribou* encouraged the victim to suffer with the sentiments of christianity, which he did with a most amazing firmness, without uttering the least reproachable word. He even talked of the sins of his nation, with as much indifference, as if he were at home with his family. Eleven fires had been lighted to torment him, and the elders said it was of consequence, that he should be alive at sunrise, for which reason his tortures were prolonged to that time, when the barbarians, fearing that he should expire without iron, (another of their barbarous superstitions) carried him out of the village, and cut off one of his feet, a hand, and his head, which were disposed of as proposed, while his body was thrown into a childron.

THIS horrible story makes it doubtful, whether cruelty, stupidity, caprice, and dissimulation, do not equally form the composition of those savages. It is certain the missionaries, whose way of life *Charlevoix* describes as minutely as pathetically, underwent astonishing labours, as well as the most imminent dangers, from those barbarians. The least whim that struck them of their having lost a relation, because he had been baptized, or a friend, who was under the care of the fathers, brought them into peril of their lives, and even their *Huron* friends, who waited upon them as guards, beheld their dangers with the utmost indifference, without offering to interpose in their favour, and nothing but covering the dead could save them, that is, their making a present of furs by way of expiation. *Charlevoix* gives us a remarkable instance of this kind, that happened to father *Lallemant*, who, while he was under the protection of a *Huron* guard, narrowly escaped being strangled by an *Algonquin* savage in his tent.

By this time, the settlement of *Trois Rivières* began to be *Trois Rivières* greatly resorted to, not only by the *Algonquins*, but by the vires pro- most distant northerly nations, particularly the *Attikamegues*, *Speers*, who live in the neighbourhood of the lake *St Thomas*, whom the fathers who frequented that settlement found to be a very tractable race. Another mission was formed at *Tadoussac*, the most frequented station in all *Canada* by the savages, particularly the *Papinachis*, the *Bershamutes*, the *Mountainers*, and the

the *Paraguis*. Sometimes all those nations met together at *Tadoussac*; but as soon as their traffic was over, they returned to their wilds and forests, to which they were often followed by the missionaries, who even attended them in their winter huntings, which presented the most dreadful and uncomfortable scenes, as the most frightful deserts generally supplied the greatest plenty of game. Some of the savages however resided all winter in the neighbourhood of *Tadoussac*, and were there converted. Another mission was established at the island of *Miscou* in the gulph of *St. Laurence*, to which the *Indians* resorted for the benefit of fishing. The civil distractions of *France*, at last, prevented any great national assistance being afforded to those promising settlements. The *Canadian* company neglected their interests so much, that they suffered both the fur and fish trade to be ingrossed by individuals, and no pains was taken to give the colony a consistency.

THE presence of the *French*, however, in *Canada*, overawed the five *Iroquois Cantons*, who continued still the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hurons* and the *Algonquins*; and the war amongst them was still carried on with great fury, but began to turn in favour of the *Hurons*. It appears, that notwithstanding their docility to be instructed in the christian religion, the missionaries never could prevail with them to abolish the practice of putting their prisoners to death. All they could do, was, to convert and baptize them before they suffered; and, like the antient *Druids*, they often rushed into the heat of the battle, between the arms of contending nations, where they baptized the wounded, and the dying, or administered to them other spiritual assistance. The *Iroquois* having received a smart defeat, were cunning enough to lay a plan for disuniting the *French* from their savage allies, by exciting in the latter a suspicion of their fidelity. With this view in all their excursions they treated the *French* who fell into their hands with great humanity, but the natives with their usual cruelties. A body of them gathered about *Trois Rivières*, which, for sometime, they had in a manner besieged. *Monf. Champflours* had lately succeeded *M. de L'Isle* in the government of that settlement, and when he least expected it, they sent one of their *French* captives to propose a peace with him, provided the *Hurons* and *Algonquins* were not comprehended in it. *Champflours* was in no condition to carry on the war; but the prisoner cautioning him against the insincerity of the *Iroquois*, he sent an account of what was passing to *Montmagny* at *Québec*, who immediately came up to *Trois Rivières*, and from thence sent two deputies to demand from the *Iroquois*, that their *French* prisoners should be set at liberty. The deputies were received

received with great civility, and in quality of mediators seated on a buckler. After this, the *French* captives were brought forth slightly tied, and then one of the *Iroquois* chiefs began a formal harangue, expressing the great desire he and his nation had to live in friendship with the *French*. In the midst of his speech, he unbound the captives, and throwing the cords over the palisades into the river, he wished that the stream might carry them away never to be heard of more. He then presented the two deputies with a belt of wampum as a pledge of their liberty, restored to the children of *Ononthis*, or the great mountain, for so they called *Montmagny*; but when they spoke of the *French* king, they called him the grand *Ononthis*. He then placed two bundles of beaver skins before the captives, to serve them for robes, it being, as he said, unjust to send them away naked; and renewed the assurances he had already given them of peace, begging in the name of his nation, that *Ononthis* would conceal under his cloaths the hatchets of the *Algonquins* and the *Hurons*, during the negotiation, protesting that they themselves would commit no hostility.

WHILE the barbarian was yet speaking, two *Algonquin* canoes came in sight, and were immediately chased by the *Iroquois*. The *Algonquins* being overpowered, swam on shore, and their canoes were plundered in sight of the *French* general, who was preparing to punish their treachery, but they instantly vanished, and soon after plundered a number of *Huron* canoes going to *Quebec*, laden with furs. But in fact, notwithstanding the accusations brought by *Charlevoix* against the *Iroquois* on this occasion, it perhaps is no easy matter to fix upon them the charge of treachery for what happened, as the treaty was not concluded, and it was natural for the *Iroquois*, upon the appearance of their professed enemies, to suspect the intentions of the *French*. Be this as it will, the *Iroquois* changed their language after this accident; but the affairs of the colony continued still to be so much neglected by the company, that it was on the point of being ruined, when a spirit for the conversion of the *Indians* again broke forth amongst the great in *France*, and 35 persons of quality associated themselves together to settle *Montreal*.

THE first missionaries were sensible of the expediency of such a settlement; but the company had taken no care to have it executed. The new associates proceeded upon a rational plan; they resolved to begin, by erecting upon that island, a *French* fortification, strong enough to resist all the assaults of the savages; that the poor *French* inhabitants received into it, should be put into a way to earn their own bread, and that the rest of the island should be settled by savages, without respect to their tribes, provided they were christians, or willing

to become such. It was likewise proposed not only to assure them of protection, against all their enemies in this new settlement, but to provide them with medicines and subsistence, till they could be so far civilized as to get their livelihood by their own labour. To carry this plan into execution, the French king, in 1640, vested the property of the island in the 35 associates, and next year one of them, *Muissonneuve*, a gentleman of *Champagne*, carried thither several French families, together with a young lady of condition, *Mademoiselle Manse*, who was proposed to have the superintendency of the female colonists; *Muissonneuve* being declared governor of the island, on the 15th of *October* following. It was not before the 17th of *May* next year, that the French entered into possession of their new habitation and chapel of this island, which they did, with a superabundance of religious exercises, which we shall forbear to transcribe.

*Irruptions
of the Iro-
quois.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the precaution taken by the French settlement at *Montreal*, the *Iroquois* still continued to make dreadful irruptions into French Canada; into which they generally penetrated, by a river called after their own name, but afterwards by those of *Richelieu* and *Sorel*. At the entrance of this river, *Montmagny*, who suspected that the *Iroquois* were instigated and supplied by the Dutch settled in *New Holland*, now *New York*, began to erect a fort, and completed it, thro' the workmen were interrupted by 700 of the *Iroquois*, who attacked them, but were repulsed with loss. This fort went by the name of *Richelieu*, and was finished with a good garrison, and a remarkable spirit of conversion to christianity now generally prevailed among the *Hurons*. Amongst other converts, was *Abassitari*, who was baptized by

*History of
a Huron
christian,*

the name of *Eustace*. He was a *Huron* chief, of so distinguished power and authority, that his example brought an incredible number of his countrymen into the pale of christianity, whose conversions were looked upon by the missionaries as miracles. *Eustace* on this occasion served in the double capacity of missionary and champion, and persuaded his countrymen by his own example into a belief that baptism rendered them invulnerable; thereby deluding them into security, that soon after proved their ruin. After his baptism, he raised a great body of Indian warriors, all of them christians. About this time the jesuits received an invitation from a remote nation of Indians, that go by the inexplicable name of *Pauoirigoudieubak*. Those savages inhabit a country near the falls of *St. Mary*, on the canal by which the *Lake Superior* discharges itself into that of *Huron*, and may be considered as lying in the very heart of French Canada. The jesuit fathers *Isaac Jogues* and *Charles Raimbaut* undertook this dangerous mission to the country of the

Saut-

Sauvages, as that nation is called by the *French*; where they were entire strangers. Following the *Sauvage* deputies, they arrived at their nation, where they were affectionately received; but before they could make any considerable progress, they were recalled to *Quebec*. By this time, the *Iroquois* had entered into a considerable commerce with the *Dutch* at *New Holland*, to whom they disposed of their peltry, and who furnished them with fire-arms, by which means they obtained a decisive superiority over the *Hurons*. Upon their recall from their mission on the 13th of *June* 1642, the two jesuits reached *Quebec*, where they had indispensable business, and on the first of *August* they set out under a convoy of 13 armed canoes, manned with christians, and converts, under the command of captain *Eusface*, and other celebrated warriors, whom mistaken christianity had now degenerated into miserable bigots; for instead of making preparations to resist an attack, nothing passed amongst them but mutual exhortations to suffer bravely in the cause of Christ. About 13 or 16 leagues from *Quebec*, they perceived the footsteps of the *Iroquois*, but were so secure in their imagined superiority, that they proceeded up the river without the least precaution, till they came to a pass, where 70 *Iroquois* lay in ambush, and where they were saluted with a brisk regular fire, which wounded many of the christians, and pierced their canoes. Some of them upon this fled; but the bravest amongst them, encouraged by two or three *Frenchmen* who had accompanied father *Jogues*, made a resistance, till their canoes were full of water, and then, all of them, but a very few, who escaped in the confusion, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. *Jogues* might have escaped likewise, and his companions even pressed him to it; but his frantic zeal for the crown of martyrdom detained him, and he resolved to run the fate of his dear children, as he called the prisoners. He even, amidst the carnage and confusion, baptized a *Catechumen* with all the composure imaginable, and then with another *Frenchman*, *Couture*, who was resolved to run his fate, surrendered himself prisoner to the barbarians. *Charlevoix* has been at great pains to recount all the particulars of the miseries this jesuit and his fellow prisoners underwent. If any thing could make us doubt of the truth of his account, it is the improbability of human nature being able to support, for so long a time, the dreadful torments they endured from the barbarians, the particulars of which are not very instructive. Captain *Eusface* suffered at the stake; but father *Jogues* was still disappointed of his crown of martyrdom, for though the barbarians had crushed his hands, cut off his fingers, and filled his face and whole body with wounds and sores, that had become putrid, yet he sur-

and of fifteen
other Jo-
gues.

vived all his sufferings, and continued indefatigably in his profession of making proselytes, in which, according to his own account, he was very successful. The whole of his adventures are, after himself, described by *Charlevoix* in a style of holy romance. He not passed his time chiefly amongst the *Agniers*, who, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the governor of *Canada*, refused to part with him; after a variety of adventures, some of which are not very probable, he escaped to *New York*, and from thence to *France*.

The war
continues.

THE *Iroquois*, all this while, were carrying on war with the most unrelenting fury against the *Huron* tribes, whom they bade fair to exterminate, by cutting off and burning whole villages at once; but it is observable, that the jesuit fathers make those calamities fall chiefly upon the unconverted *Hurons*, as so many judgments of *God* for their hardness of heart; though they cannot deny, that great numbers, even of the converts, fell by the hands of the *Iroquois*. As we do not think the nature of this work intitles us to enter into a detail of all the actions of those fanatics, we shall now return to the civil history, though it is impossible to separate it entirely from the religious.

State of
Montreal.

In the year 1644 the colony of *Montreal* had gained a great number of *Indian* proselytes. The *Algonquins*, who were seated on an island formed by the *Outawois*, had the greatest commerce with our new colonists; but they were headed by a chief who had an invincible aversion to the christian religion, though he pretended to be a great friend to the *French* nation. He was rather more fierce on this head than the *Iroquois* themselves. This barbarian had a nephew who settled at *Montreal*, together with his wife; and there, by the persuasion of two jesuits, *Vimond* and *Poncet*, they embraced christianity, but were grieved to think that their uncle should still continue in a state of obstinate infidelity. After several discourses held between this proselyte and his ghostly fathers, upon the means of converting the uncle, who had been for sometime gone upon an expedition, the latter appeared in his nephew's cabin, and pretended, that as he was traversing the wilds of the country, he was seized with an irresistible impulse to become a christian, that he could have no peace in his mind till he should repair to *Montreal* for baptism, together with his wife who was impressed with the same sentiments. *Maisonneuve* and the jesuits did not fail to encourage the chief and his wife in those pious dispositions; and both of them were baptized with great pomp and ceremony. Tho' nothing is more common with those barbarians, when they have the purposes either of interest or revenge to serve, than dissimulation; yet the good mission-

naries have exalted the conversions of this chief and his wife into a miracle. The effects were visible, and in a short space of time most of the *Algonquin* nation became christians. Missionaries now sprung up amongst the savages themselves, and spread not only through the missions of *Tadoussac* and *Trois Rivières*, but extended to the most remote nations, but with a most profound submission to the jesuits. The *Iroquois*, however, still not only disdained all proposals for their conversion, but carried fire and sword to the very gates of *Quebec*, so that the settlers at *Sylieri* were in danger of being starved, as they durst not venture abroad, for fear of being cut off by the *Iroquois*, either to hunt or cultivate their lands; but the truth is, conviction was not so often, as indolence was, the motive of those conversions. Enthusiasm or vanity, or both, had taken possession of the *French Canadians*; and it was fed from *Europe*. The *Indians*, who love idleness beyond any thing in life, were supported by the charity of the *French* colonists, till they became so numerous, that they could support them no longer.

ABOUT this time, the enemies of the jesuits, both in *Canada* and *Europe*, gave out that all their labours tended ^{Charges} ^{against the} only to establish themselves in the fur-trade, which, in fact, ^{jesuits.} was now ingrossed by the company of a hundred, or *Canadian* company. Tho' nothing could be more unjust than this charge was against the *American* missionaries, yet we know not how far it might be true with regard to their *European* brethren, who certainly at that time, had vast influence on the affairs of *Europe*, and were far from being either of a disinterested or enthusiastic turn; nor is it at all incredible, that they had part of the company's profits. The latter thought themselves at least obliged to contradict those reports, which they did in an authentic declaration under their hands and seals. But indeed no worldly consideration could make amends for the miseries which those missionaries amongst the *Hurons* endured. During the wandering painful life they led for three years, having received no supply of cloaths, they were almost naked. For want of communion elements, they could not administer the sacrament; and when their wine had failed them, they have been obliged to squeeze the wild grapes they found in the woods. At last, some *Hurons* ventured to go in winter-time upon the ice to *Quebec*, where they laid before the governor the distresses of the mission, and a supply of provisions was ordered for their relief. The dangers of the journey, however, were too dreadful, that even the most zealous declined it, till ^{The colony} ^{distressed.} *Bresani*, a *Roman* jesuit, undertook it. He embarked towards the end of *April* 1644, attended by a young *Frenchman*, and

six *Hurons*, two of whom had been saved out of the hands of the *Iroquois*; but when they came to the entrance of *St. Peter's lake*, their canoe was wrecked; and a thick snow happening the night after, several of the convoy were so imprudent as to fire upon some savages, which discovered them to the *Iroquois*, who instantly seized the booty, eat one of the prisoners, and forced the rest to travel night and day, sometimes swimming, and sometimes on foot, loading them all the way with severe bastinadoes; but they split the missionaries left hand between two stones, and, after coming to the first village of the canton of *Agnier*, his tortures were redoubled, so that he fell down lifeless and motionless; and to recover him, they cut off his left thumb and two fingers of his right hand. The tortures, manglings, and burnings, he afterwards underwent after this, are incredible; so that his body became one continued sore, crawling with worms and maggots, and emitted so noisome a smell, that none durst approach him. He understood at last from the elders of the barbarians, that they were resolved not to put him to death; a favour which the good father and his historian *Charlevoix* attribute to the fervour of his devotions. - He was then consigned to a matron, who treated him with great humanity; but the stench issuing from his sores remained so offensive, that she sent him to the next *Dutch* settlement to be sold. Fortunately for him, he found a *Dutchman* who bought him, and after ordering his wounds to be carefully inspected, they were cured, and the father was put on board a ship that landed him at *Rochelle* towards the end of *November*. Tho' we have given this history, and that of *Jogues*, from *Charlevoix*, the only authority that contains it; and though, without all doubt, those barbarians are possessed with an unbounded spirit of cruelty, and love of tormenting their fellow creatures; yet we cannot believe all the particulars that have been published by this jesuit and his brethren, who probably thought it their duty to enhance the torments of the missionaries, for the benefit of their order in *Europe*. We may, however, observe, that the cruelty of those barbarians was of a peculiar cast, for they scarcely thought it worth their while to take the life of any man who seemed susceptible of pain, which might be the reason of *Bressani's* being consigned to the matron.

History of
 father
 Bressani.

Management of
 the colony.

THE more conversions, as we have already hinted, that the missionaries made amongst the *Hurons* and *Algonquins*, the *French* colony in *Canada* became the weaker. The *Iroquois*, to courage and barbarity, added craft and policy. They amused *Montmagny* with proposals of peace, which he earnestly wished for; but they had no other design than to have

have an opportunity of learning the situation of the colony, which they found to be so weak, that they publicly vaunted they would soon oblige the French to repass the sea. In short, *Montmagny* was reduced to the most despicable shifts, and obliged, instead of humbling, to cruckle to, the barbarians, to gain a little respite to himself and his colony. About this time, *Champflours*, governor of *Trois Rivières*, informed *Montmagny* that some *Hurons* had arrived at *Trois Rivières*, with three *Iroquois* prisoners, one of whom they had given to the *Algonquins*, who had been with a good deal of difficulty prevailed upon not to put him to death, till he could hear from *Montmagny*. Upon this the latter immediately went up to *Trois Rivières* with some presents, and summoning together the heads of the *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, he displayed his presents before their eyes; and then informed them, that, in order to prevent any impositions from their common enemies the *Iroquois*, he only wanted liberty to send one of the prisoners to the cantons of the *Iroquois*, to inform them, that if they meant to save the lives of the other two prisoners, they must immediately send deputies, with full power to treat of an accommodation. His speech being finished, an *Algonquin* chief arose, and presenting his prisoner to *Montmagny*, he told him, that he could refuse nothing to his father; and that if his presents were accepted of, it was only in order to dry up the tears of a family where that captive was to replace one of its dead; but that tho' he wished for a peace, he was afraid it would be a very difficult matter to effect it. *Montmagny* then turned to the *Hurons* to know their sentiments, and one of them told him with a resolute air, that he was a warrior, and not a merchant; that he had not left his home to trade, but to fight; that if the governor had so great a desire for prisoners, he might take them; that he knew where to make more captives, or to die; in which last case he would have the consolation of dying as a man, but that his nation would say, that *Ononchio* was the cause of his death. *Montmagny* appeared a good deal disconcerted at this speech; when another *Huron*, who it seems was a christian, addressed him, and gave him reasons why the elders of his nation, of whom none were then present, must take it highly amiss, if they, who were all of them young men, should return with merchandizes instead of prisoners. He observed, that the *Algonquins*, who were present, were elders, and had authority for the offer they had made; and that he did not doubt that *Ononchio's* proposal of peace would be accepted of by the *Huron* elders, as soon as they were acquainted with it; but that the *Hurons* present could not anticipate their elders in the pleasure of their

Difficulties
of Mont-
magny.

giving their father *Onontio* a proof of their submission to his will. Another reason, continued he, that will justify our retaining our prisoners, is, that we know the river is covered with our enemies. If we meet them, and they should prove stronger than us, your presents will only serve to incommode us, and to animate them to the combat, that they may enjoy our spoils. But if they shall see amongst us some of their brethren, who shall bear testimony that we are for peace, that *Onontio* wants to be father of all the nations, and that bearing to all an equal affection, he cannot longer behold them cutting one another's throats; their arms will then drop out of their hands, our prisoners will save our lives, and they will be much more forward to second the negotiations of peace, than if we should be too forward in granting them their liberty. The savages reasoning was unanswerable. *Montmagny* agreed to it, telling the assembly at the same time, that it was more their interest, than that of the *French*, to make peace. The *Hurons* then departed with their prisoner; and on their arrival, a general council of their nation being called, they resolved that the two prisoners should be given up to *Montmagny*, who had, by this time, sent home the captive, presented to him by the *Algonquins*. The *Iroquois*, to manifest their desire of peace at the same time, sent *Couture*, who had still remained a prisoner with them after he had been taken along with father *Jogues*, and the captive who had been taken by the *Hurons*, and five deputies, with full power to the *Hurons* for concluding a treaty. As soon as those deputies arrived at *Trois Rivières*, *Montmagny* gave them audience in the square of the castle, which was covered overhead with canvas; he himself being seated in an elbow chair, and attended by *Champflours*, father *Vimond*, and the principal inhabitants of the colony; while the *Iroquois* deputies, to shew their respect to father *Onontio*, as they called *Montmagny*, were seated at his feet upon a mat. The *Algonquins*, and other nations of their language, ranged themselves opposite to *Montmagny*, but the *Hurons* were mixed with the *French*.

THE reader is here to observe, that the practice of eloquence amongst those barbarians resembled that of the *Romans*, who heightened their speeches by the powers of action, and in all their pleadings had a void space left for enforcing their oratory, by walking, stopping, and other gesticulations of their limbs and bodies; and this void always was before the tribunal of the judge; such a space being left before *Montmagny's* chair of state. The *Iroquois* had brought along with them 17 belts of wampum, and had run a string between two poles from one end to the other of the void space,

on which they were severally to hang the belts (A.) All the ceremonies of the conference being then adjusted, the speaker of the *Iroquois* cantons arose, and presenting *Montmagny* with one of the belts of wampum, accompanied it with the following speech, "*Onontio*, lend an ear to my voice, all the *Iroquois* speak by my mouth, my heart harbours no bad sentiments, and all my intentions are upright. We want to forget our songs of war, and to exchange them for songs of joy." He then began to sing, and the other deputies kept time with him with a He! he! which they seemed to force from the very bottom of their breasts; and while they sung, the orator agitated himself, by walking about as fast as he could, and throwing himself into a thousand ridiculous attitudes. All this time he frequently looked at the sun, stroked his arms, as if he been about to wrestle; but at last, he resumed a more composed air, and went on as follows:

"The belt, my father, which I here present thee, thanks thee for having rescued him from the tooth of the *Algonquin*; but how couldst thou let him return home by himself? Had his canoe been overruled, who was to assist him to bring it to rights? Had he been drowned, or had he perished by any other accident, thou wouldst have heard no word of peace, and perhaps have imputed to us the fault committed by thyself." When the orator had finished this speech, he hung the belt upon the cord; then taking another, he fixed it to *Couture's* arm, and again, turning to *Montmagny*, addressed him as follows: "My father, this belt brings thee back thy subject; but I was far from saying to him, Nephew, take a canoe, and return home; never could I have been easy till I had certainly heard of his safe arrival. My brother, whom thou hast sent us back, suffered a great deal, and underwent many perils. He was obliged alone to carry his own bundle; to swim all day, to drag his canoe against the falls, and to be always on his guard against surprize." The orator accompanied this speech with the most expressive action, which represented a man sometimes pushing forward a canoe with a pole, sometimes paddling with an oar; sometimes he seemed to be out of breath, and then resuming his spirits, he appeared more calm. He then seemed as if he had hurt his foot against a stone in carrying his bundle; and halting along as if he had been wounded, he thus continued his discourse. "Hast thou but assisted him in surmounting the most difficult parts of his

(A) Wampum is a kind of bead, composed of shells, and strung in rows, so as to form the

belt. Every belt is considered as a new subject, on which the orator is to display his eloquence. journey

journey—Really, my father, I know not what became of thy understanding when thou sent us back in this manner one of thy children, without an attendant and without assistance. I did not serve *Couture* so. I said to him, Come along, my nephew, follow me, I will restore thee to thy own family at the peril of my own life.”

THE other belts were disposed of in the same manner as the two preceding; and each of them had a particular allusion to the terms of the peace in agitation, and was explained by the orator in a very picturesque manner. One of them levelled the roads, another smoothed the river, a third furnished the contracting parties with the means of visiting one another without distrust or danger. One was emblematical of the feasts that were to pass amongst them; others of the alliance to be concluded; of their intentions to restore the fathers, *Fogues* and *Bressani*; others, of their impatience to see them return; the cordial reception they would meet with, and their thanks for the late deliverance of the three *Iroquois* captives. When the delivery of a belt was not accompanied with a speech, it was with gesticulations and motions, sufficiently expressive of the meaning of the orator, who continued this fatiguing scene for the amazing space of three hours without appearing to be heated; for he afterwards led up a dance, and joined in the singing and feasting, which concluded the conference.

Their customs.

It is the custom of those savages, that they neither give nor receive an answer the same day that a public proposition is made. Two days after, *Montmagny* returned his in a meeting, which was as numerous as the former, and where he made as many presents as he had received belts of wampum. *Couture* on this occasion served as interpreter, and performed his office in a grave solemn manner, suitable to the dignity of the personage for whom he interpreted. When he had finished his speech, *Pisckoret*, who was esteemed one of the bravest men that ever *Canada* produced, made his present; “Behold, said he, a stone which I place on the tomb of those who die in war, that none may dare to remove their bones, or think of revenging their death.” *Negabamat*, the chief of the mountaineers, then made a present of an elk’s skin, saying, that “it was to make shoes for the *Iroquois* deputies, that it might not hurt their feet in their return homewards.” The other nations present, probably having with them neither chief nor interpreters, made no speeches. When the conferences were over, three cannons were fired, as the governor ordered the savages to be told, to carry every where the news of the peace. The savages were then feasted by the superior of the jesuits, and his good cheer rendered them

them extremely eloquent, and drew from them many professions of friendship. Next day, the deputies returned home, attended by two *Frenchmen*, two *Hurons*, and two *Algonquins*, for whom three *Iroquois* remained hostages. The treaty was ratified by all the cantons, especially that of *Agnier*, the only one that had been in open war with *France*. Mean while, the fanatical *Bressani* returned to *Canada*, and understanding from the report of the two *Frenchmen*, and four savages who had attended the *Iroquois* deputies, that that people was desirous of having missionaries amongst them, he absurdly offered himself, and even made interest for the mission. Next winter, the *Iroquois*, the *Hurons*, and the *Algonquins*, went a hunting all together, as if they had been but one nation; a circumstance which had not happened since the arrival of the *French* in *Canada*; but just as the latter were beginning to taste the sweets of peace, the *Sokakis*, who were enemies to the *Algonquins*, and had done all they could to hinder the *Iroquois* from concluding the treaty, murdered several of the christian savages after they had settled at *Sylleri*. The *Agniers*, to exculpate themselves, again ratified the treaty by new deputies, who hinted to *Montmagny*, that he ought to be upon his guard against all the savages who were not expressly included in the treaty, and that he had it in his power to bring them in by procuring the release of some of their prisoners who had been taken by the allies of the *French*; but we know not the reasons why this counsel never was followed.

FATHER *Jogues*, as well as *Bressani*, was now returned to *Canada*, and being, if possible, more zealous than ever for the crown of martyrdom, he petitioned the governor for leave again to visit the *Agniers*; which was granted him, provided he came back after the treaty had been ratified by the other four cantons of the *Iroquois*, and give *Montmagny* an account of the dispositions he found them in. The *Algonquins* very sagaciously insisted, that in his first expedition he should neither appear in the habit of his order, nor speak of religion, which advice he complied with. He set out on the 16th of *May*, attended by *Bourdon*, one of the most considerable inhabitants of *Quebec*, and two *Algonquins*, who carried in their canoe presents from their nation to that of the *Iroquois*. At the first *Agnier* village *Jogues* came to, he was known by some of his former tormenters, who loaded him with caresses and compliments, so that *Jogues* came to a resolution to settle among them, and hurried back to *Richelieu*, where *Montmagny* was, to be discharged of his promise. He assured that general, who well knew from what motives he spoke, that he might depend upon the friendship of the *Agniers*; and at last with some difficulty he was released from his engagement, and

War a-
gain
breaks out.

and returned to his mission, attended by a *Frenchman* and four savages. By this time, the *Upper Iroquois*, who composed the four cantons that had not ratified the peace, had recommenced hostilities against the *Hurons*, and had surprized one of their villages. By this it appeared, that in their pacific professions they had all along acted from motives of interest or convenience. The missionaries, however, felicitated themselves upon the great progress their labours had made during the short interval of peace, but they were soon undeceived. Father *Jogues* had scarcely passed *Trois Rivières*, when he was abandoned by his four savage guides, and left alone with his young *Frenchman*, *La Land*. Any man but a mad enthusiast in such a situation would have turned back, but he travelled on, and the first *Iroquois* village he and his companion reached, they were seized, stripped, scourged, buffeted, and treated as prisoners of war. This sudden change was matter of amazement to the good father, who began (for he could speak their language) to expostulate very eloquently with them, but all to no purpose; all the favour they shewed him, was, that instead of burning him and his companion alive, their heads were cut off with a hatchet in their cabins.

Fury of
the Iro-
quois.

CHARLEVOIX, who himself writes like an enthusiast, on the madness of this missionary, by imputing his conduct to a supernatural impulse from heaven, is at great pains to attribute this sudden change of sentiments in the *Agniers* to ignorance and superstition, in believing that *Jogues* had concealed the devil in his trunk which he had left behind him, and that his enchantments were the causes of all the natural calamities they had suffered that year; but we are to observe, that the father received his crown of martyrdom only on the 16th of *October* 1646, so that those prepossessions must have come to a surprizing head in a short time. It is therefore more probable that the change was wrought by the scandalous conduct of the *French* themselves, and that the savages were not so stupid, as to be insensible that their design was to enslave them. Their love of native liberty, which the *French* undoubtedly had no right to take from them, soon got the better of all other considerations, and made them drop their mask of religion. Their hatred of christians carried them to an excess of fury, for they murdered or tormented them to death without regard to sex or age whenever they fell into their hands. Amongst others who fell martyrs to their rage, was the brave *Pieskaret*, whom one of the parties met alone, and not daring to attack him to his face, engaged in familiar conversation with him, and killed him from behind. The *Algonquin* women nobly resisted their enemies on this occasion, and fighting their way to the *French* were the first who ap-
prized

prized them of their danger. The reader may form some idea of the courage of those heroines from one example.

ONE of them being taken prisoner, was carried to an *Iroquois* village, where she was stripped naked, and her hands and feet bound with ropes, in one of their cabins. In this condition she remained ten days, the savages sleeping round her every night. The 11th night, perceiving they were all asleep, she disengaged one of her hands, and soon freeing herself from the ropes, went to the door, where she snatched up a hatchet, slew the savage that lay next her, and springing out of the cabin, concealed herself in a hollow tree, that she had observed the day before, just by the cabin. The noise the dying person made, soon alarmed the other savages, and all the young ones set out in pursuit of her. Perceiving from her tree, that all of them directed their course one way, and that no savage was near her, she left her sanctuary, and flying by an opposite direction, she ran into a forest without being perceived. The second day after this happened, her footsteps were perceived, and they pursued her with such expedition, that on the third day she discovered her pursuers at her heels; she instantly threw herself into a pond of water which was near her, and diving amongst some weeds and bulrushes, she could just breath above water without being perceived; so that her pursuers, after making a most diligent search for her, were forced to return. For five and thirty days this poor creature held on her course, through woods and desarts, without any other sustenance than roots and wild berries. When she came to the river *St. Laurence*, she made with her own hands, a kind of a wicker raft, on which she passed it. As she went by *Trois Rivières*, without well knowing where she was, she perceived a canoe full of savages, and fearing they might be *Iroquois*, she again ran into the woods, where she remained till sun-set; and soon after continuing her course, she saw *Trois Rivières*. She was then discovered by a party whom she knew to be *Hurons*, and when they approached her, she squatted down behind a bush, calling out to them, that she was not in a condition to be seen, because she was naked. They immediately threw her a blanket, and conducted her to the fort of *Trois Rivières*, where she recounted her story; the most remarkable circumstance of which, is, her innate desire of blood, which was so strong as to induce her to kill the savage, which occasioned all the danger that afterwards pursued her. We are told that many like instances of resolution and perseverance, in the *Algonquin* women, happened at the same time.

WHILE the *Iroquois* were thus shaking off the yoke of christianity, it was taken up by the *Abenaquais*, a nation lying between

Remark-
able escape
of a wo-
man.

New con-
version of
the sa-
vages.

between *Lake Champlain* and *New England*, and divided into various tribes who live on the banks of the river *Pentagoet* (B). About this time, viz. 1646, the colony of *New England* was very strong, and many dissenting ministers, who had been driven from their native country on account of religion, having settled there, some of them grew as zealous for the conversion of the *Indians* as the jesuits themselves were, and had made a very considerable progress in it. This alarmed the *French* at *Quebec*, and father *Gabriel Dreuillettes* was sent upon a mission amongst the *Abenaguais* for their conversion. *Charlevoix* pretends that this commission was solicited by the *Cannibas*, an *Abenaguais* nation who traded with *Quebec*. Be this as it will, it is certain that this jesuit, and some capuchin fathers, who had been before settled near the river *Pentagoet*, were very successful in their missions, and the *Abenaguais*, who are commended by the *French* writers for being as brave as any *Indian* nation, but much more tractable and docile, proved ever after very useful allies to the *French* colony of *Canada*. We are however to observe, that interest and conveniency might be two great motives for the conversion of those savages. Their countrymen who had been converted by the *English*, and who lay nearest to *New England*, beginning to thrive, and to live in much greater abundance than before, their lands being much better improved, and their persons better clothed; the *Abenaguais*, who lay nearest to *Canada*, being miserably poor and lazy, no doubt expected the like desirable change of circumstances from a like conversion by the *French*. Accordingly, profelytes poured in upon *Dreuillettes* and his fellow labourers, and the ministers of superstition and delusion, the jugglers themselves, became converts, and burnt the instruments of their detestable calling.

WHILE matters were in this situation in *Canada*, a resolution was taken in the *French* court, formed upon the disobedience of *Poinci*, governor of their *West India* islands, who refused to resign his command to the successor appointed him by his master, that no *French* governor in *America* should hold his commission above three years. *Montmagny* therefore received an order from his court to deliver up his commission to *D'Ailleboust*, who had for some time commanded at *Trois Rivières*, and he departed for *France* with a great character, both for his virtues and abilities. His successor is said to have been a worthy man, and to have been a zealot for the conversion of the *Indians*. Having great experience in the affairs of the colony, high expectations were formed of his

(B) *British Empire in America*, vol. i. pag. 90. *System of Geography*, vol. ii, pag. 668.

government, and it was owing to neglect and mismanagement at home, that they were not answered.

ABOUT the year 1648, the *Andastes*, a warlike tribe of *Indians*, offered their assistance to the *Hurons*, against the *Iroquois*, who still continued to be their implacable enemies; but the *Hurons* seem to have exchanged for christianity all their native courage and love of their country. Depending on the protection of the *French*, they civilly declined the offer of the *Andastes*, and giving way to their natural indolence, they made no provision for their defence, when the *Agniers* fell upon their village of *St. Ignatius*, and gave them a complete defeat. Instead of preparing to revenge their loss, the *Hurons*, finding their enemies did not follow their blow, relapsed into all their former supineness; and for some time the colony enjoyed a state of tranquillity, while the *French* followed the fur-trade about *Trois Rivières* and *Tadoussac*, with great success and profit. The *Iroquois* had foreseen the security of the *Hurons*, and watching their time, they secretly armed themselves, when they understood that the greatest number of the young *Hurons* were out a hunting, and all of a sudden they invested the populous village of *St. Joseph*. Father *Daniel*, an obstinate enthusiastic missionary, who attended this village, was then saying mass, and had but just time to strip himself of his ecclesiastical habit, and to lock up the holy utensils, when he saw himself surrounded with the *Iroquois*, who slaughtered all they found. The father intrepidly slept in the midst of the carnage, and dipping his handkerchief in water, he baptized by sprinkling, many who implored it in their last moments; and obstinately refusing to fly, he was himself the last victim of the fury of the *Iroquois*, who killed him with their arrows, and mangled his body in a barbarous manner.

NOTHING better than the practice of those shocking inhumanities could arise from the fanaticism of those jesuit missionaries. All they studied was, to instruct the poor natives in ceremony, superstition, and in mysteries which they could not comprehend. They continued rude as to all the arts of civil life, and ignorant in the principles of society, industry, and moral virtue; and tho' nominally christians, they were as real savages as ever. That this was the case, appears evidently from the difference between them and their brethren on the borders of *New England*. The latter were, by one Mr. *Elliot*, and some other dissenting ministers, instructed in the principles of true practicable christianity. They had submitted to the practice of industry, and subjected themselves to a set of plain moral laws, on certain penalties, in case of transgressing them. They bound themselves in like penalties, never to return to any of their former barbarous customs.

customs. They learned to dig, to hoe, to clean the ground, as well as the *English* themselves. The women, as well as the men, earned money, and served for wages. They built houses in the *European* manner, and many of them could even read the Bible, which was translated into their language, and printed for their use by their zealous teachers. All this was the reverse of the character of the *Canadian* converts. Their fathers, in teaching them to be humble and patient, rendered them indolent and cowardly, and their christianity taught them to suffer themselves to be butchered without resistance, nay even with pleasure, because they died in the bosom of christianity, for so those jesuit missionaries called their religion.

Proposal ABOUT this time, viz. in 1648, the people of *New Eng-*
from New land sent to the governor and council of *Canada*, a very senti-
 ble proposal, that there should be a perpetual peace between
 the two colonies, even tho' their mother countries were at war. *D'Ailleboust* and his council relished this proposal so well, that they appointed father *Dreuilletes* to go to *Boston*, and to finish the negotiation, provided the *English* would assist the *French* against the *Iroquois*. This was a most absurd and unreasonable condition, as the *Iroquois*, far from provoking the *English*, traded with them, and lay as a kind of a barrier between them and the *French Canadians*. It is no wonder therefore if we hear no more of this negotiation, till some time after, that it was renewed, when *Godefroide*, a member of the *French* council at *Quebec*, was made joint plenipotentiary with *Dreuilletes* in the negotiation; but all was to no effect. The *Iroquois* however had discontinued their massacres for six months, and the christian *Hurons* continued to live with their usual indolence, as if they had no enemy to guard against, when on the 16th of *March* 1649, before day, a body of 1000 *Iroquois* suddenly attacked the village of *St. Ignatius*. It was guarded by a strong pallisade, but had in it at that time no more than 400 persons, most of them

Massacre. asleep. The savages soon set fire to the pallisades, and breaking in, they massacred without resistance all the inhabitants excepting three, who fled and gave the alarm to the village of *St. Louis*, where all the women and children instantly fled to the woods, but fourscore of the men remained with a resolution to defend themselves to the last. The village was entrenched round, and the assailants were twice repulsed with loss. The reader is here to observe, that it appears from *Charlevoix*, who discommends their noble resolution, that those brave *Hurons* were all of them rank heathens, for the two missionaries who were amongst them, *Brebeuf* and *Lallement*, refused to make their escape with the women and children; that they might be present in the siege to baptize the wounded and the dying.

At the third assault a breach was made, and the *Iroquois*, who were furnished with fire arms, which had already destroyed the most forward of the besieged, breaking in, butchered, or which was worse, took prisoners all the *Hurons*. They then set fire to the village, and returned with their spoil and captives to *St. Ignatius*, where they had left their provisions, and a body of reserve in case of accidents. In the mean while, a great number of the warlike, that is, the heathen *Hurons* had assembled to revenge the murders and captivity of their countrymen; and two days passed in skirmishes, especially near *St. Mary's*, which was no more than a league from *St. Louis*.

St. Mary's was a populous village, and, besides being well fortified against an attack by savages, the inhabitants kept watch and ward for fear of surprises. Two hundred of the *Iroquois*, the main body of whom had now returned to *St. Louis*, approached *St. Mary's*, but fell into an ambuscade of the *Hurons*, who killed many of them, and forcing the rest to fly, pursued them as far as *St. Louis*, where the *Hurons*, who were but a handful, were surprised in their turn, and surrounded by their enemies. They defended themselves, however, very bravely; all of them were wounded, many were killed, some were made prisoners, but none of them escaped, and in them fell the flower of the *Huron* nation. The people at *St. Mary's* were overwhelmed with consternation and despair, at hearing of this defeat; but instead of preparing to defend themselves against the *Iroquois*, who were returning to attack them, they contented themselves with putting up prayers for their deliverance to *St. Joseph*, which *Charlevoix* thinks were so far regarded, that the *Iroquois* next day were seized with a panic, and returned home, where they put to death their two reverend captives, with circumstances of cruelty, not only too shocking to be related, but too incredible to be conceived, and therefore we shall not particularize them.

Hurons defeated.

THOSE scenes of butchery lay to the south-east of lake *Huron*. The inhabitants of *St. Mary's* now found themselves in a most lamentable situation. All their savage neighbours round them had fled to the woods, after setting fire to their huts, and being thus left alone they were in danger of starving, as they durst not go abroad for fear of being surprized by the *Iroquois*. The missionaries amongst them, upon this, formed a project for collecting together the remains of that nation, and transporting them to some place of safety, where they could not be disturbed by their enemies. For this purpose they proposed the isle of *Manitoualin*; a narrow spot about

*Misery of
the Hu-
rons.*

forty leagues in length, lying in the south part of lake *Huron*; but this proposal was rejected by the *Hurons*, because it was of too great a distance from their native country; and they pitched upon the little isle of *St. Joseph*, lying within sight of their ancient habitations. This island soon was peopled, and the inhabitants grew numerous, on account of the conveniency of fishing and hunting in the neighbourhood. The missionaries, instead of instructing them in the rational parts of Christianity, and the arts of industry, wasted their time in idle mystic devotions, and baptized, or in other words, rendered unfit for the service of themselves, or their country, 3000 in a short time. The summer passed over without any thing remarkable happening, but winter overtook them in a most lamentable situation. So fervid had been their devotion, that they had sowed little or nothing. Their fishery had turned out very ill, and all their game was soon destroyed; so that before autumn was over they began to feel the approaches of famine. As winter advanced, their miseries became insupportable; so that they even dug the earth for half famished bodies to devour; mothers eat up their children, and children their parents. This horrible famine was followed by a pestilence; and all those calamities were considered as the very harvest of the jesuits, for their savage converts encreased, and all of them went out of the world with great demonstrations of devotion, and kissing the hands of their holy fathers.

*Ravages
of the Iro-
quois.*

WHILE the inhabitants of the isle of *St. Joseph* were plunged in those miseries, news came to the *Huron* nation that three hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and seemed to meditate some blow against the *Tionnontatez Hurons*. This tribe was so populous, that one of their villages, that of *St. John*, contained upwards of six hundred families. The *Huron* chiefs, far from keeping upon their guard, took the field in quest of their enemies, who, giving them the slip, marched directly towards *St. John's*, where they killed or took prisoners all they met with; and put to death, but not with their usual circumstances of barbarity, *Garnier*, the father of that mission.

*The sa-
vages jea-
lous of the
jesuits.*

THE most sensible of the unconverted *Hurons*, in a village called *St. Matthew*, attributed the indolence and inactivity of their nations, to which they owed all their misfortunes to the jesuits; and endeavoured to bring some of the converts into their own opinion. They pretended that they had seen amongst the *Iroquois*, belts of wampum, that had been sent them by the *French* governor and council at *Quebec*, inviting them to exterminate the *Hurons*. It is no wonder, if those representations made an impression upon the minds,
even

even of the converted *Hurons*. *Charlevoix* pretends that on this occasion a settled design was formed to put to death all the missionaries who should fall into their hands. But this supposition seems only to be calculated for the sake of the following miracle. Two missionaries enter the village, and were not put to death, which might very well be; if, as probably was the case, they were under the protection of the nation. But the truth is, those missionaries had now got a vast ascendancy over the minds, even of the unconverted *Hurons*, not to mention the great interest they had in the nation, by the converts they had made. In the mean while, the miserable remains of the *St. Joseph* colony had left it, and many of them had perished in the lake, the ice breaking under them. Those who remained alive, who did not exceed three hundred, applied to father *Ragueneau*, their missionary, to shelter them from the *Iroquois*, by conducting them to *Quebec*, where, under the protection of their father *Onontio*, as they still called that governor, they might cultivate the lands that should be assigned them. The father, by the advice of his brethren, consented. They set out by the river of the *Ouataorais*, and, despair rendering them hardy, they marched on without being attacked by their enemies. On the road they met father *Bressani*, attended with a good escort, returning to his old mission, without knowing that it was entirely destroyed, and, after narrowly escaping being assassinated by a small party of the *Iroquois*. The father and his attendants, hearing of the fate of the Christian *Hurons*, thought they could not do better than return with *Ragueneau*; and they arrived, after touching at *Montreal*, at *Quebec*, where they were received very humanely by *D'Ailleboust*: but indeed the colony was still so miserably poor, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could subsist in that capital of *Canada*.

SUCH of the *Hurons* as could not be persuaded to leave their native country, experienced great variety of misery. Some of them fled for shelter to other nations, who thereby drew upon them the arms of the *Iroquois*; some of them settled under the protection of the *English*, on the borders of *Pennsylvania*. The *Iroquois* wanted to decoy others of them into an ambuscade; but the *Hurons* trapped them in their own cunning, defeated and killed a great number of them. After which they retired to the isle of *Manitoualin*; from whence they moved and joined their countrymen at *Quebec*. Almost all the inhabitants of the villages which remained still undefeated, followed a different course, and tho' seemingly desperate, perhaps the most rational; for they submitted to the *Iroquois*, and were taken into their friendship and

alliance; while parties were sent out, who destroyed all the dispersed *Hurons* who had not yet reached any place of shelter. Thus, upon the whole, the propagation of a fanatical religion, which its teachers impiously call Christianity, desolated a most populous country, and the finest in all *North America*; for all about the river *Outaouais*, with the antient country of the *Hurons*, lay now desert.

*Distress of
Quebec.*

THE encrease of mouths at *Quebec* laid the *French* colonists there under inconceivable difficulties to subsist them; and the superior general of the missions went over full fraught with zeal to *France*, to remonstrate to the government there, the shame and scandal that must result to Christianity, if so many converts, who had been brought into the pale of the church, should remain destitute, and unprovided for. All he could say had no effect, and, in a short time, the *French* themselves became as contemptible as the *Hurons* had been, in the eyes of the *Iroquois*. The *Hurons*, who had taken refuge under the cannon of *Quebec*, having now wherewithal to subsist on, entirely forgot their former miseries, and passed from despondency to presumption. They associated themselves with their countrymen at *Sylleri*, with the *Algonquins* of *Trois Rivières*, and the gleanings of their countrymen, who had escaped the hatchets of the *Iroquois*, and madly formed amongst themselves a croisade to exterminate the *Iroquois*, those professed enemies to the gospel. Setting out upon this ill concerted expedition, they dispatched a *Huron*, and an *Algonquin*, to reconnoitre a village of the *Agniers*, which they were to attack. The *Huron* fell into the hands of the *Agniers*, and he betrayed the croisaders, by bringing them to the place where the *Hurons* were lying all of them fast asleep. They were awaked by a discharge of musketry, which killed or disabled their best warriors, for the *Agniers* had time to take their aim. Some of the croisaders, however, fought their way into a neighbouring wood, where they saved themselves; but all the rest were either killed or burnt alive, excepting two, who escaped to *Quebec* with the melancholy news.

*Hurons
defeated.*

So terrible a defeat was received by their parents and friends with the utmost dejection, and *Charlevoix* gives us some more of his miracles on that head; but a short time manifested the truest spirit of these boasted conversions. The *French* at *Tadoussac* found it for their interest to indulge the *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, who repaired thither, with the use of brandy, which kept them in a perpetual state of intoxication, and their passion for strong liquors grew every day so violent, and intractable, that no authority, either civil or ecclesiastic, could

could put a stop to it. Not only the converts at *Quebec*, but all the mountaineer savages in the neighbourhood of *Tadoussac*, were infected with the same vice, and, at last, their elders, who remained at *Quebec*, applied to *D'Ailleboust* to build a house of correction for their offences. That governor was now recalled, and *Monf. de Lauson*, one of the chief directors of the *Quebec* company, was nominated to succeed him; but he did not arrive at his government till next year. He had great experience in the affairs of the colony, and had negotiated the restitution of *Quebec* by the *English*; but was amazed to find the colony in so miserable a state upon his arrival. The *Iroquois* marched up to the very mouth of the *French* cannon without fear, and insulted them on all hands. *Bochart*, a man of capacity and virtue, was then the *French* governor at *Trois Rivières*, and had prevented the vice of drunkenness from infecting that settlement, which, under him, was in very good order. Perceiving that the *Iroquois* extended their insults to his government, he somewhat unadvisedly marched out in person against them, and was killed. His death increased the insolence of the *Iroquois*; and the new governor of *Quebec* found himself obliged to enclose *Sillery* with a wall. The insatiable thirst of the *Iroquois* for blood was not confined to the *Hurons*, but extended itself indiscriminately to the most distant Christian savages, whose countries were filled blood and massacres by the *Iroquois*. The *Abenaguais* were the only Christian nation they did not attack; but they were probably restrained by the respect they bore for the *English*. Father *Dreuilletes*, who seems to have had the same zeal, but a much greater capacity, than his brother missionaries, had been long employed with great success in converting the *Abenaguais*, and having entirely won their affection, he formed them into a barrier against the *English*, who did not foresee that that nation one day would prove the sharpest thorn in their sides, and who, at the time we now treat of, even gave them their protection. It was about this time that father *Buteux*, in travelling to convert *Indians* in undiscovered regions of the north, was murdered by the *Iroquois*. At last, the perseverance and zeal of those good fathers began to abate, and many of them pretending, that by the destruction of the *Hurons* they had now no farther objects for their labours, returned to *Europe*; amongst whom was father *Bressani*, who after this became a very popular and admired preacher in *Italy*.

THE settlement at *Montreal*, which was not immediately under the *French* king, partook of those general calamities. *Maisonneuve*, who still continued to govern there, found him-

*Affairs of
Montreal.*

self obliged to go to *Old France* for fresh recruits; and in 1653, he returned with one hundred men, and a female house-keeper, called *Margaret Bourgeois*, who afterwards instituted the order of the daughters of the congregation. While *Maisonneuve* was employed in guarding *Montreal* from surprizes, about sixty of a savage tribe, called *Onnentaguese*, presented themselves at the gate of the fort, and demanded a parley, upon which some of them were admitted into the place, and declared that their nation were disposed to treat of a peace. They accompanied their speech with presents, and fresh assurances of their sincerity. Upon this, they were suffered to return to their chiefs with the terms offered by the governor, and in their way they engaged the tribes of *Onnemyouth* and *Goyogouin* to join them in the negotiation. The head of the latter not only named his deputies to go to *Montreal*, but sent along with him a belt of wampum, as a token, that five hundred *Iroquois* were on their march to attack *Trois Rivières*. *Maisonneuve* acquainted *Lauson* with his danger. The latter immediately assembled all the *Hurons* he could get together, and attacked a body of the *Agniers*, whom he defeated, making their chief, and many of their leaders, prisoners. Another party of the *Iroquois* marched up to the very gates of *Quebec*, where they made some prisoners, amongst whom was father *Poncet*, who was the darling of the province, whom they carried into captivity. Forty *French*, and a number of savages instantly entered into an association to deliver their missionary, and, setting out from *Quebec*, they discovered the names of *Poncet*, and his fellow prisoners, engraved on the trunk of a tree, with the following note underneath, "six *Hurons* now naturalized *Iroquois*, and four *Agniers* have carried us off, but as yet done us no harm." They soon had reason to alter their tone; for when they came to the *Agnier* village, where an assembly was held to deliberate on the fate of the prisoners, a woman came up to the party, and presented them with a string of wampum, that she might be permitted to cut off one of the missionaries fingers. This favour was granted her; and, to the great joy of the missionary, who it seems used to perform the sacred ceremonies with the right hand, the fore finger of the left hand was cut off. Next day he was abandoned to the barbarous treatment of the children of the several villages through which he was to be carried; and, at last, another council assembled, who pronounced sentence, that the *Frenchman*, his companion, should be burnt alive, which was executed immediately; and that the father should be put into the hands of a matron who had lost a near relation in the war, and who gave the missionary his

his life. Three days after, an *Iroquois* came express from *Trais Rivieres* with an account that peace was upon the point of being concluded, and that *Ononchio* had obliged the *Iroquois* to give him hostages, whose lives were to be answerable for that of father *Poncet*.

THIS news entirely altered the father's situation. They carried him to *Orange*, the nearest *Dutch* settlement, where he was new cloathed, his own cloaths being torn to pieces. Upon his return, he was conducted from one canton to another, with all demonstrations of the most sincere friendship; and, on the 15th of *October*, he set out for *Quebec*, attended by an *Agnier* deputy, who was charged with presents for *Ononchio*, and the superior of the mission. After travelling two days they were met by an express from *Quebec*, informing the deputy, that the *Iroquois* hostages had been put in irons; that some of them had lost their heads, and that he ought to take care how he proceeded. It happened luckily for *Poncet*, that the deputy had a more than ordinary regard for him, and the father promising him an indemnification on the part of the *French*, they pursued their journey: but after many alarms of the same kind, it appeared, that there was no kind of foundation for the report, which had been raised by the father's enemies. At last he arrived, on the 5th of *November*, at *Quebec*, where he was received as a guardian angel. By this time the peace had been concluded, and a reciprocal confidence seemed to have been settled on both sides. Next year father *Le Moyne* was sent to *Onnotagué*, to ratify the treaty on the part of *Ononchio*, and was so well satisfied with the cordial reception he had from the savages, that he offered to take up his residence with them, which was readily accepted; an apartment was assigned him, and he accordingly took possession of it. He then set out for *Quebec*, loaded with presents from all the *Iroquois* chiefs. While *Danger of Moneye* was amongst the *Iroquese* he had the pleasure of seeing *Monoye*. a great number of *Huron* Christians, who professed their religion amidst all the insults and cruelties of the infidel barbarians. He had, however, before he reached *Quebec*, a proof of the little dependance that is to be had upon the faith of those savages. Being in a canoe with two *Onnontague*, and followed by other canoes, in which were *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, when they came near to *Montréal* they were surrounded by canoes filled with *Agniers*, who poured into his canoes a fire of musquetry, which killed all the *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, and one of his *Onnontague*; and the enemy then took and bound the father himself, as if he had been a prisoner of war. They at the same time told the

surviving *Ononsague*, that he was at liberty to return home. But the savage declared, that he never would abandon the missionary, and threatened the *Agniers* with the resentment of the upper *Iroquois*; so that the barbarians, perceiving him to be resolute and inflexible in his purpose, unbound the father, and replaced him under the care of his faithful guide, who conducted him to *Montreal*. It was afterwards found, that this action was disavowed by the *Agnier* canton, and that it was owing to the treachery of a *Dutchman's* son, begot upon an *Agnier* woman, and brought up in his mother's cabin, and who always was called the bastard *Fleming*. The father was so intent upon establishing a church amongst the *Iroquois*, that he never complained of this usage, either to the *French* or the savages, nor did it in the least discompose the observance of the lately concluded treaty.

State of the
Iroquois
cantons.

IT has been already hinted, that, of all the *Iroquois* nations, the *Agniers* were the most irreconcilable to the *French* and their *Indian* allies, and they had motives of interest, that stimulated their natural fierceness. They had, during the time of the war, carried on a constant trade with the *Dutch* at *Orange*, who supplied them with fire arms and *European* goods. This had long given great umbrage to the upper cantons, who lay at a vast distance from the *Dutch* settlement, nor could they trade with it unless they came through the *Agniers* country, and this gave the latter a kind of superiority over the other cantons; besides their being always sure of support from their *Dutch* allies. But by the peace they lost all those advantages; for the upper cantons now opened a trade with the *French* as gainful, at least, as that of the *Agniers* with the *Dutch*. The *Agniers* had foreseen this, which had made them so averse to peace, nor could they ever be brought, as the upper cantons, to agree, that the allies of the *French* should be comprehended in the treaty, so that they were harrassed by the *Agniers*, almost, as much as ever. In short, the *Agniers* perceiving, that their own importance was every day diminishing, secretly resolved to break the peace, which obliged them never to appear armed in the *French* colony, and not to interrupt the missionaries in their functions. In a short time a missionary was found murdered and scalped near *Sylleri*, and it was plain, that the barbarians had resolved upon a rupture.

Gallant
action of
an Algon-
quin wo-
man.

AT this time an *Algonquin* woman, a Christian, performed an action so brave, that it might claim a place in the history of the greatest people. As she, her husband, and their young children were in the fields, they were surrounded by a party of five *Agniers*, who seized and bound the husband, but not
the

the wife, nor the children, who were so young that they could not escape, and the savages knew the mother would not leave them. She watched her time, and finding an opportunity, snatched up a hatchet with which she clef the skull of one of the barbarians, and then of another, who ran up to assist him, while the other three were so much struck with her courage and resolution, that they betook themselves to flight; upon which the woman untied her husband, and they returned with their children in triumph to their village. Those, and many other acts of treachery, at last obliged the *French* to take the field, which they did, the rather because they knew the *Agniers* could not, at that time, be supported by the upper *Iroquois*, and this had so good an effect, that those barbarians apologized for their conduct, and not only offered to enter into the treaty without any restriction, but earnestly petitioned to have a missionary sent to instruct them; and father *Le Moync* as earnestly petitioned to be employed in that mission, which was accordingly granted him. He was a well meaning simple enthusiast, and utterly void of all talents for converting a people at once so fierce and so subtil as the *Agniers* were. His zeal and perseverance would not suffer him to see the dangers he every day run, particularly once from a savage, who pretended to be a demoniac, and run up and down with a hatchet in his hand to kill him, but was prevented by some less furious of the canton.

THE *Onnontagues*, in the year 1655, sent deputies to *Quebec*, who were attended by a large number of their nation, to beg, that missionaries should be sent them. The first deputy's wife accompanied him, and took a liking to the *French*, and to the forms of the Christian worship, particularly to the two religious communities of young women. The fathers *Chaumonot* and *Dablon* were assigned to this mission, the former the oldest missionary in all *Canada*, and the other just arrived from *New France*. The deputy's wife, and six or seven other *Iroquois* had a great deal of discourse with *Chaumonot* about Christianity, with which they were so well satisfied, that upon their arrival at their own country they were immediately baptized. The reception of the missionaries there, Nov. 5. had every appearance of respect and cordiality. They presented the elders of the nation with the presents sent them by *Lauson*, which were received with great deference, and a cabin, with a spot of ground, was assigned in the principal village of the nation for their habitation. A general assembly of the canton was then called, at the request of the missionaries, and father *Chaumonot* held forth there so powerfully that he made many real profelytes. A young

Conversion
amongst
the On-
nontagues

young female *Onnontagus*, who, it seems, was the beauty of the canton, and, who was courted by two lovers, discarded them both, because they were not Christians; and soon after, one of the head warriors, who was desperately in love with her, attempting to violate her chastity, she had the courage to resist him, and to secure herself from his persecutions, an instance of virtue so uncommon amongst those savages, that it is ranked by their jesuits amongst their miracles; and indeed it is one of the most miraculous amongst the many they recount. But notwithstanding the great harvest of proselytes amongst the *Onnontagues*, the missionaries met with many rubs. Of all the enemies that order of men encountered amongst the savages, none were so irreconcilable to Christianity as the unconverted *Hurons*, for this plain reason, that their nation had been almost exterminated, since they admitted Christianity into it. Some of them, at this time, resided amongst the *Onnontagues*, and they were extremely assiduous to attribute to Christianity all the losses and diseases that happened to the converts. The missionaries, however, got the better of all their arts, and several of the heads of their nation became their proselytes, and thereby, perhaps, the fathers saved the *French* colony in *Canada* from destruction.

*The Eries
destroyed.*

THE reader may conceive some idea of the extreme inhumanity with which war is carried on amongst those barbarians, when he is informed, that, about this time, the *Iroquois* so effectually exterminated a great nation, the *Eries*, or *Cat* nation, that no traces of them now remain, nor could it be known they ever had existed, were it not for the great lake, on the borders of which they were situated, and, which, for that reason, still bears their name. The *Iroquois*, at the beginning of that war, were worsted; but they pursued it with such unrelenting fury as to effect the catastrophe we have mentioned. The *Eries* lay to the west of the *Iroquois*, and their country is now amongst the least known of any in *North America*. The *French* were under great apprehensions, that this success of the *Iroquois* might encourage them to renew the war, which indeed might have been the case, had not the canton of the *Onnontagues* been so well disposed to Christianity, that they refused to enter into the quarrel. They went farther, for they sent father *Dablon*, with a commission from their chiefs, to *Quebec*, to persuade *M. Lauson* to send a number of *French* to settle amongst them. *Dablon*, attended by a numerous retinue of the natives, arrived at *Quebec*; and notwithstanding all that an ancient *Huron*, who had lived long in the *Onnontague* country, could do to dissuade him, *Lauson* resolved to grant the request. Fifty *Frenchmen*,
with

with the *Sieur Dupuis*, to command them, were chosen for the new settlement. Three missionaries were assigned them, and though the harvest had been but indifferent, *Dupuis* was furnished with provisions to supply his colony for a year, and to sow all the ground that should be assigned them.

THIS project, so new and so daring, amazed the other *Iroquois* cantons; and the *Agniers*, in a general assembly, resolved to leave nothing undone to defeat it. They instantly raised four hundred men, whom they sent out to attack the party under *Dupuis* on their march; but, missing their blow, they fell upon some stray canoes, which they pillaged, pretending that they did not know they belonged to the *French*, but that they were *Hurons* or *Algonquins*. The flower of the christian *Hurons* were at this time settled, to the number of six hundred, in the *Isle of Orleans*, where they had begun to cultivate the grounds; another miracle the jesuits bring in proof of their religion. But, notwithstanding their christianity, they were as presumptuous as ever, and so careless, that the *Iroquois* found means in one day to carry off fifty of them to their own country, where they were put to death with the most horrible tortures, without being pursued by *Lauson*, though the barbarians on their way homewards insulted him under his own cannon. The truth is, *Lauson*, though he was much blamed for his inactivity on this occasion, was not in a condition to rescue the *Hurons*, and was obliged to put up with the insult.

AFTER the *Iroquois* had subdued the *Hurons*, they fell upon the *Outaouais*; but the latter prudently left their own country, and dispersed themselves through various parts of the continent, the bulk of them settling on the borders of the river which still bears their name. After the entire destruction of the *Huron* habitations, they were joined by the *Tionnontatez Hurons*, and they moved southwards, till they came to the river *Mississipp*, where, at first, some of them made an alliance with the *Sioux*; but, breaking with them, they were reduced to the greatest misery, and obliged to divide themselves into little parties, wandering wherever they could find subsistence through the vast tracts lying to the eastward of the *Mississipp*. Two *Frenchmen* came up with about twenty of them, whom they conducted from the banks of lake *Michigan*, as they had some furs with them, to *Quebec*; where they were favourably received on account of their civilities to their two *French* conductors. *Lauson* hearing that a settlement of those *Outaouais* had been made on the borders of lake *Michigan*, and seeing their furs to be of an excellent kind, immediately thought of sending some *French* to settle among them.

French
settlement.

them. Thirty young *French* offered themselves volunteers for that service, nor was there wanting plenty of missionaries, as usual, to attend the *Outaouais* on their return. The adventurers set out from *Quebec*, about the 12th of *August*, 1656; but as they drew near *Trois Rivières*, they met with an advice-canoe sent to inform them that a party of the *Agniers* was in the neighbourhood. Being thus put upon their guard, they escaped the ambuscade the *barbarians* had planted for them, and arrived safe at *Trois Rivières*. The *French* adventurers landing there began seriously to reflect upon the dangers they were about to encounter, especially as they saw their savage friends but ill provided for an engagement. All of them, therefore, but three, who would not abandon their ghostly fathers, refused to proceed. The *Outaouais*, however, having provided themselves with five arms, with which they had been before entirely unacquainted, diverted themselves with firing them off, which, when they were re-embarked, instructed the *Agniers*, who watched them, in the route they had taken; and they had sufficient leisure to prepare a fresh ambuscade. They were then above the island of *Montreal*, and the *Agniers*, having chosen a proper station, poured into the six first canoes, which were filled with *Hurons*, all but father *Garreau* one of the missionaries, a full discharge of their fire-arms, which killed many of them; and then, the canoes being attacked hatchet in hand, all who did not fall by the first discharge were killed or made prisoners. The *Outaouais* who were not engaged, though they made all the haste they could, came too late to prevent the mischief, which they seemed resolved to revenge; but, after a brisk skirmish, they intrenched themselves, and next day they departed with all imaginable secrecy, leaving behind them the two jesuits, one of whom (*Garreau*) was mortally wounded, and the three *Frenchmen*. It was plain from this attack, that the *Agniers* wanted to break the friendship then subsisting between the *French*, and the *Upper Iroquois*. The former had conceived great hopes from the projected settlement at *Onnontague*; and, in the mean while, *M. Dupuy*, in revenge of what had happened to the *Outaouais*, fell upon the canoes of the *Agniers*, and pillaged them.

Hardships
of the
French.

THE *French* underwent great hardships in their march to *Onnontague*, being disappointed in their scheme of supporting themselves by hunting and fishing, and they must have perished for want of the mere necessities of life, had not the elders of the *Onnontague* sent them provisions on the road in canoes. They were at the same time informed, that a vast number of the *Iroquois*, and other savages were assembled on the

the borders of the lake *Gummentahd*, to receive them ; upon which M. *Dupuy* prepared to enter the country with great parade, and in such a manner as might strike the barbarians with respect. For this purpose, he landed five small pieces of cannon, which were fired ; and, at the same time, he ordered his musquetry to make a general discharge. This had an excellent effect. The *French* were received with all the marks of honour, and even devotion, that the savages could express. • *Te Deum* was sung, the mass was celebrated, and the sacrament administered in the most solemn manner ; the whole nation of the *Onnontague* seeming prepared immediately to embrace christianity. Their most remote cantons demanded missionaries for their instruction, and they were obliged to enlarge their chapel to receive their converts. To give the utmost proof of their friendship, when the heats of the country introduced distempers amongst the *French*, the savages cured them by medicines peculiar to themselves. Those friendly appearances imposed on the greatest part of the *French*, while the most sensible amongst them advised their countrymen to be upon their guard, and to build a fort which might bridle the natives. This advice, however, could not be complied with, because of the poverty of *New France* ; but the necessity of it became every day more and more apparent.

THE *Hurons* of the isle of *Orleans*, thinking they were treated not safe there, had removed to *Quebec*, and, in resentment amongst the *French* having, as they thought, abandoned them to savages ; their enemies, they had secretly sent a message to propose to the *Agniers* an union, and to become one people. The *Agniers* willingly embraced the proposal ; but the *Hurons* retracting it, the *Agniers* resolved to carry fire and sword, as they did, into their country. A great number of the straggling *Hurons* were accordingly put to death ; and, at last, when the *Agniers* thought they had been sufficiently humbled, they sent a deputation of thirty of their chiefs to *Quebec* to conduct the *Hurons* to their country. This deputation behaved with intolerable haughtiness. The chief of the deputation demanded an audience in a full assembly, which *Lauson* was weak enough to grant them ; and there he addressed himself to the *Hurons*, in the following strain of savage eloquence. “ My brother, said he, for some time past you have been stretching forth your arms, imploring me to conduct thee to my country ; but as often as I prepared to do it, you retired from me, for which reason, in order to punish your inconstancy, I struck you with my hatchet. Let me beg you not to give me occasion to treat you any more in that

their
speeches.

that manner, but rise and follow me." The savage then presented to the assembly two strings of wampum, the one, as he said, to enable the *Hurons* to arise, the other as an assurance that the *Agniers* were resolved to live thenceforth with them as brothers. The chief then turned towards *Lauson*, whom he addressed in the following manner. "*Onnonthio*, unfold thy arms, and suffer the children, whom thou art hugging in thy bosom to go along with me; for if they should commit any folly, it is to be feared that while I am chastising them, my blows may fall upon thee. Take this belt, (presenting him with one) that it may extend thy arms. I know that the *Huron* loves prayer, that he acknowledges and adores the author of all things; and that he has recourse to him in all his necessities. I am inclined to do the same. Let *Onnesson*, (meaning father *le Moyne*) who left me I know not for what, remain with the *Huron* to instruct me; and as I have not a number of canoes sufficient to carry with me so many people, pray do me the favour to lend me some of yours." He then presented *Lauson* with two other belts, and left the assembly, which was greatly divided upon the proposition of the deputies.

THE *Hurons* in general were greatly dismayed at seeing the tameness with which the *French* governor bore the haughty behaviour of the *Iroquois*. Some of them were for joining the *Onnontagués*, to whom they had already made proposals for that purpose; others were for remaining in the protection of the *French*; but the tribe of the *Bear* remained firm to their engagements with the *Agniers*. Those points being settled, the council was re-assembled, and the *Agnier* deputies called in, *Lauson* himself having the meanness to continue present all the while, though nothing could be more impolitic as well as cowardly, because it sunk the *French* in the esteem of all the savages. Father *le Moyne* served as interpreter on this occasion, and addressing himself to the *Agnier* deputation, "*Onnonthio*, said he, loves the *Hurons*; they are his children, but he does not hold them in pupillage; they are of age to chuse for themselves, he opens his arms, and he gives them liberty to go where they please: for my part, I will follow them wherever they go. If they repair *Agnier*, to thy country, I will instruct thee likewise in what manner the Author of all things is to be prayed to and adored; but I cannot flatter myself that thou wilt hear me; I know thee and thy indocility; but I will comfort myself with the *Hurons*. As to the canoes you demand, if you want any, you must make them. Thou seest we have not enough for ourselves."

THE

THE chief of the *Bear* tribe then addressed himself to the deputies in the following manner. "My brother, I am yours, I throw myself with my eyes shut into your canoes. I am resolved on every thing, even to die; but I intend that I and my family shall go first. I will suffer no others to embark with me; if afterwards the rest of my nation shall join us, it is well: but I shall be glad to see, beforehand, how you treat me." He then presented the deputation with three belts to prevail with them to treat him and his family well. After this, the deputies set about making canoes, on board of which they embarked with the *Bear* tribe, and father *le Moynes*. Some days after their departure, deputies came from *Onnontague* on the same errand; but were incensed when they heard that the *Bear* tribe had gone off with the *Agniers*, and began to use threats against the *Hurons*, who made the best apology they could, but to very little purpose. *Lauson* was then obliged to interpose, and to tell the deputies that they were wanting in the respect they owed to their father; that the *Hurons* in general were ready to follow them; but that their wives and children were terrified at their threats and warlike appearance, which were very improper while they were applying to them as friends and brothers; that if they would return to their country, and act regularly, the *Hurons* would wait for them at *Montreal*, and give hostages for the performance of all they had promised them. This speech, with good entertainment in eating and drinking for some days, pacified the deputies, and they returned home, seemingly well satisfied.

THE deputation of the *Onnontague* was, however, detrimental to the interests of the *French* in *Canada*, because it exposed their weakness, and their inability to protect their friendly *Indians* against their enemies. The missionaries, who were best acquainted with those barbarians, soon perceived an alteration in their behaviour; but such was their zeal, that they comforted themselves with the great progress they made in converting the distant savages at *Montreal*. The *Onnontague* came, as had been stipulated at *Quebec* the year before, to carry with them the *Hurons*, who were accompanied by two jesuits, and some *Frenchman*. On the day of embarkation, the latter were surprized when the *Onnontague* flatly refused to suffer any but the *Hurons* to attend the "They, however, at last agreed to some of the *French* embarking; but were so obstinate against the jesuits, who would by no means abandon their *Huron* disciples, that they were obliged to embark on board a canoe without any provision, but a small bag of meal. This specimen of the behaviour of the *Onnontague* created

Perfidy
of the
Savages.

created many melancholy apprehensions amongst the *Hurons*, which were soon verified. A *Huron* woman had her brains beat out by an *Onnontague* chief, who wanted to be rude with her; and, as if that murder had been a signal for others, in a moment after a great number of the most considerable *Hurons* were massacred, and the survivors treated as slaves, some of them being even burnt alive. The two missionaries and the four *French*, who attended the *Hurons*, expected every moment the same fate: but, for what reason does not appear, they were saved, and arrived with the convoy at *Onnontague*.

Conspiracy
against the
French.

HERE they understood from *Dupuy*s and the *French* colony, that a resolution had been taken by the savages to cut off all the *French* in their country. This barbarous resolution took rise from the following occasion. A body of *Onne-youths* had murdered three *Frenchmen* near *Montreal*; and *D'Ailleboût* the *French* governor at *Quebec*, in the room of *Lawson*, who was recalled to *France*, seized and imprisoned all the *Iroquois* whom he could find in his colony, till he should receive satisfaction for the death of the *Frenchman*. This exasperated the savage tribes; but instead of proceeding immediately to violences, they coolly resolved on the following scheme of murder. Father *le Moyne* was to be sent, attended, by a numerous convoy, to protect him, as they pretended against the insults of the young savages, to treat of the ransom of the *Iroquois*. At the same time, numerous bodies of other savages were to disperse themselves through the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, who, as soon as they heard of the deliverance of their countrymen, were to fall upon the *French*, and murder them wherever they could be found, and the colony under *Dupuy*s was to undergo the same fate. Those savages are inconstant in their resolutions, and impatient till they come to action, when their motive is revenge: so that without waiting for *le Moyne*, great bodies of the *Agniers*, *Onne-youths*, and *Onnontague*, took the field with all their warlike equipages. This alarmed the suspicions of *Dupuy*s; and being informed by a christian convert of the truth, he sent a courier to *M. D'Ailleboût* to warn him of his danger. As to himself and his people, he could think of no expedient for safety but to fly; and he immediately set them to work to make boats in an out lying barn of the jesuits, that they might not be discovered by the savages.

Their
wonderful
escape.

ALL his precautions, however, had probably been in vain, had not a young *Frenchman*, the adopted son of one of the savages, and therefore as dear to him as his own, persuaded his father of adoption, that he dreamed of one of those feasts,

at

at which the guests are obliged to eat all that is served up; that one of those feasts must be made, and that he would die if the smallest morsel was left. The affectionate father granted the son's request, and invited all the tribe to the feast, which was fixed to the 14th of *March*; the day on which the *French* were to attempt their escape. Every thing succeeded as the latter could wish: the guests feasted under the sound of all the drums and trumpets of the village, till all of them fell fast asleep; and the *Frenchman*, watching his opportunity, slipped out and joined his companions, who, favoured by the noise, had by this time got off in their boats. Such, in the main, is the account that *Charlevoix** gives us of this escape, which, if true, was wonderfully providential. But the good father, perhaps, in some particulars was imposed on, however the account may be true upon the whole. The savages were surprized to the last degree when next day they found the *French* were gone; but we are told by the same father, that though the *French* went off in their boats, the savages could not follow them in their canoes, because of the ice in the river. As to *M. Dupuys*, after encountering vast difficulties and fatigues, he arrived in fifteen days at *Montreal*.

THE reader, from the success of this *Onnontague* colony may form to himself some idea of the blind zeal of the missionaries, and the credulity of the *French*, as well as the profound dissimulation of the savages, who seem fairly to have outwitted the *Europeans*, in every thing, but the next to miraculous escape of the latter. It is probable, however, from what has fallen from *Charlevoix*, that the savages had been impelled to the bloody resolution they formed, by discovering that *Dupuys* and his followers intended to enslave them, and that their settlement had been made for no other purpose. When *Dupuys* arrived at *Montreal*, he found consternation and confusion spread through all the colony. Parties of the *Iroquois* covered the country, and, without declaring themselves enemies, obliged the *French* to keep within their walls. Towards the end of *May*, father *le Moyne*, who had been preaching among the *Agniers*, was by them safely conducted, according to their promise, to *Montreal*; a proof of the regard those savages have for the laws of hospitality, and they afterwards joined the other *Iroquois*; upon which, those savages immediately broke out into open hostilities, and murdered the *Algonquins*, even under the cannon of the fort of *Quebec*.

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 86.

Situation of
Canada.

SUCH was the melancholy situation of *French Canada*, when the viscount *d'Ayreson*, who had been appointed governor-general of *New France*, arrived at *Quebec* to take possession of his government. His first exercise of power there was to detach about two hundred men, *French* and natives, against the *Iroquois*, but they could not come up with them. The savages marched next to surprise the settlement of *Trois Rivières*: they proposed to do this by amusing *de la Potherie*, the *French* commandant there, with a sham conference, and dispatched eight of their countrymen to *Trois Rivières* for that purpose. *Potherie* was aware of their intention. He instantly seized on the eight savages, one of whom he detained in his own prison, and sent the other seven to the governor-general, by whose orders they were put to death; and this reasonable severity for some time restored tranquility to the province.

in 1659.

A bishop
sent to Ca-
nada.

THE court of *France* seems, at this time, to have entertained very false notions of the state, as well as of the interests, of *Canada*, which, in 1659, was dignified with the presence of a bishop, who was to reside there, *Francis Laval*, who had been before abbot of *Montigny*. The choice of this prelate was directed by the jesuits; for when the queen mother urged that one of the ancient missionaries should be appointed bishop of *Canada*, they pretended that it was against their institutions for any of them to accept of that dignity, and recommended to it the abbot of *Montigny*. The first thing this new prelate did, was to demand the famous father *Ferme Lallemand*, who then presided in the college of *La Flèche*, from the general of the jesuits to attend him to *Canada*; and his request was accordingly complied with. This prelate, however, introduced a total alteration into the ecclesiastical discipline and government of *Canada*, where no priests but jesuits had hitherto found access, for he first carried over with him monks of other orders, who were instituted to benefices, but *Montreal* and its dependencies remained under the direction of the fathers of the seminary of *St. Sulpice*. In 1662, (that we may keep the ecclesiastical narrative as distinct as possible from the civil) a seminary was established at *Quebec*, in favour of the seminary of foreign missions, and the tithes were ordered to be paid to the directors of the new seminary; but with an exception of all new-cleared lands for the first five years. Other ecclesiastical regulations, which are not much to our purpose, we shall omit, as well as many disputes that happened between the civil and ecclesiastical power concerning the regulation of the tithes. But we cannot omit to mention the hospital, which was founded at *Montreal* by

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contributions amongst some zealous souls in France. The seminary of St. Sulpice had, by this time, obtained the entire property of the site of *Montreal*, where *Maisonneuve*, the governor, had begun to lay the foundations of a city, which was afterwards built. This undertaking was distinguished by an institution, which was called that of the Daughters of the Congregation, and it owed its rise to a female devotee, one *Margaret Bourgeois*. It consisted of a number of maidens, who undertook the education of poor female orphans; but those daughters never could be brought to become nuns, a profession which they said was absolutely inconsistent with their institution. This conduct was much more successful, as well as rational, than that of the ursulin nuns at *Quebec*, who undertook the like employment there; but it was soon found that their pupils, by being educated within the walls of a cloister, were unfit for society, and in danger of perishing for want, when turned out into the world.

IN the mean while, the new bishop, who went by the title *Arrival of* of bishop of *Petrea*, and had obtained from the pope a brief *a bishop* for being apostolical vicar of *New France*, was amused with daily accounts of discoveries of nations to the north and west of lake *Huron*; and, in concert with father *Lallemant*, who had been again named superior-general of the missions, he prepared for their conversion. In this, according to *Charlevoix*, who drew his information from his brethren the jesuits, they had so great success that they not only converted all the numerous nations of the *Abenaguese*, but many of the *Esquimaux*, who, as we have already observed, were of all *Indians* the fiercest and most intractable, differing but little from their wolves and bears. But there is great reason to believe, from some ridiculous circumstances attending the relation of those conversions, that they were no other than compliances on the part of the savages, to which they were induced by interest, but oftener by curiosity, that they might experience the wonderful effects, which they were told their being sprinkled with water, or swallowing a wafer would produce. In the year 1660, an *Algonquin* met with numbers of his countrymen near *Hudson's Bay*, who had fled thither from the cruelties of the *Iroquois*. He found the natives, as well as his countrymen there, so well disposed to join with the *French* against the *Iroquois*, that they sent him with presents to the governor-general of *New France* to assure him of their friendship and assistance. About the same time, two *Frenchmen*, who had wintered on the borders of the upper lake, by travelling westward discovered the nation of the *Sieux*. This was a people, who had never heard of the *French*, and who were

Account of but little known, even to the *Hurons* and *Algonquians*. The *Sieux*. *Huron* nations of the *Tionnontatez* and the *Outaouais*, whom we have already mentioned trusting to their fire-arms, fought to make their quarters good amongst the *Sieux*, to whom they fled for protection, and even killed some of them; but the *Sieux*, though startled at first, attacked their guests in a body, and put to death great numbers of them, while they massacred others, whom they drove into a kind of a pool, where unawares they found themselves entangled in nets, and not a man escaped death from the arrows of the *Sieux*. This determined the *Hurons* to seek their habitations elsewhere, and they settled to the south-east of the western point of the upper lake. As to the *Sieux*, they are represented by the missionaries in a very advantageous light ^b, and their situation, with the similarity of their persons, manners, and doctrines, scarcely leaves room to doubt, that they were originally the same with the *Asiatic Tartars*. The two *Frenchmen* found them very numerous, and divided into forty large townships, which frequently changed their places of abode. They have a knowledge of one God; and are said to believe the doctrine of transmigration. They are merciful to their prisoners; and the jesuits praise them for their docility, mildness, and good sense.

THE summer of the year 1660 had almost proved irretrievably fatal to the *French* in *Canada*. Though *Old France* was, at that time, at a high pitch of glory, no care had been taken to support their colonies in *America*, where the *Iroquois* remained masters of all the open country, which they ravaged from *Montreal* to *Quebec*. A body of seven hundred of them had defeated a numerous party of *French* and *Indians*, and many of the colonists were making dispositions to embark with their all for *Old France*. Even the nuns were obliged to fly from their monasteries to take refuge at *Montreal* and *Quebec*, and so closely had the savages blocked up the *French* within their walls, that there was all the appearance of an approaching famine; the *Frenchmen*, in many places, not daring to stir abroad, either to reap or to sow. At last, towards the end of autumn they disappeared; but it was soon discovered to be with an insidious intent of decoying into their hands some *French* missionaries, or men of consequence, whom they might exchange for their countrymen, who were prisoners among the *French*; after which, they intended to renew all their barbarities, and, particularly, to carry off all the children they could, to repeople their country. Their designs, however,

^b See a memoir upon the ancient navigation of the *Chinese* to *America*, by M. LE GUIGNES.

were disconcerted by the accidental death of one of their chiefs; and the savages disappeared entirely till towards the end of the winter; they then appeared again in numerous bodies, and every where butchered the *French* and *Indians*. Amongst the former, some persons of rank lost their lives; and amongst the latter, the women, rather than fall into the hands of the *Iroquois*, fought as bravely as the men. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the inhabitants were attacked by a kind of hooping cough, which proved epidemical and turned into a pleurisy, that carried off great numbers. Even the physicians encouraged the belief, that this distemper was the effect of witchcraft, and this fantastic notion produced amongst the inhabitants numbers of others equally fantastic, such as apparitions of crowns, canoes, and men on fire with dreadful yellings, in the night-time; and, at last, a comet, that really appeared, heightened the general consternation.

WHILE this deplorable state of the colony continued, the councils of the *Onnontaguë* took a most favourable turn for the *French*. It seems that, amongst those savages, the matrons form the most considerable part of the government, and the men, knowing that most of them were sincere converts, and friends to the missionaries, had carefully concealed from their females the intended massacre of the *French* under mons. Dupuy. On discovering that the *French* and the missionaries were gone, the ladies and their daughters celebrated a general mourning, and asserted their prerogative from the usurpations of the men, so resolutely, that they set at liberty all the *French* prisoners, amounting to twenty; and they converted one of their cabins into a chapel, where great numbers of Christians prayed every day; and for effecting this great revolution, they were assisted by the Christians of the cantons of *Goyogouin* and *Onneyouth*, who continued staunch in the faith. Soon after this, news came, the *Iroquois* savages disappeared, and towards the end of July 1661, two canoes, with a white flag, appeared before *Montreal*. Being suffered to approach they were found to be deputies from the cantons of *Onnontaguë* and *Goyogouin*; and that the deputy from the latter had not only the best interest of any man in his canton, but was the most determined friend the *French* had amongst all the savages. They brought with them four *Frenchmen*, whom they proposed to exchange for eight *Goyogouin* prisoners, and to set at liberty all their remaining *French* prisoners, on the like terms. They presented *Maisonneuve*, at the same time, with a letter to the remaining *French* prisoners, informing him of the good treatment they received, but at the same time, that if the proposal of their exchange

*Affairs
mend in
the colony.*

change was rejected, they must infallibly undergo the same. *Maisonneuve*, not thinking himself sufficiently authorized to return an answer to those propositions, sent an express with them to the governor general, and, in the mean while lodged the deputies in his fort. *D'Argenson*, who, by this time, had become peevish and sour by his situation, and had demanded his recall, with some difficulty agreed to the proposals; but was at a loss to find a missionary, who would venture into the savage country, which the *Indians* insisted on, as an indispensable preliminary of the accommodation; but his uneasiness was soon over, the zealous father *le Moynes*, cheerfully, for a fourth time, embracing that mission.

D'Avau-
gour go-
vernour.

IN the mean while, *D'Argenson* was relieved in his government by the baron *D'Avau-gour*, who had been bred up in the wars of *Hungary*, and was esteemed an honest man, as well as a good officer; but in other respects was very ill qualified to be a governor-general of *New France*. Having visited the posts of *Canada*, he appeared highly surprized, and disappointed, at seeing them so weak, and openly declared, that if the *French* court did not send him the supplies and reinforcements they had promised him, he would leave his government, without waiting for the appointment of his successor. By this time, *le Moynes* had left *Quebec*, while the fathers *Dreuilletes* and *Dablon* sailed up the river *Saguenay*, as far as the source of the river *Nekouba*, thereby to get a passage into the north sea. The heats they endured were excessive. They perceived, that the lake of *St. John* is the real source of the *Saguenay*, and several other rivers. The description of that lake, which they said was of an oval figure, and about twenty leagues in circumference, full of beautiful islands, crowned with trees, and affording the most delightful prospect in the world, was perhaps, greatly exaggerated by the remembrance of the frightful countries through which they had travelled. Notwithstanding the frightful appearance of the country, both before and after they passed this lake, they found some savages, whom they converted to Christianity, about the source of the river *Nekouba*, beyond which they could not proceed, on account of the *Iroquois*, who were approaching, and had lately destroyed a whole nation. As it is of importance for us to be acquainted with every material circumstance relating to a country, now belonging to the crown of *Great Britain*, we are to mention from the journal, which *Dablon* left behind him of this expedition, a most extraordinary disease, which, he says, is common in those northern countries. A person suddenly becomes hypochondriac, and then frantic; in which state, becoming insatiably

fiably ravenous after human flesh, he darts himself like a wolf upon all who approach him, and tears them in pieces. The disease, which encreases the more the hunger is gratified, is so incurable, that the patient is knocked on the head, if possible, the moment the symptoms appear upon him.

THOUGH the different tribes and townships of those savages are independent of one another, and though each adopts a form of government, as custom or caprice directs, yet they commonly have some person of high distinction among them, whom they consider as the chief of their nation, and who guides them in their general deliberations. We are, therefore, to consider the resolution taken by the *Onnontague* to massacre *Dupuis*, and his people, as belonging only to that tribe, which had sent deputies to *Montreal*; for, from what follows, it does not appear to have been the general sense of the nation to break with the *French*. Father *le Moyne*, in his travels to the *Onnontague* country, escaped several dangers from the *Agniers*, the *Onneyouths*, and the *Tsonnonthouans*, who had no chief in the *Onnontague* deputation to *Montreal*. When he came within two leagues of *Onnontague*, he was surprised to be met by *Garakonthie*, the grand chief of the whole nation, and lord of that canton in particular; as he knew, that those savages seldom or never advance above a quarter of a mile, to meet their deputies on their return. But this *Garakonthie* was a very extraordinary personage, and had nothing about him of the savage, but his birth and education. He was not only a renowned warrior, but an able statesman; for he had a particular talent in managing the popular assemblies of his countrymen, and to complete his character, he was good natured, mild, candid, and possessed of extraordinary genius. By his great credit with his canton, he had saved the lives of all the *French* prisoners his people had made, and had even the address to deliver many who were in the hands of the *Agniers*; and, in consequence of his affection for the *French* in general, he was incessantly labouring to bring about a firm alliance between them and his countrymen. The first proof he gave of his talents for negotiation was to carry *le Moyne* to wait upon the other chiefs, before he brought him to his cabin, that the pacification might seem to take its rise from them, and not to be entirely his own work. On the 12th of *August* the deputies of *Onnontague*, *Goyogouin*, and *Tsonnonthouan* assembled in *Garakonthie*'s cabin, to which *le Moyne* was invited. He accordingly repaired thither, and after delivering his presents he opened the conferences. Being perfectly acquainted with the genius, manners, and language of the

parties he was treating with, he conducted the negotiation with all the solemnity, figurative expressions, and actions, which he knew those barbarians to be so fond of, delivering his wampum strings at the conclusion of every article, and then quitting the character of envoy from the governor-general, he resumed that of the missionary, and turned the discourse upon religious subjects.

Negotiations about peace.

THE savages, who affect formality in all their deliberations, took some days to consider of their answer to what *le Moyne* had proposed. The result of their consultation was, that nine *French* prisoners should be sent to *Onnonthio*, but that they would reserve the others in compliment to *Ondeffon* (meaning father *le Moyne*) to keep him company during the winter; and that *Garakonthie* should be appointed head of the deputation, which was to be sent to *Montreal* to conclude the peace. The missionary put them in mind of their promise to send back all the *French* prisoners; but being peremptorily told, that that could not be, he desisted from his request, especially as he saw that they were well treated. It was the middle of *September*, when *Garakonthie* set out on his embassy; but, while he was on his journey, he encountered two accidents, which, had it not been for his great credit and prudence, must have proved fatal to his negotiation. The first was his meeting with a troop of warriors of his own canton, commanded by one *Outreoutiati*, a chief of reputation, who had been in irons at *Montreal*; but escaping, he, and his party were returning loaded with the scalps and spoils of the *French* and their *Indians*, whom they had killed in revenge. The *Indians* of *Garakonthie's* train were for returning immediately, lest reprisals should be made upon them, on their arrival at *Montreal*; but he, though somewhat embarrassed at first, satisfied them they were in no danger as long as *le Moyne* and the *French* remained in their canton; upon which they proceeded forward. A few days after he overtook a party of the *Onneyouths*, who told him they were going to eat *Frenchmen*; but upon his making them a present, he persuaded them to return. Upon his arrival at *Montreal*, he was received with distinctions due to the great services he had done the colony. In many private conferences he had there with the governor-general, the latter conceived so high an opinion of his sincerity, as well as capacity, that upon his promising him to return in the spring with the remaining *French* prisoners, all the *Iroquois* captives were delivered into his hands; a proof that the governor-general was but ill acquainted with the nature of the *American* savages; though it is true that he had other reasons for believing, that a peace would soon be

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concluded. He imagined, that the superior cantons of the *Iroquois* were so involved in war with the *Andastes*, and the *Agniers*, with other nations, supported by the *Abenaguese*, that the desire of peace amongst all the *Iroquois* would become general. But he soon received intelligence, that the *Iroquois* were victorious over all their enemies, whom they had either conquered, or forced to sue for peace. The *Onnontaguese* hearing of this, and that the *Agniers* had again pushed their ravages to the very gates of *Montreal*, took arms against the *French*. Being no longer awed by the presence of *Garakonthie*, two hundred of them invaded the *French* colonies, and attacking a great many of the inhabitants of *Montreal*, who were at work in the fields, they cut in pieces the *French* town major, who had sallied out with twenty-six well armed soldiers, to bring off the people of *Montreal*. At the same time, it was known at that place, that the *Outaouais* had maltreated father *Misnard*, who had been granted to them as a missionary, so that he never was heard of more. In the mean while *le Moyne* continued to exercise his functions amongst the *Onnontaguese*, notwithstanding the hostilities their countrymen had been guilty of against the *French*, and by a prudent course of dissimulation he gained his ends. *Garakonthie*, loaded with valuable presents, and attended by the *Iroquois* captives, arrived at this critical juncture at *Onnontague*, and, though greatly startled at the alteration of his people's sentiments, he acted with so much address and firmness, that he not only obtained a ratification of the treaty he had concluded, but the delivery of all the *French* prisoners into the hands of father *le Moyne*, excepting one, who was put to death by his master, who refused, being a married man, to marry a the savage.

D'AVAUGOUR, though now convinced of the good faith ^{The colony} of *Garakonthie*, was sensible, that his colony was in a most ^{reinforced.} desperate situation, and he wrote in the strongest terms to the court of *France* for reinforcements, by *Boucher*, the commandant of *Trois Rivières*, who was an honest man, and entirely well acquainted with the affairs of *Canada*. The *French* king, upon his representations, appeared to be greatly surprized, that so promising a colony should have been so much neglected, and immediately ordered four hundred of his troops to embark for *Canada*, to strengthen the most exposed posts. Their arrival at *Quebec*, and *Demont's* promise of farther reinforcements next year, gave new spirits to the colony; but they were soon damped by the rash conduct of the governor-general. The strictest orders had been issued by him for preventing the selling any brandy, or spirituous liquors to the savages;

vages; and a *Quaker* woman having been detected in this fact, was immediately carried to prison. Her tears, and the intercessions of her relations, prevailed with father *Lallement* to apply for her release to the governor, who, with a frantic haughtiness, answered, that, since the crime was not punishable in that woman, it should not be so in any other person. What is still worse, he adhered so strictly to this declaration, that he thought it a point of honour not to retract it. This licence introduced such a spirit of debauchery, not only among the savages, but amongst the *French* soldiers, that the clergy was insulted, and all kind of order and decency in the colony was disregarded; upon which the bishop, despairing of being able to do any service by his authority, resolved to embark for *France*, and there to lay his complaints before the king.

Amazing
earth-
quakes and
tempests.

UPON his departure, the whole system of nature, in *French Canada*, seemed to be inverted; for nothing was to be seen, or heard all over the province, but the most dreadful convulsions, balls of fire, breaking in a most portentous manner, claps of thunder, and terrible earthquakes. Those phenomena, though produced by natural causes, were urged by the clergy, and the nuns, as immediate visitations from God, upon the sins of the province; and a thousand supernatural prodigies were invented, to persuade the people, that still more dreadful judgments were waiting them, unless they repented, and turned from their wickedness. Fortunately for the colony, this prediction was fulfilled by the most dreadful earthquakes and hurricanes, happening, that ever had been felt or known in those parts. The largest trees were pulled up by the roots; the courses of rivers inverted; the largest mountains torn from their foundations, and thrown upon one another; provinces enveloped in flames, issuing from the bowels of the earth; the country was covered with sea monsters, that were cast on shore; and, in short, nothing was wanting, that could announce the dissolution of the world to be at hand; while the clergy and nuns continued still to increase those real terrors with imaginary prodigies. Those calamities were not confined to one spot; but reached from east to west for three hundred leagues, and for above one hundred and fifty from south to north. Even *New England* and *New York* felt the shocks of the earthquake, and saw the other appearances of this stupendous visitation. One circumstance, however, gives some reason to believe, that the relations of it are somewhat overcharged by the missionaries; for we told that no life was lost during its continuance.

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THE real effects of those calamities were incredible; for they not only brought the professors of Christianity to a sense of their crimes and irregularities, but occasioned great numbers of sincere conversions amongst the natives, so that nothing was now to be seen, but public penances, fastings, alms, pilgrimages, and processions. Above all, the illicit commerce in spirituous liquors was solemnly decried and detested. Upon the whole, though perhaps, as we have already observed, the jesuits have not stuck to strict truth in their representations of those amazing incidents, yet the face of Nature in *Canada*, to this very day, affords frequent evidences, that the earthquakes and hurricanes, we have mentioned, were the most dreadful any country ever suffered, that was not entirely destroyed. The consternation even reached the *Iroquois*, who were so amazed, that though they again appeared in arms near *Montreal*, they lost all courage, and were beat in several small encounters by the *French* and their *Indians*. The small-pox, soon after this, swept off great numbers of them, and, at last, they came to be so well disposed towards a peace, that the *Onnontague* not only invited the *French* to resume their former settlement amongst them, but offered to send their daughters as hostages to *Quebec*, there to be educated by the *Ursulin* nuns. But the affairs of *Canada* were now about to resume a new face.

THE company of *Canada*, unwilling, or unable to support so unprofitable a settlement, as that of *New France*, had made a voluntary surrender of all their property in it to the *French* king, who, upon the representations of the bishop of *Petrée*, resolved to put its government upon a new establishment. For this purpose, he appointed mons. de *Mesy* to succeed the baron *D'Avaujour* as governor, and the sieur *Gaudais* to go as his commissary, and to take possession, in his name, of all *New France*. Along with those two officers a body of troops, and one hundred families, for peopling the colony, embarked, besides other officers of all denominations. The commissary began by receiving the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and establishing new courts, where new processes of justice were introduced; but those regulations had a very different effect from what his most Christian majesty expected. The *French Canadians*, till that time, had had but very few differences amongst themselves, concerning matters of property, and those few were always decided by the governor-general, upon the principles of equity and good sense. But no sooner did the abovementioned regulations take place, than the *Canadians*, from being amongst themselves the most inoffensive people in the world, became the most litigious.

The government of *Canada* new modelled.

1663. A council of state was likewise established this year, viz. 1663. It was composed of *Mesy*, the governor-general, the bishop of *Petrie*, *Robert* the intendant, four counsellors, whom they three were to name, a procurator-general, and a head secretary. It is immaterial for this history to relate the several altercations, which this institution underwent afterwards, while *Canada* was in the hands of the *French*; it is sufficient to say, that the number of counsellors were at last encreased to twelve, and the subaltern judges to so immoderate a number, that the inhabitants smarted more under the fees of lawyers, than they had done before from the ravages of the *Indians*.

D'Avaugour recalled.

WHEN those regulations were going forward the *sieur Gaudais* returned, according to order, to *France*, that he might make a report to his most Christian majesty of the state and dispositions of the colony, the conduct of *D'Avaugour*, whose severity had been greatly complained of, and the manner in which the new governor, and regulations had been received. All this he did, and *D'Avaugour* having returned to *Europe*, had his master's permission to re-enter into the emperor's service against the *Turks* in *Hungary*, where he was killed next year. But the arrival of the reinforcements from *France* retarded the restoration of peace with the *Iroquois*; for when it was on the point of being concluded, a *Huron*, who was a naturalized *Iroquois*, spread a report, that before he left *Trois Rivières* he saw thousands of soldiers landing at *Quebec*, and that the *French* were in full march to destroy the dwellings, and exterminate the race of the *Iroquois*. This report broke off for that time the negotiation. The savages stood on their guard, but without venturing to invade the colony. Perceiving, however, by degrees, that the *French* had no hostile intentions; towards the winter they made incursions into the northern parts, where they were guilty of enormous cruelties.

BUT such was the spirit of those barbarians, that tho' in all probability they believed the first report of the *French* imminent reinforcements, it did not produce from them one advance towards a submission, and it required all the prudence, and credit of *Gamakenhie*, to keep them from breaking into farther hostilities. He succeeded so far, that he assembled the *French* prisoners in the cantons, who had been taken, and gave them an escort of twenty *Onnontaguise* to conduct them to *Quebec*. In their voyage thither, they were attacked all of a sudden by a party of *Algonquins*, who took them for enemies, and killed several of the *Iroquois*, but the *French* escaped unhurt. This accident must have produced an immediate, and a fresh

rupture, had not *Sarakonthie* persuaded the *Onnentague*, that it was owing to a mistake. Some months after, the *Goyogonin* chief agreeably surprized the colony at *Quebec* with a pacific visit. He presented the governor general with belts on the parts of all the cantons, excepting that of *Onneyouth*, and declared, that they were fully resolved to live in peace with the colony. The general, though pleased with the compliment; put on an air of superiority, and acquainted the savage, that he was resolved to be upon his guard against a nation that had been so often trusted by his predecessors, and had so often betrayed them. He, however, treated the chief with great politeness and civility. It was about this time that the colony of *Canada* was deeply affected by the *English* getting possession of *New York*, as we have already seen in the history of that province.

THE bishop of *Petrée* had been the main instrument in *Mesly* procuring the recal of the late governor *D'Avaugour*; and so highly was he in favour with *Lewis XIV.* that he was left to name *D'Avaugour's* successor. *Mesly* was then major of the citadel of *Caen*, and, so great a professor of piety, that the bishop recommended him to the king, who confirmed his choice. He scarcely was fixed in his government, when the bishop found he had mistaken his man. The bishop patronized the jesuits, *Mesly* hated them. Thus the colony was split into two parties. Each sent over their remonstrances to the court of *France*, where the interest of the jesuits proved too strong for that of *Mesly*. His complaints were founded upon the vast credit the jesuits had obtained in the province, which, in fact, rendered the authority of the governor, a cypher; as, without their intervention and agency he could take no step with regard to the *Indians*. It was easy for some of the most discerning amongst the counsellors of state, to know where the weight of interest would lie at the court, and therefore they took part with the bishop. *Mesly*, however, seems to have given them some handle by his arbitrary proceedings, and by sending home the counsellor *de Villeray*, and the *Sieur Boudon*, procurator-general, without any form of trial. The bishop took advantage of this, and some other unguarded acts of power, which the governor could not disprove. But notwithstanding all the power of the jesuits, mons. *Colbert*, then first minister of *France*, though obliged to give way to the recal of *Mesly*, did not conceal his opinion, that the good fathers were rather an overmatch for the credit that ought to be vested in a governor-general of such a province, and that care ought to be taken to circumscribe their power, and

Tracy
viceroy of
the French
America,
and Cour-
celles go-
vernors.

and to send over governors, who could do it with more temper and prudence than *Mesy* possessed.

WHEN the old *Canada* company resigned all their rights in that country, to his most Christian Majesty, he transferred the same to the *West India* company, together with the power of nominating all the governors and officers of *Canada*. The company, however, politely enough declined that honour, and left those nominations in the hands of his majesty, on pretence that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the affairs of the province, to make a proper choice of its high officers. In consequence of this act of self-denial, *Mesy* had been appointed governor-general of *New France*, and on the 19th of Nov. 1663, his majesty nominated the marquis *de Tracy*, his viceroy over all *America*, with a commission to visit first the *French* islands, and then to repair to *New France*, where he was to give orders for the future establishment of the colony, and for securing it against the *Iroquois*. This commission was expedited a little before the disputes between *Mesy* and the bishop began, and when his most Christian majesty had, in consequence of petitions from the colony, come to a most serious resolution to send thither a most effectual and powerful supply, both of troops and inhabitants. It is remarkable, that the petitioners prayed, that the colonists sent over might be natives of the isle of *France*, or the northern provinces, because a great many heretics were shipped from the southern. The recal of *Mesy* being resolved on, the king nominated *Daniel de Remi*, lord of *Courcelles*, to be his successor, and *monf. Talon*, to be intendant, in the room of *Robert*, who never had gone to *New France*. A commission was likewise issued out on the 21st of *March*, 1665, to empower them, together with the marquis *de Tracy*, who was then in *America*, to enquire into the conduct of *Mesy*; and, if they thought him culpable, to put him under arrest, and to try him; at the same time orders were expedited, for raising colonists, and for sending the regiment of *Carignan Salieres*, part of which was with *monf. de Tracy*, to *Canada*. In *June*, the same year, *Tracy* arrived there, with three companies of that regiment, and instantly drove back the *Iroquois*, who had again begun their inroads; by which seasonable check the inhabitants got in their harvest without any molestation. Soon after, the rest of the regiment of *Carignan* arrived with their colonel, *monf. de Salieres*, together with *Courcelles* and *Talon*, on board a powerful squadron, which carried a great number of families, tradesmen, artied servants, the first horses that had ever been seen in *Canada*,
horned

horned cattle, sheep, and, in short, says father *Charlevoix*, a more powerful colony, than that which they came to reinforce. The viceroy then gave orders for building three forts towards the mouth of the river *Richelieu*, one upon the spot where fort *Richelieu* had stood; the command of which was given to *monf. Soré*, from whom it is now called fort *Soré*. The second was built at the foot of a rapid river, called *St. Louis*; but afterwards took the name of its governor, *monf. Chambly*, who was a great proprietor of land there, and was likewise built on the ruins of a former fort. The third fort was erected by *monf. de Salieres*, and was called *St. Theresa*. The construction of those forts, though at first they struck the *Iroquois* with consternation, is thought to have been injudicious, because the main purposes they were intended to serve, might have answered by a strong well-garrisoned fort in the canton of *Onnontague*, or that of *Agniers*; though fort *Chambly*, it is true, covered the province from the incursions of the people of *New York*, and the lower *Iroquois*. During those transactions, *Talon* remained at *Quebec*, where he made himself fully master of every thing relating to *Canada*; which he digested in a memorial to *Colbert*, acquainting him at the same time, that *Mesy* being dead, and the clergy perfectly easy, without making farther complaints, it was judged to be most conducive to his majesty's service, not to proceed to any enquiries into his conduct. In short, *Talon*, by this memorial, discovered himself to be a very able minister. He laid before *Colbert* the prodigious advantages that might accrue to its mother country, by the encouragement of this colony. But he informed the minister, that his majesty had entirely mistaken his measures for that purpose, by putting it into the hands of the *West India* company, who had already declared they would suffer no provisions to come from *France*, without their permission, even for the subsistence of the inhabitants; and that they would suffer no liberty of commerce, but what they themselves should carry on. He added, that unless his majesty took the colony into his own hands, it would not be worth either his, or his ministers attention; and that the inhabitants must be in a state of bondage to the company, who would enrich themselves by their misery. Towards the end of *December*, *Garakonthie* arrived with the deputies of his canton, of *Goyogouin* and of *Tsonnonthouan*. After delivering his presents, and making the general compliments of submission, from the three colonies, he made a kind of a funeral oration upon the

death of father *le Moine*, which had happened some time before, in terms that equally affected and astonished his hearers. He touched, but with great modesty, on his own services to the colony, and concluded with a demand of peace, and the freedom of all the prisoners of the three cantons, that had been made since the last exchange. This request was granted by *Tracy*, who highly caressed *Garakanthie*, both in public and private, and, at parting, loaded him, and the other deputies with presents.

*Expedition
against the
natives.*

NO sooner had they taken leave of the viceroy, than two bodies of regulars were ordered out against the *Agniers*, and the *Onneyouths*, under *Courcelles* and *Sorel*. The *Onneyouths* immediately offered to make their submission, by sending deputies to *Quebec*, who are said to have been charged with the like commission on the part of the *Agniers*; but they failed in the negotiation; for the last mentioned savages had still parties in the field, one of which killed *Chafy*, the viceroy's nephew, and two other *French* officers. *Sorel* was all this while upon his march against the *Agniers*, but on approaching one of their villages, he was met by a troop of the warriors, with the bastard *Fleming*, we have already mentioned, at their head. What follows, though we take the relation from the *French* themselves, cannot be easily justified on the principles of either good faith, hospitality, or humanity, and yet it is mentioned by them with an air of applause. The *Fleming*, making signals for a parley, acquainted *Sorel*, that he was going to *Quebec* to treat of peace with the viceroy; upon which *Sorel*, without any hesitation, accompanied him thither; and being well received by the viceroy, he was followed in a day or two by another *Agnier* deputy. He too was well received; and so far were they from being suspected not to be real deputies, that the viceroy entertained them at his table, where mention was made of *monf. de Chafy's* death. Upon this, the last arrived barbarian, with a savage air of triumph, stretching forth his arm, there, said he, is the hand that killed him. Then, replied the viceroy, it never shall kill another, and he ordered him immediately to be strangled, by the common hangman, which was performed in the presence of the bastard *Fleming*, who was sent to prison.

COURCELLES, who knew nothing of what had passed at *Quebec*, was then at *Corlar*, a settlement belonging to *Al-lany*, upon the borders of the *Iroquois* country; where, before he entered upon hostilities with the *Iroquois*, he prevailed with the *English* commandant to promise, that he would give no assistance to the *Agniers*. *Courcelles* performed this journey in the midst of winter, walking with snow shoes, and

and carrying his arms and provisions like the meanest soldier, many of whom were disabled by the cold from attending him. The precautions he took for success, defeated it; for when he entered the country of the *Agniers*, he found their villages abandoned, and that their children, women, and old men, had secured themselves in the woods, while their warriors had marched against other nations, till they should know the result of the *Onneyouths* negotiation. All he could do was to kill or pick up a few stragglers of the savages. Returning to *Quebec*, he found *Tracy*, though then above seventy years of age, ready to set out on an expedition against the *Onneyouths* and the *Agniers*. His army was composed of six hundred regulars, the same number of *Canadians*, and one hundred savages of different nations; but he carried with him no more than two pieces of artillery. While he was setting out new deputies came from the two cantons to endeavour an accommodation, but they were detained prisoners, and the army began its march in three divisions on the 14th of *September*. Their magazines of provisions were calculated to serve them till they should arrive in the enemy's country, where they counted upon being plentifully supplied; but, before they had got half way, they found their provisions at an end; and they must actually have returned, had it not been for a wood of chesnuts; on which they lived, till they reached the enemy's country. A body of *Algonquins*, who marched before the first division, alarmed the inhabitants of the first village they reached, which the *French* general entered, with all the display of military pomp: but he found no inhabitant there, excepting a few old men and women, who were too decrepid to fly. The *French* were surprized to meet here with cabins well built, and properly ornamented; some of them six-score feet in length, of a proportionable breadth, and all of them wainscotted within. Upon searching farther they discovered an amazing quantity of provisions buried under-ground, sufficient to serve all the colony for two years.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, never was a worse conducted, or a more ill judged expedition than this was on the part of the *French*. *Tracy*, instead of burning the provisions he could not carry off, contented himself with burning the cabins, of which he did not leave one standing in the whole canton; and instead of building forts for bridling so fine a country, he amused himself with drawing up his men in order of battle, and marching against the savages, who were too wise to hazard an engagement with him, but bade him defiance in their woods and fastnesses. He excused himself from those omissions, by saying, that the security of the colony

was provided for by the forts he had already raised against the barbarians, whom he had sufficiently chastised, and taught to respect the *French* power. He likewise alledged the instructions, which directed the governors of *New France* to keep their possessions as compact as possible together upon the banks of the river *St. Laurence*, where the land should be first cleared; so that there should be none of those straggling settlements, which had been so often the objects of the *Indian* ravages. *Charlevoix*, however, is of opinion, that those ends might have been more effectually obtained, by fortifying the frontiers against the enemy. But, in fact, the regulations of the *French* king in this respect never were complied with; for the desire of gain led the colonists to pitch upon, and clear those situations, however dangerous they might be, that were most convenient for trade.

Tracy's expedition against the savages. IT was now towards the end of *October*, and consequently too late for *Tracy*, who seems to have been now in a state of military dotage, to proceed against the canton of *Onne-youth*. He had rather exasperated than chastised the savages, and a little more delay would have rendered his return impracticable, by the rivers being frozen, and the attacks he must have been exposed to from the *Indians*. In his return, his troops suffered greatly from the fatigues of their march, and an officer and some soldiers were drowned in passing lake *Champlain*. Upon *Tracy's* arrival at *Quebec* he ordered some of his prisoners to be hanged, and sent home the others with the *Flemish* bastard. The last act of his government in *New France* was to establish the *West India* company in all the rights of the old *Canada* company, and then he returned to *France*. *Canada*, notwithstanding all his omissions, might, however, date the æra of her importance from his administration. The late expedition against the *Iroquois*, had it been properly pursued, must have rendered her colonists respectable; but her government, notwithstanding the sensible remonstrances of *Talon*, went upon wrong principles. The bigots at the court of *Old France*, who guided that king's conscience, were devoted to the jesuits, who appear, by all their own relations, to have made the conversion of the *Indians* the primary object of the colony; whereas, in pursuing those conversions, as they did, it was threatened with ruin; because the savages no sooner became converts than they lived like drones, upon the public stock, and indulged their irresistible propensity to indolence. It is in vain for the jesuit historians to pretend, that the interests of the colony were connected with those of religion. Had the savages, instead of being taught the soporiferous of their religion, been taught to taste the sweets of com-

commerce with the *French*, they would soon have come into the habits of civil life, and the practice of christianity; if the religion of the jesuits can be called such. The *French Canadian* laity were fully sensible of all this, and, after the last establishment of the colony, those conversions, to the no small mortification of the jesuits, began to be discontinued; and even the converts already made insensibly dwindled and disappeared, partly through diseases, introduced by their indolence, and partly from other causes.

THE ascendancy of the jesuit counsels at the court of *Interested France* could not render it entirely insensible of their engrossing conduct of practices amongst the savages; and therefore repeated orders *the jesuits* were sent to *Talon*, that the missionaries should by all means instruct the children of the savages in the *French* language. The jesuits have not informed us, why that instruction, so evidently beneficial to the colony, was not followed; but we are given to understand, that they had the address to gain over to their interest *Colbert* as well as *Tracy*; and, in general, that the instruction was dropt, because of the difficulties attending it. In the mean while, *Talon* exerted amazing talents in promoting the prosperity and commerce of the colony. He had been told of silver mines that were to be found in *Canada*; but in this he was soon undeceived by ex-*Mines in* perience: other mines, however, were discovered in great *Canada* abundance, and especially those of iron; and *Talon* formed a scheme for manufacturing it, and shipping it to *Europe* from *Gaspé*, then in possession of the *French*. In *August*, 1666, he employed *la Tessarie* to discover mines; and he found a very fine one of iron, with a prospect of copper and other mines. Soon after, *Talon* went to *France*, and prevailed with *Colbert* to send *la Potardiere*, a famous miner, to *Canada*, where he made a most favourable report of the mines, particularly those about the town of *Champlain*, and *Cape Magdalen*, between *Quebec* and *Trois Rivières*. In the year 1668, full liberty of commerce was published in *Canada*; and this, together with the discovery of the mines, and a tannery manufacture, which had been set up with great appearance of success, raised very high expectations in all who had the least concern with *Canada*. It may perhaps give some information to a *British* reader, at this time, to be informed, that, notwithstanding all the promising appearances of this colony, from its mines and manufactures, they came to nothing; unaccountably, as father *Charlevoix* says, though the reason is very plain. It was against the interest of the jesuits, his brethren, that any thing but their own commerce should flourish in

*Mission of
father Al-
louez a-
mongst the
Outaouais*

Canada. They knew that if the inhabitants should once be possessed of a spirit of commerce, their functions must cease of course. It is true, they encouraged the fur trade, the only commerce we can discover that was carried on in the inland parts of *Canada*, for an obvious reason, because they themselves had a great interest in it, on account of their vast credit with the savages. The *Outaouais*, whom we have already mentioned to be seated on the upper lake, in particular, now drove a great trade with the *French Canadians* in furs, and solicited that a jesuit might be sent amongst them, in hopes that other *French* would follow him, and make a settlement in their country. This request was granted, notwithstanding the dreadful fate of *Garreau* and *Mesnard*; and father *Allouez* was employed in that mission. He surmounted incredible hardships, in his voyage thither, and was greatly scandalized to see the inhabitants apply to the sun for the cure of some of their countrymen, who had been miserably scorched by a barrel of gun-powder taking fire. On the first of *October*, he arrived at *Chagouamigon*, where he found a township, containing, at least, eight hundred warriors of different nations, and there he built a chapel, to which proselytes of all nations resorted. *Charlevoix* himself owns that he made little or no progress in the works of his mission, because of the idolatry of the people, who erected idols to which they sacrificed dogs, and made offerings that they might be cured of an epidemical distemper then raging amongst them. Those savages undoubtedly had notions of a superior being, and even their absurdities are proofs of it. When they were in storms, they sacrificed dogs, and other animals, to appease the raging of the sea, and they had amongst them customs that evidently marked their belief of a transfiguration of souls. This was exemplified in a variety of instances; and so strongly were they prepossessed with those notions, that even the proselytes to christianity could not be kept from sacrificing to the true God. Every thing amongst them was transacted as a religious matter, from the highest pitch of their worship to the lowest obscenity. Their physicians attributed all their diseases to the neglect of superstitious duties; especially their omitting making a feast, when the hunting and fishing season was over; and their priests, or, more properly, their jugglers, prescribed a feast for removing every disease they were subject to. Though a great many christian *Hurons* lived amongst them, yet they were so degenerated, and retained so many of their native superstitions, that their religion could scarcely be discerned. *Allouez* endeavoured to reclaim them, and understanding that the whole nation was congregated from the islands,

islands, where they resided, he paid them a visit. The first thing the barbarian who served as porter required of him was to deliver his shoes, which, after examining them carefully, he returned to the father; as being a mark of the greatest respect he could shew him. When introduced to them, he was charmed with their gentleness and docility. He there found a man, who had lived almost a hundred years. He had the gift of fasting for twenty days at once, and so high an opinion did the savages entertain of his virtue, that they said he often saw the Author of all things. This aged *Indian* had two daughters, who were profelytes to christianity, and so assiduous were they with their father, that, some days before his death, they prevailed upon him to be instructed by *Allouez*, who baptized him. The missionary intended to give this venerable father a christian burial; but his countrymen burnt him for some reasons too fanciful to be repeated here.

If we are to believe *Charlevoix*[†], this missionary had vast *His great* success in converting the *Outagamis*, the *Illinois*, and even the *Succes*. *Sieux*; but he could converse with the latter, as well as several other nations he there met with, only by interpreters. The *Sieux* informed him, that their nation was the most northerly in the world; but probably they included the *Assiniboils*, and all the other tribes, who spoke dialects of their language. Their neighbours, towards the west, were the *Karefis*, who lay in the neighbourhood of a nation, who were man-eaters, and sold human flesh ready dressed. Father *Allouez* had there an opportunity of seeing the *Cristinaux*, or, as they are called, the *Creek Indians*, who, as he says, adored the sun, to whom they sacrificed dogs hanged on trees. He gave them the character of being great talkers, and said that they spoke a dialect of the *Algonquin*. About the beginning of the year 1667, father *Allouez*, understanding that the *Nipissings* had taken refuge in great numbers on the borders of the lake *Alimipegou*, to the north of the upper lake, at the distance of 1500 miles from the spot where he was, set out, attended only by two savages to visit them. He found them for the most part christians; but as degenerated in their religion as the *Outaouais* and the *Hurons*. After performing the functions of his mission amongst them, he returned to *Chagouamigon*, where he took an opportunity of joining a large company of *Outaouais*, who were going with furs to *Montreal*, from whence he went to *Quebec*, where he was joined by father *Nicholas*, a friar, and four labourers or volunteers in the service of conversion. From *Quebec* they went to *Montreal*, where they

[†] Ibid. p. 174.

found the *Outaouais* had finished their business, and were ready to embark: but they obstinately refused to suffer the *freres* and the four volunteers to go on board their canoes; so that the two fathers were obliged to embark by themselves, without provisions, or even necessaries of any kind. But it is now time to return to *Quebec*.

THE *Iroquois* cantons of *Agnier* and *Onneyouth*, at the departure of *Tracy*, the *French* viceroy, perceiving the *French* were now grown too powerful for them in *Canada*, made their submissions to *Courcelles*, the governor-general, who at their request, sent the fathers *Bruyas* and *Fremin* to labour among them in the vineyard of conversions. Father *Garnier* was sent after to assist them; but visiting the christians of *Onnontague*, he was detained there by *Garakonthie*, who built him a cabin and a chapel; and engaged him to remain there till he should return from *Quebec*, where he was going to solicit for missionaries to his own canton, and that of *Goyoquin*. *Garakonthie*, after some stay at *Quebec*, returned to *Onnontague*, with the fathers *Carheil* and *Milet*; and the bishop of *Petrie* was so active, that, excepting the canton of *Tjannonthouan*, all the savage nations in *America* were provided with missionaries; but, notwithstanding all the pains the good fathers took, their success in conversions was but very moderate. The savages, all but a few weak *Hurons*, began to despise them; and *Charlevoix*, with great reason, says, that the neighbourhood of the *Dutch* and *English* was a great obstacle to the conversion of the *Indians*. The truth is, those savages now knew the sweets of trade. Gain was their only religion, and commerce their worship. We ought to repeat it, that the missionaries employed in *Canada* were a set of indefatigable, dauntless, enthusiasts; the tools of *European* jesuits, who practised on the weakness of the *French*, and other zealots in courts, and raised contributions upon the public, by publishing splendid accounts of the progress the gospel was making amongst the savages. *Charlevoix*, in this part of his history, takes occasion to launch out into high encomiums upon several religious ladies and jesuits, who then lived in *Canada*, and who, if we are to believe his characters of them, were sufficient by their lives and exemplary zeal to have converted half the globe from idolatry to christianity: but he thinks that their labours were defeated by the *Iroquois* dealing so much as they did in strong liquors with the people of *New York*, though, at the same time, he frankly owns that his own countrymen, the *French*, were far from being irreproachable on that head.

